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CONTENTS

		PAGE
An Alabaster Figure of the Fourth Dynasty in the British Museum	H. R. Hall	1
The Secret Chambers of the Sanctuary of Thoth	Alan H. Gardiner	2
The Kline of Sarapis	J. Grafton Milne	6
The Tomb of Tetaky at Thebes (No. 15) ...	N. de Garis Davies	10
Philological Method in the Identification of Anatolian Place-Names	W. F. Albright	19
Kizzuwadna and other Hittite States ...	L. A. Mayer and J. Garstang ...	23
Tomb-Chapel 525 at Tell El-'Amarnah ...		36
Fresh Light on the Tomb Robberies of the Twentieth Dynasty at Thebes	T. Eric Peet	37, 162
Sacred Trees in Modern Egypt	Winifred S. Blackman	56
Athanasiana	Norman H. Baynes	58
Francis G. Newton		70
A Possible Year Date of King Ramesses VII	T. Eric Peet	72
A Mummy of the Persian Period	Warren R. Dawson	76
A Possible Late Representation of the God 'Ash	Alan W. Shorter	78
Pap. Brit. Mus. CXXI, Verso Col. I	Professor S. Eitrem	80
Bibliography: Graeco-Roman Egypt. Papyri (1923–1924)	H. Idris Bell	84
A Relief from the Tomb of Ramōse at Thebes	W. B. Emery	125
A New Edition of the Hermetic Writings ...	A. D. Nock	126
The Roman Roads and Stations in the Eastern Desert of Egypt	G. W. Murray	138
Length-Measures in Ptolemaic Egypt ...	Sir Herbert Thompson	151
Magical Notes	A. D. Nock	154

		PAGE
A Jasper Group of a Lion and Bull Fighting, from El-'Amarnah, in the British Museum	H. R. Hall	159
Hadrian's Decree on Renting State Domain in Egypt	William Linn Westermann	165
Greek Sculpture in Ptolemaic Egypt	A. W. Lawrence	179
The Cult of the Sun and the Cult of the Dead in Egypt	W. J. Perry	191
Osiris or the Sun-God? A Reply to Mr Perry	Aylward M. Blackman	201
Philological Notes	Aylward M. Blackman	210
A Bronze Dagger of the Hyksos Period	Warren R. Dawson	216
Meroitic Studies V	F. Ll. Griffith	218
The Legend of the Capture of Joppa and the Story of the Foredoomed Prince	T. Eric Peet	225
A Cuneiform Vocabulary of Egyptian Words	Sidney Smith and C. J. Gadd	230
Additional Note	T. Eric Peet	239
A Greek-Coptic Glossary to Hosea and Amos	H. I. Bell and H. Thompson	241
An Oracle Papyrus. B.M. 10335	Warren R. Dawson	247
Oracles in Ancient Egypt	Aylward M. Blackman	249
Notes on Some Greek Graffiti	Marcus N. Tod	256
Pakhoras—Bakharâs—Faras in Geography and History	F. Ll. Griffith	259
Double Entries in Ptolemaic Tax-Receipts	J. G. Milne	269
Papyrus Lansing: A Translation with Notes	Aylward M. Blackman and T. Eric Peet	284
Bibliography (1924–1925): Ancient Egypt	F. Ll. Griffith	299
Bibliography (1924–1925): Christian Egypt	De Lacy O'Leary	320
Bibliography (1923–1924): Greek Inscriptions	Marcus N. Tod	327
Notes and News		107, 331
Notices of Recent Publications		110, 335
List of Plates		353
List of Illustrations in the Text		355
Notices of Recent Publications, detailed list		356
Index		357



Alabaster statuette in the British Museum.

Scale about $\frac{1}{4}$.

AN ALABASTER FIGURE OF THE FOURTH DYNASTY IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

By H. R. HALL, D.Litt.

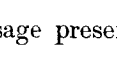
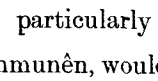
With Plate I.

The fine alabaster or calcite figure of a woman in the British Museum [No. 24619] illustrated by the frontispiece, Pl. I, was acquired many years ago. It has already been published by Sir Ernest Budge in his *Guide to the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Egyptian Rooms* (1922), p. 128. The figure is 1 ft. 7½ ins. (48·75 cm.) tall. It represents a girl, presumably a princess or noble lady, standing with her hands by her sides. She wears the usual tight-fitting shift and a heavy wig over her hair, the natural parting of which appears over her forehead below the edge of the wig. The feet are missing, otherwise the figure is perfect. It was originally coloured, and there are traces of black on the wig and of a green (?) turned to brown on the dress, especially at the back. There is no plinth at the back and, of course, no inscription, so that we do not know who is represented by this beautiful figure. The perfect preservation of the face is a great boon, and makes this one of the finest existing examples of its style. There can, I think, be little doubt in the minds of most as to its date. It could not possibly be later than the Twelfth Dynasty, unless it were an example of Saïte archaism, and were of Twenty-sixth Dynasty date, which it obviously is not. There is nothing archaistic about it. It is archaic, not archaistic, and its genuinely archaic character forbids its being as late as the Twelfth Dynasty, or even the Sixth. I unhesitatingly ascribe it to the Fourth Dynasty, and rather to the earlier than the later period of that dynasty. It might almost be described as Third-Fourth Dynasty, judging by its contour, and the heavy hunched-up effect of the broad shoulders and great wig, which reminds us of the Third Dynasty figure of 'Aper(?)-'ankhu or Bezmes (B.M. 171 [70 *a*]), published by Budge (*Egyptian Sculptures in Brit. Mus.* (1913), Pl. I) and Weill (*La II^e^ et la III^e^ Dynasties* (1908), Pl. I), and of the newly discovered figure of King Zoser (*Ill. Lond. News*, Feb. 28, 1925). Personally, however, I think the face much too good for the Third Dynasty. It is in the perfect face that the chief charm of the figure resides. The cheeks have the full rounded contours, with their European effect, characteristic of the nobility of the Old Kingdom. The nose is full and slightly aquiline at the tip: happily it is undamaged. The mouth has a singularly sweet and good-natured expression. The eyes are indicated without any exaggerated convention. The whole face is very natural and obviously is a portrait. The sculptor has known how to use his material with remarkable skill; the figure is a masterpiece of the portraiture of the time of the pyramid-builders, an example of the first rank, on the possession of which the Museum is to be congratulated. It is exhibited in the Fifth Egyptian Room.

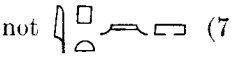
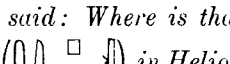
THE SECRET CHAMBERS OF THE SANCTUARY OF THOTH

By ALAN H. GARDINER

On the last day of October Professor Adolf Erman, the pioneer of modern Egyptian philology, attained his seventieth birthday. His pupils in various lands are celebrating the occasion in a special number of the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, but as one whose debt to the German scholar is particularly great I desire also to pay him some tribute in my own country. Now it was the intensive study of one particular papyrus containing a series of stories supposed to be told to Cheops, the builder of the Great Pyramid, which contributed more than all else to consolidate the foundations of our present knowledge of the Egyptian language. Professor Erman tells us that his edition of the Westcar papyrus took him five years; he even devoted a special volume to its grammar. It is astonishing how well the translation which he published in 1890 has stood the test of time; in only a few details have his renderings or readings been questioned, although our progress both in lexicography and in grammar has been gigantic. For this reason any advance in the interpretation of the Westcar papyrus seems rather an event, seems to register a step forward more significantly than would the novel translation of a passage in any other papyrus. I think to have found the solution of an old *crux interpretum* in the Westcar papyrus; this solution I offer for Professor Erman's consideration in token of much gratitude.

The stories told to Cheops by the three first princes his sons related to earlier times; the fourth son Hardedef now promises to bring before his father a living man able to perform the most miraculous feats. This was a certain Djedi, who in spite of his hundred and ten years enjoyed an enormous appetite, was able to replace a head that had been cut off, and had the power to compel a lion to walk tamely behind him. In addition to these accomplishments he knew the number of the *ỉpwt* of the *wnt* of Thoth, for which Cheops had been long looking, in order to make the like thereof for his own "horizon," that is to say, for his own tomb (7, 5–8). The nature of the *ỉpwt* and of the *wnt* mentioned in this passage presents a problem. The  *wnt* is, from its determinative, a building or structure of some sort, and the resemblance of its name to the name of the city where Thoth was particularly worshipped, namely  *Wnw* Hermopolis Magna, the modern Ashmunên, would seem to indicate that it was the primeval sanctuary of Thoth, or else his tomb. Professor Erman thought that the resemblance of *wnt* and *Wnw* was fortuitous; this is also a possibility, but in any case *wnt* seems likely to be some special building dedicated to Thoth. The Pharaoh is said to be seeking (*ḥḥy*), not the *wnt* of Thoth, but the *ỉpwt* of the *wnt* of Thoth, whence it has been concluded, partly on other grounds to be examined later, that the *ỉpwt* were no longer in their original *wnt*. This again is a possible view, but not a necessary one; since Cheops was anxious to make for

his tomb something like the *ỉpwt* of the *wnt* of Thoth, it is not unnatural that the writer should have said that the king was searching for these, and not for the *wnt* itself. There is no definite ground, in the passage before us, for asserting that the *ỉpwt* had been removed from their original *wnt*. I have no light to throw on the whereabouts of the *wnt*: it may be the name of the sanctuary of Hermopolis Magna, or it may be the name of an earlier sanctuary of Thoth in the Delta; or again it may be a purely mythical building. But that it was a building consecrated to Thoth, and that the *ỉpwt* were its secret chambers and hence inseparable from it, I hope to be able to prove, or at least to make exceedingly probable.

In 7, 5. 7 the word *ỉpwt* appears to be determined with the sign of the bow , but in 9, 2 we find, not  (7, 7) nor (7, 5), but , with the determinative of the cylinder seal which serves (*inter alia*) to determine the word  *ḥtm* "to seal up" or "close." On the strength of this determinative Professor Erman concluded that *ỉpt* denoted a closed building or the instrument for closing a building (*den Verschluss eines Gebäudes*). Now the later passage mentioning the *ỉpwt* (9, 1–5) reads as follows:—"*Then said king Cheops* (namely to Djedi): *What of the report, thou knowest the number of the* ỉpwt *of the* wnt *of Thoth? And Djedi said: So please thee, I know not the number thereof, O Sovereign my lord, but I know the place where*..... (). *And His Majesty said: Where is that? And Djedi said: There is a box of flint in a room called 'Revision'* () *in Heliopolis; (well,) in that box!*" In the following sentences Djedi declares that it is not he who will bring the box (*ʿfdt*) to Pharaoh, but the eldest of the children who are in the womb of Reddjedet. This leads on to the well-known episode of the birth of the triplets destined to become the founders of the Fifth Dynasty.

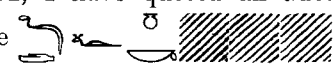
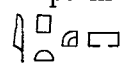
Now Professor Erman rendered the words omitted in the above translation as "the place where they are," and it must be admitted that in the absence of any evidence as to the nature of the *ỉpwt*, this seems necessarily the right translation. Hence it was naturally concluded that the *ỉpwt* were small enough to be contained within a box, and no surprise was felt when Mr. Crum subsequently produced a Coptic word **ⲉⲡⲱ** in close association with other words for "doors," "bolts," "keys" (*Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr.*, XXXVI. 147). Since that time *ỉpwt* has been translated "locks," and it is supposed that Cheops was searching for the locks of the *wnt*-sanctuary of Thoth, and that Djedi declared these to be in a flint box in the temple of Heliopolis[1].

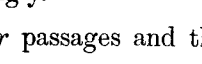
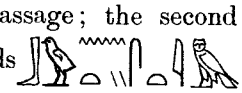
In opposition to this theory it must be noted, first of all, that the rendering "locks" rests wholly on the determinative  which *ỉpwt* has in 9, 2 and nowhere else, either in the Westcar papyrus or out of it; secondly, that the determinative  accords ill with the meaning "locks"[2]; and thirdly, that the determinative found in the passages 7, 5. 7 is left without explanation. It is evident to me that the hieratic sign transcribed is really the equivalent of , though the proof of this fact is a little roundabout. Möller cites no early equivalent of , though I think that the obscure sign in *Sinuhe* R 7[3] and another

[1] So, for example, ERMAN, *Die Literatur der Aegypter*, 70, 72.

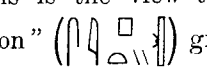
[2] This determinative may indicate a house, a room, or any object, like a box, which contains in the way that a house contains.

[3] The photograph is indistinct; see MÖLLER, *Hieratische Lesestücke*, I, 6.

rather different form in *Sinuhe* B 205 are examples from Twelfth Dynasty and rather later. From the Hyksos period, however, no instances are forthcoming unless it be the two in the Westcar papyrus here cited. Now we have proof that in hieroglyphic of the New Kingdom and are constantly confounded (*Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr.*, XLV, 127), and in my *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*, 152, I have quoted an autobiographical stela of about the reign of Tuthmosis III where  seems a pretty obvious quotation of *Sinuhe* R 2–3  "*He said: I was a follower who followed his lord, a servant of the royal harîm.*" The confusion of and must obviously be due to the similarity of these signs in hieratic, so that we may regard it as an acquired fact that before the reign of Tuthmosis III the hieratic forms of and looked very much alike. Now if the student will consult the *Carnarvon Tablet*, l. 1, dating from at latest the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty[1], he will there find  *nst* "throne" written with a sign almost identical with ; *nst* has a similar shape in *Sinuhe* B 207. In view of these coincidences, it is impossible to doubt that  and  have to be read in *Westcar* 7, 5. 7; in *Westcar* 9, 2  is merely an erroneous substitution for the rarer sign. Our translations of the passages in question have to be re-modelled accordingly.

Apart from the *Westcar* passages and the name "Southern Opet"  given to Luxor, the word *ỉpỉt* or *ỉpt* is almost always used in reference to the royal harîm as a locality; see *Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr.*, XLV, 127. It seems likely that the word signified properly a secret or privy chamber. Applying this rendering in 7, 5–8, we find that the delight of Cheops at the prospect of seeing Djedi was due to the fact that the latter "*knew the number of the secret chambers of the sanctuary of Thoth*," for Cheops himself "*had spent (much) time in searching for the secret chambers of the sanctuary of Thoth in order to make the like thereof for his horizon.*" And indeed, what ambition could have fired Cheops more than to possess in his own pyramid a replica of the mysterious chambers in the hoary sanctuary of the god of Wisdom? The temple of the Great Pyramid is utterly destroyed, but the inner chambers of the pyramid itself remain a marvel down to the present day. So much for the first passage; the second is a little more difficult to interpret. We have seen that the words  are most easily rendered "(*I know*) *the place where they are*," in which case, as the following question and answer reveal, the *ỉpwt* of the sanctuary of Thoth would be in a flint box in a room of the temple of Heliopolis. This view of the meaning is, of course, incompatible with the sense "secret chambers" which we now attribute to *ỉpwt*. Let us re-examine the passage afresh, attempting a different translation. Cheops asks whether Djedi knows the number of the secret chambers of the sanctuary of Thoth. Djedi replies: *So please thee, I know not the number thereof, O Sovereign my lord, but I know the place where it* (scil. the number or the knowledge of the number) *is*." He then proceeds to say that "*there is a box of flint in a room in Heliopolis called '(the room of) Revision'; in that box (the information will be found)*." According to this mode of understanding the passage, what was in the flint box is not the *ỉpwt*, the secret chambers

[1] *J.E.A.*, III, Pl. XII, between 96–7.

themselves, but a papyrus recording their number. Objectors to this view can make some capital out of the fact that the text has *bw nty* ***st*** *ỉm*, not *bw nty* ***sw*** *ỉm* with the masculine pronoun *sw* which would be expected if the reference were to *tnw* "the number." But possibly the vague neuter pronoun *st* "it" may refer, not to the specific word *tnw* "number," but to the required information generally. I admit there is some difficulty in taking this view, but an argument can now be adduced which makes it practically certain that this is the view to take. Insufficient weight has been attached to the name "Revision"  given to the room in which the flint box was to be found. Now *sỉpty* is the regular word employed for "taking stock" of the property of a temple, as Professor Erman himself has shown[1]. For this reason, surely, the room in question must have been an archive, not a storehouse of any kind. I conclude, therefore, that the word *ỉpwt* means "secret chambers," and that Cheops was seeking for details concerning the secret chambers of the primeval sanctuary of Thoth, in order that he might copy the same when building his pyramid.

[1] On 54 of his Commentary.

THE KLINE OF SARAPIS

By J. GRAFTON MILNE

In some of the invitations to dinner which have turned up among the papyri from Oxyrhynchos the guest is bidden εἰς τὴν κλίνην τοῦ κυρίου Σαράπιδος: and this has been taken as a reference to a cult-feast held for the devotees of the god. But such an explanation does not seem to account satisfactorily for all the details given concerning these feasts, and a more natural one may perhaps be found.

The invitations, of which fifteen from Oxyrhynchos and one from the Fayyûm have been published, are very brief, and in the simplest form contain only the name of the host and the time of the gathering, which is usually the ninth hour on the morrow. But particulars as to the place and circumstances are sometimes added, and the following catalogue tabulates such of these particulars as are found in the published texts, giving in each case what is specified in the invitation as to (*a*) place, (*b*) occasion, (*c*) description, of the festival, together with the date assigned to the document by the editors.

Reference	(*a*)	(*b*)	(*c*)	Date
P. Oxy. 110	Sarapeion	——	Kline of Sarapis	2nd cent.
P. Oxy. 111	own house	wedding of children	——	3rd cent.
P. Oxy. 523	house of Cl. Sarapion	——	Kline of Sarapis	2nd cent.
P. Oxy. 524	house of Ischyrion	wedding of children	——	2nd cent.
P. Oxy. 747	——	——	——	2nd/3rd cent.
P. Oxy. 926	own house	epikrisis	——	3rd cent.
P. Oxy. 927	——	wedding	——	3rd cent.
P. Oxy. 1214	——	birthday of son	——	5th cent.
P. Oxy. 1484	Thoereion	coming of age	Kline of Sarapis	2nd/3rd cent.
P. Oxy. 1485	Demetreion	——	——	2nd/3rd cent.
P. Oxy. 1486	——	wedding	——	4th cent.
P. Oxy. 1487	——	wedding of sister	——	4th cent.
P. Oxy. 1579	own house	wedding of daughter	——	3rd cent.
P. Oxy. 1580	——	wedding of sister	——	3rd cent.
P. Oxy. 1755	house of the Sarapeion	——	Kline of Sarapis	2nd/3rd cent.
P. Fay. 132	house of Titus	wedding of daughter	——	3rd cent.

It is noteworthy that, in each of the four cases where the kline of Sarapis is mentioned, its location differs: once it is in the temple of Sarapis, once in a house in the temple precinct (though these two might conceivably be the same, the description in the second being more detailed), once in the temple of Thoeris, and once in a private house: that is to say, the kline of Sarapis was not necessarily held in a temple of Sarapis, or in a temple at all. Guests were invited to it, but there is nothing to show that the invitation was given by an official of the kline. Also there is no suggestion that the proceedings at the kline of Sarapis were in any way designed to honour the god, and in one case it is specifically stated that the object of the meeting was to celebrate a coming of age. These facts seem to conflict with the theory that the gathering at the kline of Sarapis was a cult-feast, in the sense of a communion of worshippers with the god: it may be questioned whether any ancient

religious practice would have countenanced the use of a cult-feast for the celebration of a private interest, would have allowed the admission of participants except by authority of an official, or would have recognized a private house as a proper place for holding such a feast.

A clue to the real nature of the kline of Sarapis may perhaps be found in the statements of Philo (adv. Flaccum 1) that there were popular clubs at Alexandria, locally known as *σύνοδοι* and *κλῖναι*; and that the *σύνοδοι* met nominally for sacrifices, really for drinking. It is true that Philo may be regarded as a somewhat biassed witness: but mentions of synodoi are not infrequent in Graeco-Egyptian records, and, so far as these records show, his description of the objects of these associations is not without justification: for instance, there is a list of jars of wine contributed by members of the synodos of Amenothes at Thebes, sometime in the second century A.D., preserved on an ostrakon (Theb. Ost., 142), from which it appears that in less than two months twenty-three jars were received, presumably for joint consumption at the meetings. Rather more detail as to the management of such clubs is given by an account dating from the end of the second century B.C. (P. Tebt. 118): this mentions that one feast was attended by eighteen members and four guests (this evidence as to the admission of guests should be noted) who paid 100 drachmas a head, while 2000 drachmas were spent on wine and 190 on bread: for two other feasts twenty-three and twenty-one people paid at the same rate, and the expenses on each occasion were 2000 drachmas for wine and 120 for garlands. A similar account of the same period (P. Tebt. 224) shows contributions of 105 drachmas a head, with payments of 2000 for wine and 40 for bread. The drachmas quoted were copper drachmas, so that the feasts were not expensive—the contribution was about a day's wage for an agricultural labourer—but the fare suggests a comparison with Falstaff's "a halfpennyworth of bread" and "an intolerable deal of sack."

There are some indications in the records that in Ptolemaic times certain synodoi and kindred societies did concern themselves on occasion with collective acts of worship: but evidence of a similar kind is lacking for the period after the Roman conquest, and it seems probable that under the Roman Empire the connection of these bodies with religion or gods was in no case more than nominal[1]. It can hardly be argued that the dedication of a statue or the repair of a temple by members of a synodos implies that the society had a religious character, and this, apart from the titles of the bodies, is the only way in which they are mentioned in association with anything relating to the gods. If, following the statement of Philo, the klinai may be classed with the better-known synodoi, there seems to be no warrant for assuming that the kline of Sarapis at Oxyrhynchos consisted of a body of devotees who met for the purpose of a feast of communion with the god.

There is, however, a provision in the Gnomon of the Idiologos (§ 88) which appears at first sight to bring the klinai into a closer relation with the temple organization than is indicated by other records. It is laid down that *τῶν ἐκ κλίνης ἱερῶν προφῆται οὐ γεύονται ἀλλὰ παστοφόροι*. But in fact this rule supplies strong evidence against the attribution of a mystic sanctity to the klinai: the fully-qualified priests were forbidden to partake of the offerings at the kline, while lay-brothers might do so. If this distinction is compared with others between the two classes of the temple-staffs—for instance, the regulation which forbade priests to engage in any trade, but allowed it to the pastophoroi and lower classes

[1] See the evidence collected in Otto, *Priester und Tempel*, I, 125–133 (Die ägyptischen Kultvereine) and 165–170 (Die griechischen Kultvereine), and in San Nicolò, *Ägyptisches Vereinswesen*, I, 11–29.

of the lay-brothers—it seems clear that the kline was ranked among the secular things in which it was unlawful for the priest to have any concern. Such a rule would hardly have been conceivable if the purpose of the kline had been communion-feasts: the practice of all religious systems goes to show that, when there is any reservation of offerings in connection with a communion ritual, it is in favour of the priests, not of the laity.

Another apparent link between synodoi and religious observances may be found in the fact that in one or two cases a priest is named among the officials of a synodos (e.g. *B.G.U.* 1137). But in the Roman period he nowhere occurs as exercising sacred functions: and it may be suggested that the existence of a titular priest would be an aid in keeping up the fiction that sacrifices were the reason for the meetings of a society—a fiction which, as will be seen below, might be expected to have some legal advantages in the dealings of the members with the Roman government—but that in most cases, if not all, the priesthood was a sinecure.

As regards the great majority of the klinai or synodoi known under the Roman rule in Egypt, the only trace of connection with any religious idea is in the use of the name of a god as the eponym of the society. An explanation of the meaning of this may be found in the statement of Aristides (XLV, 27) that men make Sarapis their companion at feasts, *προϊστάμενοι δαιτύμονα αὐτὸν καὶ ἑστιάτορα*. There is no suggestion here of any mystic communion with the deity: the whole tone of the passage is purely secular, regarding Sarapis in the character of a master of the feast: and, as it may be taken as certain that, if Aristides had been aware of any underlying religious conceptions in these associations, he would have emphasized this point in his panegyric of Sarapis, it seems evident that to him Sarapis was only the patron of the society named after him; and probably the honours accorded to Sarapis were those which generally fall to the lot of patrons of similar societies—honours not of a distinctively religious nature.

It is not intended to maintain here that the cult of Sarapis did not at times develop esoteric ideas of communion with the god, though it would be more likely to find such developments in foreign centres of Sarapis worship than in Egypt: the present point is that the evidence as to Egyptian klinai and synodoi shows that they were in actual practice secular, not religious; and further that the facts known concerning the kline of Sarapis at Oxyrhynchos are more simply explained by taking it to have been a dining-club than by regarding it as a gathering for worship. There is nothing strange in a dining-club meeting alternatively in public institutions or in private houses: it would be natural for a member to use it for the purpose of celebrating family events: and, as seen above, guests might be invited to it by members.

The constitution and nomenclature of the kline of Sarapis may have been affected by the circumstances of the moment. The Oxyrhynchos invitations are not exactly dated, but the editors assign the four in which the kline is mentioned to the second or second/third century—that is, they are contemporary with or a little later than Aristides. If the kline of Sarapis was the leading dining-club at Oxyrhynchos in the middle of the second century, and similar clubs were flourishing in other Egyptian cities, Aristides may well have known of them and have referred to them in the remarks quoted above. Now at this period there might have been certain advantages to a dining-club in attaching itself nominally to a god. Clubs generally were regarded unfavourably by the Roman authorities, and the synodoi at Alexandria were suppressed by the prefect in the reign of Tiberius (Philo, adv. Flacc. 1): while the Gnomon of the Idiologos, the extant copy of which was compiled just about the

time under consideration, states (§ 108) that fines were inflicted on members of synodoi or at any rate on their officials. If a club could cloak its illegal social activities under the name of a god, it might hope to escape the animadversion of the government: and, as suggested above, the existence of a priest among the officials of the club and the pretext of offering sacrifices might be intended to add verisimilitude to the name. But the fact that the decision quoted above was given by the Idiologos, the supreme controller of all matters connected with religion in Egypt, indicates that the cloak had been worn threadbare and offered little protection. After the middle of the third century, however, the grip of the government on clubs was somewhat relaxed: and about this time the kline of Sarapis disappears from the invitations.

The meetings of the kline of Sarapis in temples, though they have no religious significance, suggest another point for consideration. The list given above shows, besides two invitations to the kline of Sarapis in the temples of Sarapis and Thoeris respectively, one to a feast in the temple of Demeter, without the specification of any kline or society. It would appear probable that temples in Egyptian towns might include the maintenance of public restaurants among their activities: that the temple of Sarapis at Arsinoe had a ζυτοπωλεῖον is shown by an entry in a list of assessments to water-rates (P. Lond. 1177 of 113 A.D.): and, if the assessments were made on the consumption of water, the bar of the Sarapeion must have been fairly busy, as it paid 13 obols daily, while a bath only paid 18. If a temple could run a bar, it could equally well run a restaurant, which might incidentally furnish a profitable use for surplus offerings in kind or the produce of estates in the cases where temples held landed property. A building in the precinct of the temple of Pnepheros and Petesouchos at Karanis is described by the inscription on its portal as a δειπνητήριον (GRENFELL-HUNT-HOGARTH, *Fayûm Towns*, 33), which may reasonably be taken to mean a public restaurant. And it may be suggested that the οἶκος of the Sarapeion mentioned as the place for the dinner in one of the Oxyrhynchos invitations was a similar building in the temple precinct which served as a restaurant. The rule in the Gnomon (§ 88) quoted above, which restricted participation in the offerings of the klinai to the lay-brothers, would acquire additional meaning if the klinai commonly met in temple-restaurants, which would have to be served by the lay-brothers, since the priests would clearly be debarred from taking any share in the management by the injunction which prohibited them from engaging in any business.

In view of the foregoing considerations, there seems reason to think that the invitations to the kline of Sarapis at Oxyrhynchos were invitations to a club-dinner, which on three of the four known occasions was held at a public restaurant, once at a private house.

Note. Inscriptions, probably of the fifth century, from Philae (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, VI, 314 quoted by WILCKEN, *Arch. Pap.*, I, 413) and from Talmis (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, VI, 378 quoted and interpreted *ibid.*, 417) mention κλίναρχοι, apparently of various grades, and σύνοδοι. But even if these inscriptions threw any light on the constitutions or functions of the persons named—which they do not, the Philae text merely giving a title and the Talmis one apparently prescribing some division of presents—they could hardly be used as evidence for the nature of societies which had existed three centuries earlier in a distant part of the Nile valley under another rule and in a totally different stage of civilization.

THE TOMB OF TETAKY AT THEBES (No. 15)

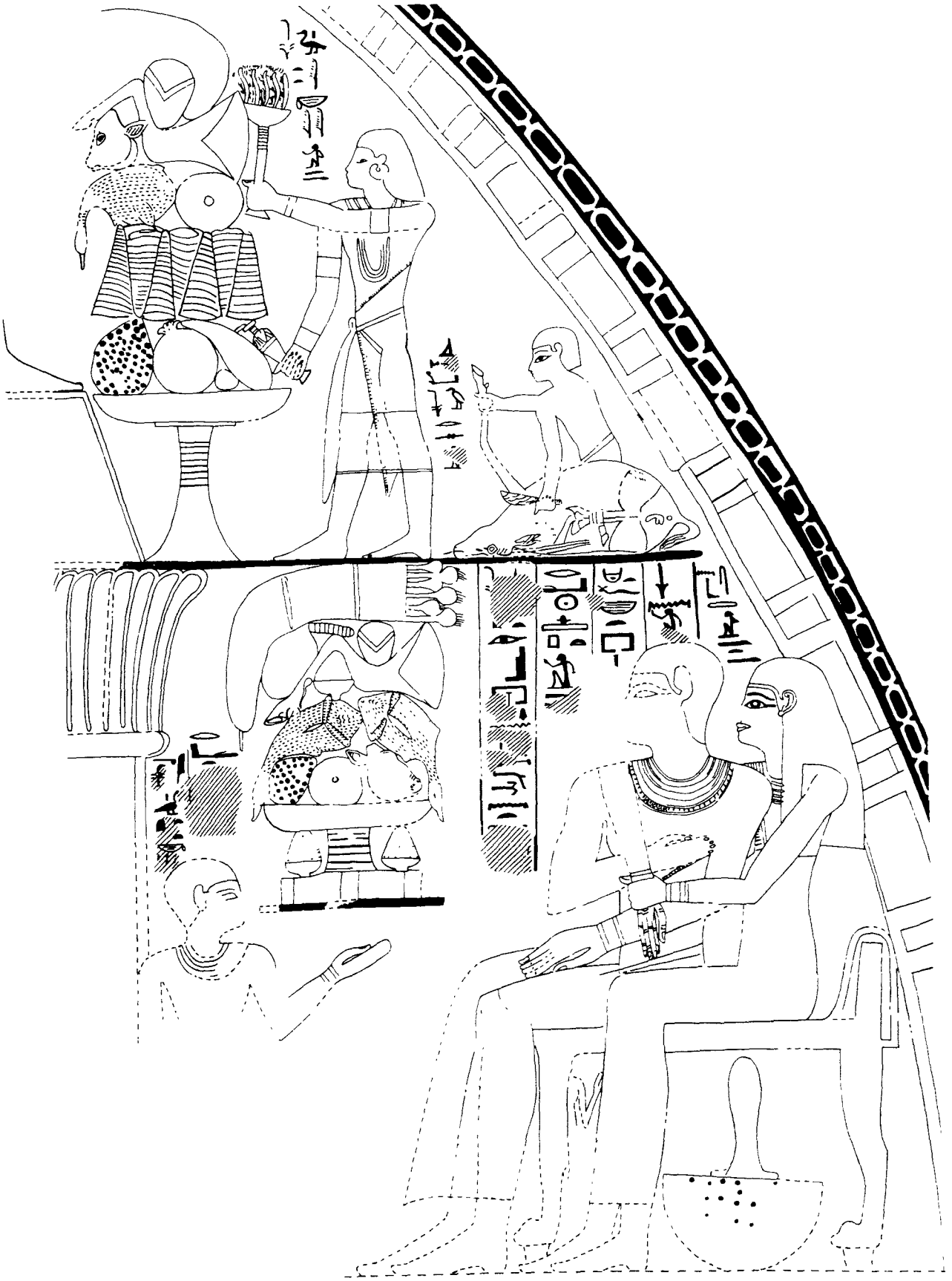
By N. de GARIS DAVIES

With Plates II—V.

One of the early pieces of excavation done by Lord Carnarvon at Thebes before he was joined by Dr. Carter was the clearance, in the spring of 1908, of the tomb of Tetaky. It lies at the east end of the dromos of Hatshepsut as one turns out of it to skirt the hillside on which the village of Dirâʿ Abu'l-Nagâ lies, and just behind the mosque which has been built at the corner. Dr. Carter subsequently did work in the tomb and made himself responsible for its publication and plan, taking also the admirable photographs which appear in the memoir[1]. I think that I am safe in saying, however, that the record would have been more satisfactory than it is, had he joined Lord Carnarvon at the outset; for the latter, with his characteristic frankness, was wont, not to conceal, but rather to exaggerate, the lack of qualification with which he commenced his very successful career at Thebes. He had, however, the help of M. Legrain and of Professor Newberry when he needed it. Owing to a misunderstanding at the moment of transfer of the tomb to the charge of the Department of Antiquities, the tomb was left without due protection for a while, and in the interval the natives commenced, or continued, their nefarious work of cutting out attractive pieces from the walls.

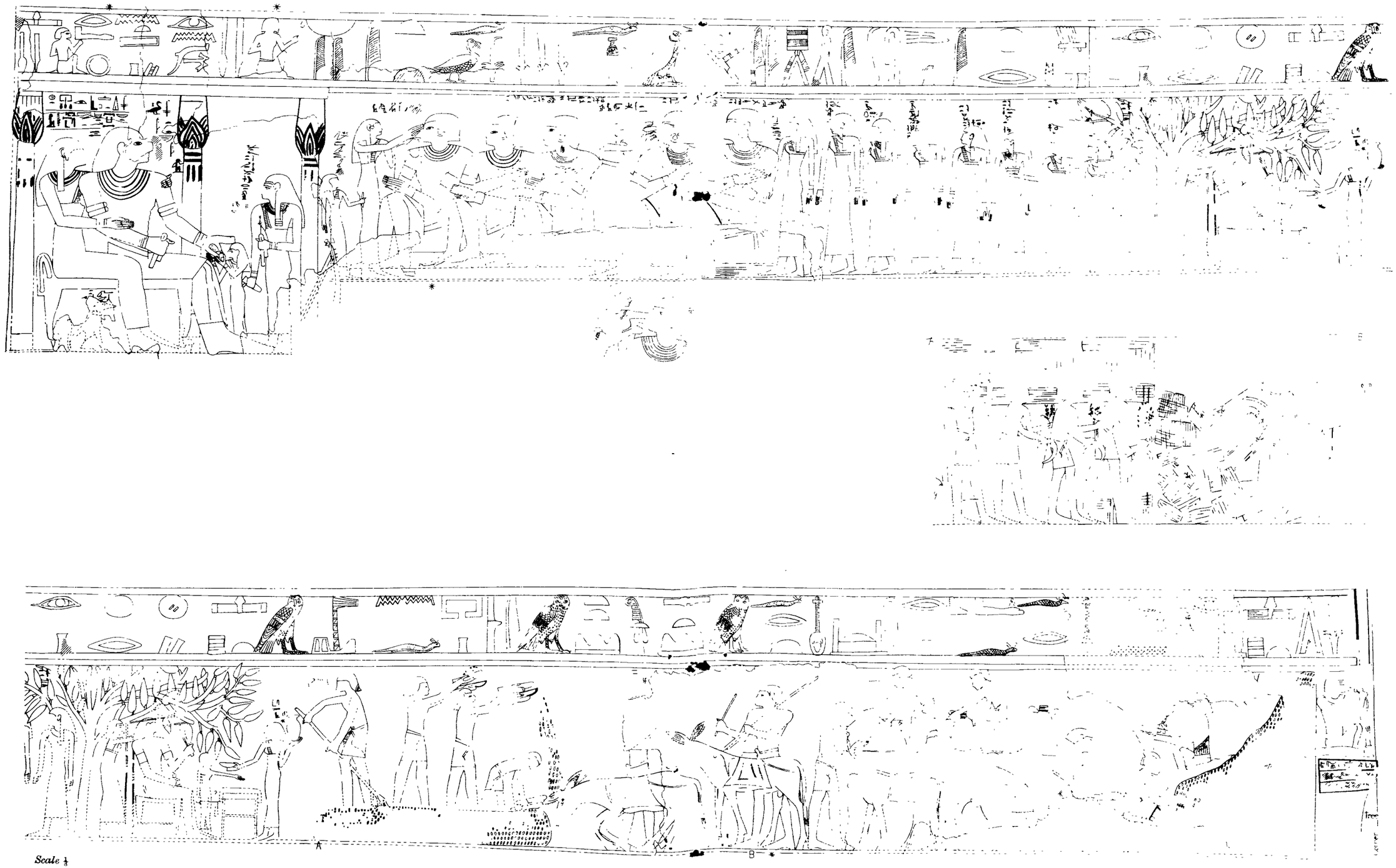
Disbelieving the current report that the tomb was as good as destroyed, I had long desired to make fuller record of a tomb to which its early date and peculiar features gave exceptional interest. When, therefore, at the beginning of this year (1924) Professor Newberry re-opened it to verify a point of importance, he kindly gave me the opportunity of making copies in it before it was closed again. This I did, though hard pressed for time, and also arranged that Mr. C. K. Wilkinson should paint a section of the ceiling for the Metropolitan Museum of New York. Instead of the tomb being closed, however, Mr. Robert Mond, who was beginning excavation work at Thebes, was good enough to add to his other labours an attempt to complete its clearance; for Lord Carnarvon had been obliged to leave the ground untouched behind and to the east of the painted chamber, owing to the obstructions which presented themselves. Although Mr. Mond's task was carried on under the superintendence of Mr. Oscar Durham during the whole time of his stay, and indeed after he left, the results were very disappointing; the main queries as to the form of the tomb and its courtyard being left unsolved, owing to the enormous mounds of dust, surmounted by native dwellings, which stand high above the chamber. Nevertheless, something was accomplished towards the settlement of the plan, further interesting relics of the sepulchral deposits were found, and the tomb was put in as good a state of repair and accessibility as was found possible. As I saw a great deal of the work and am permitted by Mr. Mond to make use of all the information available, I propose here to add to the valuable descriptions and photographs already given line-drawings of most of the scenes and a statement as to the further light thrown on the tomb, and can only regret that the account cannot be complete. The records are valuable, not intrinsically, for the scenes are

[1] Carter and Carnarvon, *Five Years Explorations at Thebes*, 1–4, 12–21, Pls. I—XII.



Scale ¼

Tomb of Tetaky. West Wall.



Scale $\frac{1}{8}$

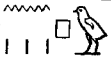
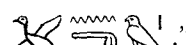
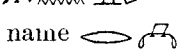
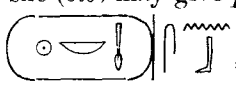
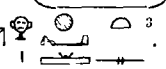
Tomb of Tetaky. North Wall: Upper Scene.

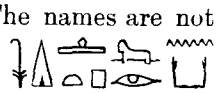
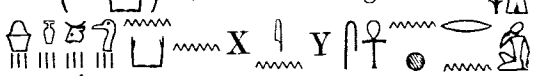
dull enough, but because so few monuments of that period exist at Thebes or elsewhere that this poor witness to the process by which the Middle Kingdom merged into the New cannot be disregarded. The present article may contribute a necessary paragraph to the short chapter in the history of Egypt dealing with this transition period.

If the mural paintings add nothing of beauty, and little that is material, to the artistic products of Thebes, this cannot be said for the sepulchre and its surroundings: for these are unique in form, so far as I know. The foot of the hill cannot be far to the rear of the painted chamber, but, so far, we have no sign of the rock having been utilized to shelter any part of the tomb, as is almost invariably the case at Thebes. The evidence at present is in favour of its having consisted of a single vaulted chamber about 18 feet long, built in very solid brick-work, and running east and west. It was entered by an arched doorway in the end wall (east), but has two other entrances, or exits, in the side walls, which, having to lie below the spring of the vault, are necessarily very low and narrow. Till this season one entered by the south doorway, the eastern one being supposed to lead up to a side room, and the back one to open into the usual longitudinal chamber in the hillside. In trying to penetrate the latter, Mr. Durham had the task of Sisyphus: after weeks of work he had only penetrated a few inches, but this advance convinced him that this archway too led into an open court, and not into a further chamber. I think this likely, as the southern postern can scarcely be the true entrance. Thus we have a free-standing building, set, like its smaller neighbours, within a walled courtyard. Of course it may only be a supplementary chapel to a main tomb, cut in the rock as usual. As the hillside, and with it the vaulted chamber, runs east and west instead of north and south, as the mountains of the Nile valley should, the entrance was placed at the east end to keep the old tradition. Originally there seems to have been no means of closing any of the three doors, but later on, when rubbish had accumulated round the tomb, this was changed by the addition of a vaulted passage which sloped down to the eastern doorway from a higher level. The low temenos wall on the east seems to cross this passage, and the slope was perhaps provided in order to clear it, there being some objection to cutting through it. Tetaky (himself, perhaps, a guest in his father's burial precinct) seems to have admitted two or three other relations to the shelter of his courtyard, only demanding that his right of way should remain clear from the southern postern to the space in which his burial shaft lay. Two (?) tiny vaulted chambers were built by these guests on either side of the axis of the court, each enclosed narrowly in a space bounded by a low wall with a rounded coping like that of the main enclosure[1]. A still smaller chamber has also been built against the south wall of the western tomb. Where the entrance to the two separate courtyards lay is not yet clear. The main court is surrounded by a low wall, two or three feet high and rounded at the top. It spreads out on the east, where the published plan shows an entrance, but there are doubts about the direction of the section north of this; it is more likely to be parallel to the west boundary wall.

The courtyard contains other unusual features. The pit has a splayed shape as if to correspond to the form of the court. Its upper part, where the rock is poor, is lined with brick, now level with the ground. There is no sign in the lip of the brickwork or the adjacent ground of the emplacement of the model sarcophagi which Dr. Carter notes. Nor

[1] Only the eastern chapel is proved. It is entered from the east; not from the west, as one would infer from the plan. Mr. Winlock, on a hasty visit to the site, got the impression that the room was a Ptolemaic construction, but admits indecision. Certainly a different brick and mortar were used.

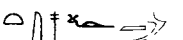
has he made it clear whether the burial-cave at the bottom was entered, or on which side it lay (if there was only one). The little vaulted shrine in the wall opposite the southern end of the pit is unparalleled. If it lay over a burial-cave, it may have served for the cult of the person interred there, perhaps Rahotpé, father of Apuki; for he was superintendent of the garden of Amūn, and it must, I think, be he whom one sees plucking grapes in the extraordinarily diagrammatical picture of a vineyard which occupies the east wall[1]. Again one would like to know whether a burial-place opened out of the shaft on the west side, since. opposite the middle of it, four nests were left in the thickened brick-work of the western wall of the temenos. Mr. Durham, on exploring these, was astonished to find several more of the model wooden and pottery sarcophagi lying there, and, as the floor of the most northern of the nests rang hollow, he broke through it and found another batch, netting about fourteen in all. There was also found in the debris half of a stela about 18 inches high of extraordinary shape, in that its section instead of being in a straight line forms an obtuse angle, like the sign , as if made specially to fit on to the angle of a wall that splays out. A hole is drilled through at the top to take one of two wooden pegs by which it might be affixed to the wall. The angle of the temenos wall at the eastern entrance is the only place I can suggest for it, but the low height of the wall renders this unlikely. It shows Tetaky making an offering to some deity. Behind him is a woman (a second wife ?), "Tetanofret, son (*sic*) [of] ." A little boy behind him touching his shoulder is "Tetanūfer, son (of) ." Over his head are three men, "Tetanūfer. son of ," "Teta'n, son (of) ...," and "Teta'n, son (of) ." Below are four unnamed women, and on the thickness of the stone is the name . In a pit to the east of the painted chamber, just within or just outside the temenos, Mr. Durham found a badly damaged *rîshî* coffin, having a hawk with outspread wings and a uraeus depicted on the breast, and down the centre a *hotep dy nisut* prayer to "Ptah-Sokar (and) Osiris.....that she (*sic*) may give *pert-kheru* offerings to the *ka* of the *wēb*-priest of Amūn (and) of King [2]." In the same pit were two wooden canopic jars of a lady [3].

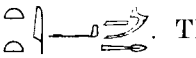
The model sarcophagi are generally painted white with yellow or green cross-bands, and both they and the enclosed figures are inscribed with texts in black. The names are not always to be read with certainty. The model text in its simplest form is   (or ) X, and, in a longer form,  . The examples found by Mr. Durham comprise:

[1] CARTER and CARNARVON, Pl. III. The ceiling might afford a parallel to that in the shrine of Tomb 39 (DAVIES, *Tomb of Puyemrê*, II, 31), but there does not appear to be room for the false doors. I do not understand Dr. Carter's statement that this treatment of the ceiling is often seen at Thebes; it is only met with again, I think, in Tomb 81.

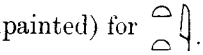
[2] *Cf.* LIEBLEIN, *Dictionnaire*, Nos. 434, 460.

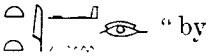
[3] The birds in both texts are without legs. Other *rîshî* coffins were found in the vicinity by Lord Carnarvon (CARTER and CARNARVON, 17).

1. The coffin[1] for . The figure for .

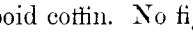
2. The coffin for . The figure for . On the face of the coffin is .

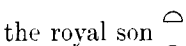
3. The coffin for . The figure for .

4. The coffin (unpainted) for  by . The figure is without text.

5. The coffin for  "by his brother who gives life to his name ." The figure for by .

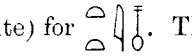
6. Rough anthropoid coffin. No figure or text.

7. Pottery coffin with figure moulded on lid. Two figures: (*a*) for , (*b*) for by the royal son .

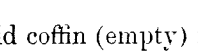
8. Anthropoid coffin for  by his brother . On the end of the coffin is .

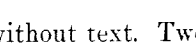
9. The coffin (white) for . The figure for . On the face of the coffin is .

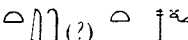
10. The coffin for by . The figure for . On the right of the coffin is .

11. An anthropoid coffin (empty) for .

12. The coffin is without text. Two figures: (*a*) for , (*b*) for .

13. The coffin for . The figure for .

14. A pottery coffin (empty) for .

15. A rough wooden coffin without text. The figure[2] for  "born of the housemistress by his brother who gives life to his name ."

More than half of these come from the northern nest. Nos. 8 to 15 are in Cairo, the rest in Liverpool.

[1] On the lid of the coffin is a head and collar with its hair covered by the entire skin of a bird, save that its head is replaced by that of the man (or woman).

[2] Painted white and of a different type, though with similar text. I suspect that it may not come from Tomb 15, but Mosé may be for Tetamosé (p. 16).

EAST WALL. (Plate II: CARTER and CARNARVON, Plate VI.)

In the lunette over the doorway the flying disk ("He of Edfu, the great god, lord of heaven") is seen, its wings drooping to the curve of the vault. Beneath this were two parallel scenes, showing members of the royal family worshipping the cow of Hathor; that on the right, however, is almost destroyed. The extant scene shows "the daughter of a king, sister of a king, wife of a king, wife of the god, Nofretari, living for ever" clad in simple woman's dress, but wearing as well a broad circlet of gold open-work with a double row of uraei and two more hanging from the brow. She is censing and libating offerings set in a blue bowl which seems made in the shape of a Hathor-head; but the state of the wall makes this very questionable. The offerings, whatever they are, are in flames; so the libation is merely a feint. The cow, "darling of Hathor, lady of Denderah," is not Hathor herself, apparently, but under her protection and to an undefined degree instinct with her personality, and as such has the *menat* hung round her neck and the sun-disc planted between her horns, in representation at least. She is white, with ruddy grey spots. The queen, who is of a light yellow complexion, is followed by a lady "her nurse, Tetahemet," and apparently also by a male attendant, no doubt one also of Tetaky's house[1]. Tetahemet brings to the sacrifice a loaf and a bird (?).

In the corresponding scene the cow, "the darling of Hathor" again appears; but the fragments of text, though indicating relationship to the king in both generations, do not enable us to say if a princess, or the queen again, is depicted, or quite exclude the possibility of a male member of the royal house[2]. The servants who assist at this act of worship are shown below on each side of the arched entrance. Men and women bring bottle-shaped jars set in baskets, either in pairs or in larger groups. The fragments below this will be noted in connection with the side walls.

WEST WALL. (Plate III: CARTER and CARNARVON, Plate VI, 2.)

The field above the painted stela is occupied by two figures of Osiris enthroned, placed back to back and worshipped by Tetaky. The designs are almost replicas; but, while the right-hand figure is labelled "Osiris, head of the west," on the left he is "Osiris, lord of Dadu[3]." On the right Tetaky censes the offerings by means of a blazing brazier and libates them from a vase. "The warrior, Sures," who slaughters an oryx or straight-horned ox by means of a knife of alabaster, chert, or rippled flint, may be a son, or son-in-law, of Tetaky[4]. On the left like functions are performed before two superimposed tables of offerings, which have the clumsy forms and details of the decadent Middle Kingdom rather than of the New. The officiant here is "the royal son, Tetanufer"; but this is a substitute for some other "royal son," perhaps Tetäemrē.

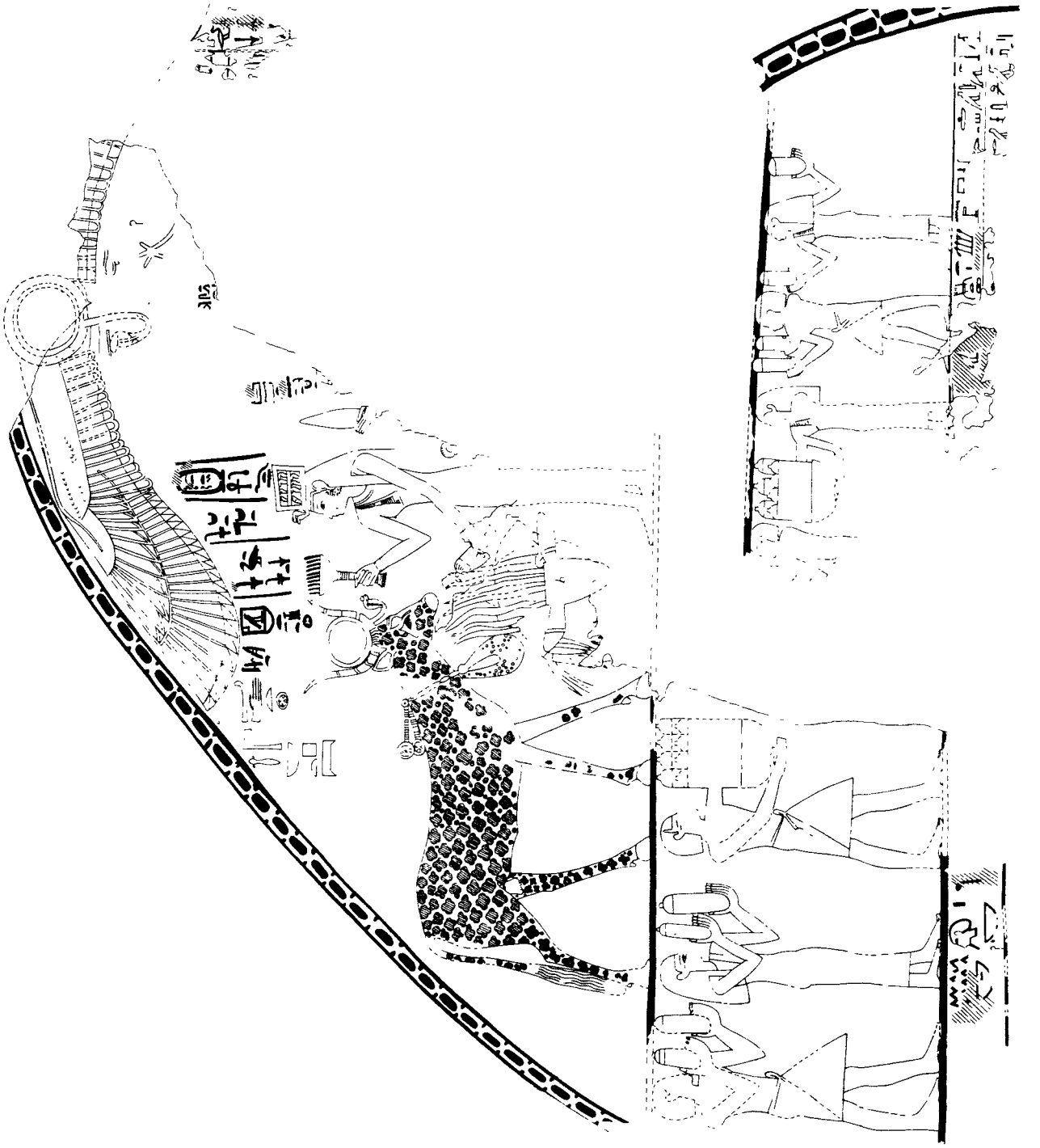
The stela is a painted one and perhaps once contained a text in black on a red ground, but only a corner of it remains. On both sides there are scenes of ritual offerings to

[1] For Tetahemet see Newberry in CARTER and CARNARVON, 16, 21. From this we learn that there was a grand-daughter of Tetaky of this name by his son Tetaʿnkh; but, as a nurse would be a woman superior in age to the queen, we may suppose that there was a sister, or older relation, of Tetaky of the same name from whom his grand-daughter took her's.

[2] "Satkamosé" suits the very shadowy remains best, if the second column contains the royal name.

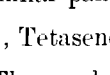
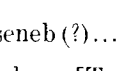
[3] The vertical line of text (CARTER and CARNARVON, 18) should end in .

[4] *Cf.* p. 15, where perhaps we should read the same name.



Tomb of Tetaky. East Wall.

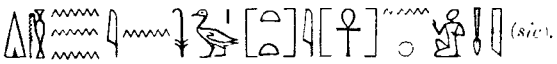
members of the family of Tetaky. On the right his parents are seated, as the text informs us. "A ritual offering to Osiris, *pert-kherw* gifts for the *ka* of the superintendent of the pleasure-grounds, Rahotpé. His wife, the house-mistress, Senseneb." A child at her mother's knee seems to have been part of the original design. A mirror in its decorated case lies under the chair. Facing them is "the royal son, [Tetaky], presenting [the ritual offering]." Under the table of offering are red bowls filled with brown grains; another such is seen among the offerings.

The similar pair on the left of the stela is named "the superintendent of the treasurers (), Tetaseneb(?)...(and) his wife Itha ()." To the right of them is written "The royal son, [Tet]a[ʿ]nkh, presents a libation"[1], and the picture accordingly shows him pouring water from a *hes* vase into a yellow stemmed bowl and reciting the formula. A mirror with ebony handle in a case of chequered mat-work is again seen under the lady's chair. We should expect this pair to be the parents of Tetaky's wife Seneb, ministered to by her son; but, unless the Teta- names ran in both families, it is more likely to be a dead son or the brother of Tetaky with his wife.

NORTH WALL. (Plate IV[2]: CARTER and CARNARVON, Plate V.)

A horizontal line of text in large and detailed, but degraded, hieroglyphs runs over the scenes: "A ritual offering to Osiris Onnefer, that he may give fair burial in the western hills in his necropolis-chapel, in complete reconciliation with Osiris and fealty towards Imsety, Hapi, Duamutef, and Ḳebḥsenuf—the royal son, Tetaky, begotten of the superintendent of the pleasure-grounds, Rahotpé."

This wall, unlike the opposite one, is divided, much like the north wall of Antefoḳer, into two subjects by the little arched doorway which leads into the northern court(?). On the right a social meal in the presence of the dead is in progress, announced by a little additional superscription on the extreme left: "A ritual offering to Osiris, a *pert-kherw* gift of various things to the *ka* of his wife, the house-mistress Seneb[3]." Tetaky and his wife sit on chairs in a little pavilion, the roof of which is supported on three papyrus columns. Tetaky is receiving fruit(?) from a little (grand?)-daughter at his knee[4] whose parentage is illegible, and from an elder girl "his (grand?)-daughter Tetanofret, daughter of Suret." A dog named Aja...("Scamp"?), the muzzle of which only remains, is below the lady's chair. Facing the pair in two rows are groups of seated men, each followed by a series of standing women. The former are ministered to by serving girls, and a child, whose name is in doubt (perhaps *P3ʿ3irw*), holds out an undefined object. An older woman's identification is similarly at fault (...*šry*). She appears to have come with a spittoon to the aid of the foremost guest who has taken more drink than is good for him, and this interpretation is supported by the only surviving fragment (a fallen one) of the lower series, the design of which is more unmistakable. This unmannerly person is named [Teta]ʿn son of Tetaseneb[5].

[1]  (*sic*).

[2] Parts now lost and supplied from Dr. Carter's photographs are marked by an asterisk in the plate.

[3] This special claim of the wife to participation in the rite is very unusual, and perhaps reflects the greater independence of women in the matter of burial under the Middle Kingdom.

[4] "Teta...," according to Legrain (in CARTER and CARNARVON, 15).

[5] This name, recorded by Legrain, has been omitted from my plate.

His companions are Tetamosé, son of Tetaᶜnkh; Tetaᶜn, son of Tetaᶜnkh; Tetaᶜn (?), son of [Tet]ares[1] (ministered to by Ten, daughter of Met); and Tetares, son of Res. The daughters (or grand-daughters) are named Sebekhotpé; Atef; Tata (?); Tawebayt (?); Tetahemet, daughter of Tetaᶜnkh; Tetanofret, daughter of Tetaneḥeḥ (?); Ta[ta, daughter of Teta]ᶜnkh,...; and Tetaᶜn. Such of the lower scene as can be detected through the overlay shows on the left a pile of large vases which apparently lie in a magazine, as two doors are visible to the right of them[2]. Outside the lower door is a woman facing right. Possibly she is serving a row of ladies.

Over the northern doorway a crudely drawn tree with enormous leaves marks the division between the scenes facing left and right. Under its shade the deceased sits in an arbour with his wife or a serving-girl standing behind him, and a little daughter at his knee. Facing this group, on the other side of a table is a woman, Senebwer (?), who brings a wine-jar and saucer. The man is surveying in comfort field-work, the only purely mundane scene found in the tomb, so far as one can see. Only the last operations are shown in this register. First are seen men (?) and girls on the winnowing floor; then the loaded asses fetching the grain away in sacks, the mouths of which are tightly tied. The foremost ass is in the act of sinking on its knees rather than accept its load[3]. Men remove the sacks and carry them before a scribe, where they are registered before being emptied on a great heap. The curious dress of this registrar is noteworthy. One Aḥmosé, "scribe in the *gs* house (?)," sits on the right in perfect confidence in the acceptability of his report. The scene must have continued on the left side of the east doorway (Plate II), as a tree extends over the turn of the wall. Beyond this apparently were a woman and at least two men presenting reports or first-fruits to a man seated on the right. The descriptive text above is too mutilated to be of use. By carefully scraping off the whitewash from the scene below the winnowers, I was able to recover the main features. The one legible episode (Plate IV) is not quite on ordinary lines. On the left three men cut the standing corn, another slakes his thirst, and perhaps a woman is gleaning behind him. Bound bundles of corn are shown at their feet and above their heads. Two men have brought a pannier of such bundles and empty it in a heap at the end of the field. Beyond this there may be women working in a field of flax.

SOUTH WALL. (Plate V; CARTER and CARNARVON, Plates VII—IX.)

The horizontal line of text reads:—

"A ritual offering to Osiris, head of the west, and to Anubis, head of the divine shrine, chief of his hill, and inhabitant of Ut; that they may give *pert-kheru* gifts for the *ka* of the royal son Tetaky, born of the house-mistress Senseneb."

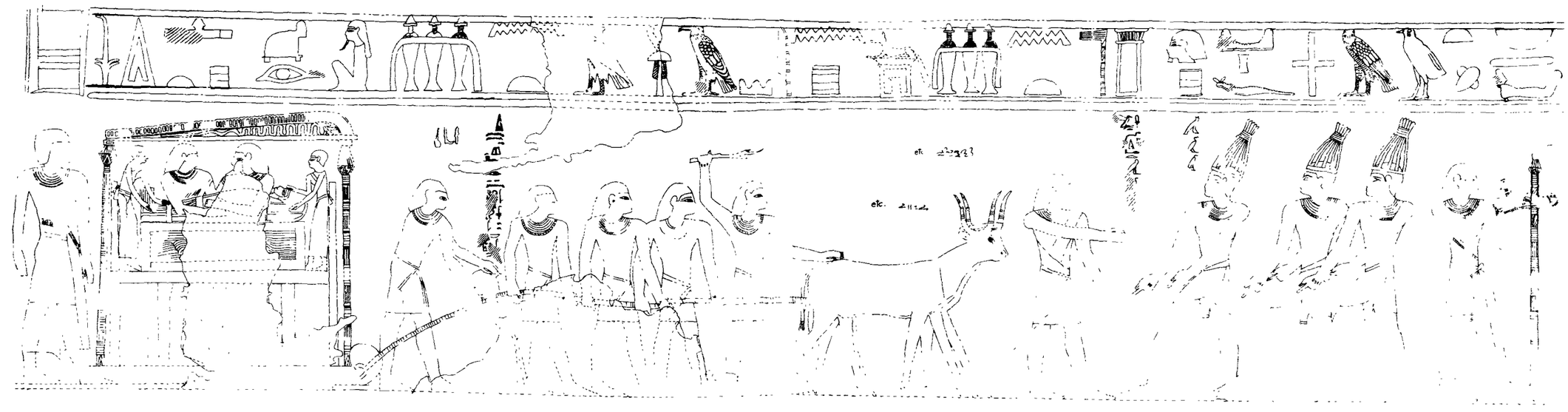
This wall (the left on entering by the east doorway) shows the burial ceremonial; for this strange vault seems to be treated as a passage to a burial-chamber, as in the tombs of Sehotepabrē[4] and Antefoḳer of the Middle Kingdom. The scene evidently commenced on

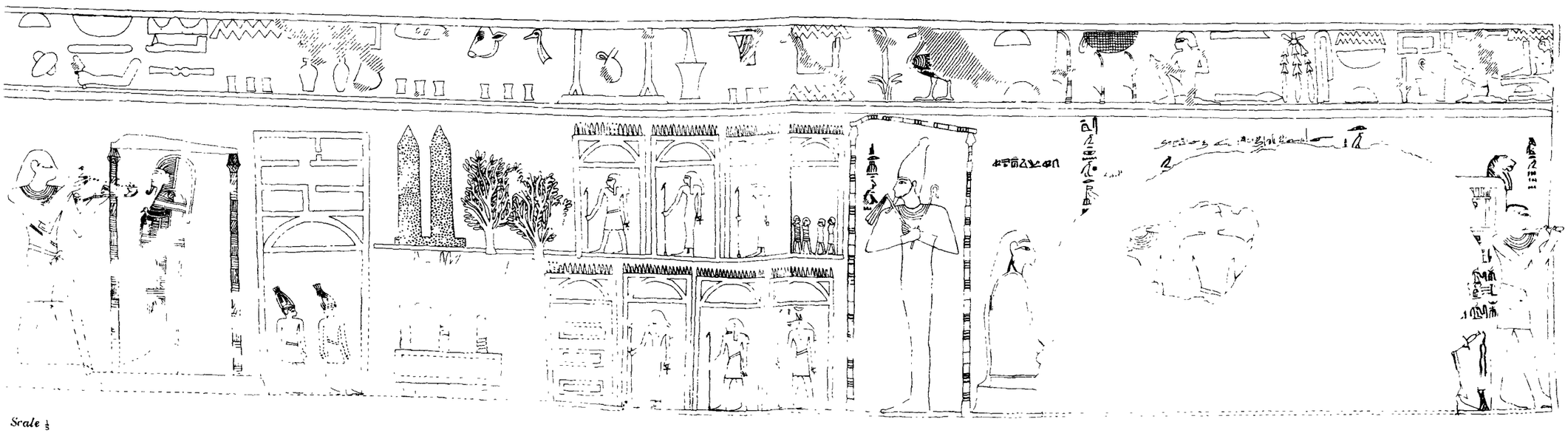
[1] The length of the lacuna, however, demands the addition of "royal son," or some other title.

[2] If the pavilion is on the same base-line, it must be set on a high dais, but this does not seem to be the case. Perhaps the whole height of the wall comprises a single scene in three registers.

[3] The artist of the Ramesside tomb No. 16, not far away, seems to me, from the style, to have come to No. 15, or some similar tomb, for his scene of agriculture, where the obdurate animal is again found (WRESZINSKI, *Atlas*, 61, 72, 112).

[4] QUIBELL, *Ramesseum*, Pls. VI—IX; DAVIES, *Tomb of Antefoḳer*, Pl. II.





Scale $\frac{1}{8}$

Tomb of Tetaky. South Wall: Upper Scene.

the east wall, where we read (Plate II) "The approach, at peace (with the gods), to the necropolis-chapel, the reception (by the dead) of food..., and the haulage by (?) the companions (*smrw* ?)...." Probably only the companions who follow the bier were here represented, the first of whom appears on the left of the scene (Plate V). In front of him is seen the rectangular chest, under a canopy and mounted on a trestle, the anthropoid inner coffin (of the *rîshî*, or feathered type) being displayed above it. Two priests support it, and women representing the two sisters of Osiris are shown in effigy, or merely in symbol, at the head and foot. Each of these is named "the elder *zeryt*." The right-hand man is "the treasurer of the god,..."; the office of the other I could not decipher. The whole is mounted on runners and drawn by a yoke of cattle, and by three representatives of the sacred towns[1]. A man empties water from a jar in front of the sled: "casting water under the [sled ?] and milk (?) for the *amakhy*, the royal son, Tetaky[2]." In front of the team a priest walks whom the draughtsman seems, in a moment of aberration, to have thought of as sowing seed before a ploughing team. Over him is written "The leader (*ḫrp* ?) of the people. Recitative: 'I extend my hand toward the *muu* (dancers).'" Three of these performers are accordingly shown meeting the cortège in the usual dress and with the customary gestures.

Next we see the inner coffin set up on a hillock of pure sand under a canopy. The hawk with extended wings which was figured on the front of the coffin is here, for clearness' sake, shown as if it were carved in high relief instead of being lightly moulded in the gilded wood or stucco. A thurifer is censing the coffin, throwing little pellets of incense into the burning pan of the censer. There follows the house of the two *muu* dancers with its strangely irregular divisions above the arch of the entablature, indicating perhaps the rooms lying behind the outer hall of the edifice. It looks as if the *muu* represented the dead pair and this building their heavenly abode: for outside it are the two obelisks erected in front of tombs at some periods or in some localities, two sycamores which the tree-goddess might inhabit, and the palm-garden which the deceased were to enjoy. Three gods and three goddesses also have their home near the deceased, and the three sacred pools of lustration, as well as the four guardian genii of the entrance to paradise, are housed in a similar way.

Osiris, lord of the west, is given a specially prominent naos, the inhabitants of the eight smaller shrines being apparently meant to form with him a divine ennead. Further to the right the Teknu is being drawn by three (?) men[3]. He takes the form of a squatting figure with his face uncovered by the shroud[4]. His identity is guaranteed again by the inscription "Dragging the Teknu to the necropolis...." The executant of the picture seems to have left us his name, "The scribe Parehenni," conspicuously written in large hieratic characters of the early Eighteenth Dynasty in the blank space over the Teknu. Finally the coffin is carried up the slope of the hill within a portable bier shaped like a couchant lion. This act is defined as "the carriage by (?) the nine (companions)," though this number is reduced in the drawing to two (?), who support the carrying-pole on their shoulders behind and before. A man also walks beside the bier and pours a libation. He is perhaps named as "The lector Amenmosé [son of] the chief *wéb*-priest of Amūn (?), Aḥmosé."

A little of the lower scenes could be made out by removing the whitewash, though the wall seems to have been damaged before this was laid on. On the extreme right the

[1] The first man seems to be the representative of Pe, but the legends are almost illegible.

[2] Or possibly "The assistant casts water and milk for...."

[3] These are on a derelict fragment.

[4] He is completely enveloped in the tomb of Sehotepabrē.

deceased sit in the usual attitude. "His wife, the house-mistress, Seneb (?)," can still be read. The man holds a handkerchief in the left hand and stretches out the right over a pile of food arranged on a pedestal-table. The tiny figure of a nude daughter (?), about as long as his fore-arm, stands before him and stretches back her arm to rest it on his knee. Another somewhat bigger girl faces him, and, on the other side of the table, a woman is offering him a red bowl with one hand and holding a napkin in the other. Behind her are ranged in two registers twenty-one (?) sons and, below them, twenty (?) daughters. Their names are appended, but it appears from those that are more or less legible as if all, or nearly all, of the men were called Tetanūfer[1]. No doubt most are really grandsons[2]. Above the offerings is a list, each item of which ends with the little figure of an officiant in red.

The lower scene to the east of the southern entrance (continued on the east wall) is as good as lost. A broad blue band at the base may indicate water. Towards the left hand three women approach a piece of water. On the right one sees a man in a little corniced kiosk. Burial rites are suggested.

Several graffiti of later date have been added in the vacant spaces of the upper scene, but are largely illegible[3]. Over the men who drag the Teknu is written in a hand of the Nineteenth Dynasty: "Do good, do good, O Osiris, lord of the west; do good, do good, to the pure one, the...." To the right of the vertical text relating to the Teknu is an unintelligible graffito of the Eighteenth (?) Dynasty. Above the two sycamores is another, perhaps of the early Eighteenth Dynasty, beginning "Lo I...." Between the first and second dancers is a two-lined graffito of the Eighteenth Dynasty: "The scribe...came to the tomb of...," and below this another brief one, possibly an original legend.

Such are the records, commonplace enough, of this tomb, which, from the names involved, the peculiarities of architecture and of the hieroglyphs, and the evident connection of the family with Queen Nofretari, must date to an early period of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and not later than the reign of Amenophis I. Some much-needed history seems to lie beneath the surface of its records, but it needs an experienced hand to extract it. The title "son of a king," which does not go back to Tetaky's father apparently, and may therefore have descended through Senseneb, is of considerable interest. Terms of relationship are used in the tomb so sparsely that it is difficult to draw up a genealogy, the more so that, as the little coffins show, a name with "Teta" elided could be used for the full appellative. We learn that Teta^{c}n and Tetanūfer were brothers of Tetaky. But the word "son" is only used on the abraded south wall, and may there mean "grandson," though "daughter" is continually employed. The term "son of a king" is only applied to Tetanūfer and Teta^{c}nkh; possibly also to Tetares (note 1 on p. 16). Were the four male guests on Plate IV sons of sons, or sons of brothers of Tetaky? Probably the former, since the only brothers we are sure of are not included. In that case we have Tetaseneb, Teta^{c}nkh, Tetares, and Res as the four sons of Tetaky, of whom Teta^{c}nkh as the eldest surviving son took the title "son of a king." From this and the coffins it is clear that the title was often omitted as unnecessary. As no official title is conferred on any of the men after Rahotpé, it looks as if this was a family whose real relation to a royal house exempted or excluded them from holding an office, real or a sinecure—a very unusual occurrence.

[1] One is perhaps "son of Met" (*cf.* p. 16).

[2] One grand(?)-daughter may be "daughter of Ten" (*cf.* p. 16).

[3] Many of the graffiti were beyond tracing, but Professor Gardiner kindly examined them, and the above notes reproduce his report.

PHILOLOGICAL METHOD IN THE IDENTIFICATION OF ANATOLIAN PLACE-NAMES

By W. F. ALBRIGHT

In his interesting paper on "Ḳizzuwadna" in the *Journal*, x, 104 ff., Mr. Sidney Smith has made a vigorous onslaught on Professor Garstang's identifications of ancient Anatolian place-names. Since I have been privileged to assist Professor Garstang somewhat, and have followed his work, step by step, as it developed, I feel almost *particeps criminis*, as it were. Mr. Smith has, moreover, done me the honour of including a little identification of mine under the head of alleged "negation of all sound method," so he cannot feel offended at my joining in the reply. Professor Garstang is entirely able to take care of the more strictly geographical part, so I will restrict myself to the consideration of the philological side, though briefly. I trust that a vigorous defence will not be considered as casting aspersion on Mr. Smith's deserved reputation as an excellent Assyriologist and a brilliant scholar. As all who leave the beaten paths learn, *errare humanum est.*

Mr. Smith repeatedly assumes that the philological laws which must govern the transmission of ancient Anatolian place-names are similar to the laws which govern such changes in Semitic lands. Now, comparative philological research has definitively proved that the laws which govern one language or group of languages do not necessarily govern another, nor do the laws which control linguistic phenomena in one period of history hold true of the same phenomena in a different age. Philological law is rigid, barring combinatory or analogical changes, but it is not due to uniform causes, like physical law, being rather conformation to tendencies which arise through the interaction of innumerable phonetic and psychological impulses. Accordingly, when one wishes to establish the philological laws governing any unexplored linguistic field, there is only one possible method: empirical collection of data, inductive derivation of laws, and finally deductive application. It is easy to throw stones and to declare airily that certain combinations are impossible, but it is impossible to avoid mistakes at the beginning, while we are collecting our data. All pioneers make mistakes—especially in empirical sciences like philology. The errors of the founders of Indo-European and Semitic philology are often laughable to us now, but they were doubtless unavoidable. Mr. Smith has himself recently objected with reason to aspersion of the work of archaeological pioneers. The present writer has worked in the still little cultivated field of Egypto-Semitic philology, and rues his early mistakes here, though more convinced of the thoroughly Semitic character of Egyptian than ever. Yet errors cannot be demonstrated except when they can be tested by known laws. Mr. Smith naturally cannot do this, so his arguments are often strange, as we shall see.

Mr. Smith evidently does not realize quite how tenacious the ancient place-names of the Near East are. After five years of intensive study of Palestinian topography, the present writer has become deeply impressed with the number of ancient names which survive, as well as with the rigour of the laws which govern their transmission from Hebrew through Aramaic to Arabic. The situation in Egypt is the same, though the transmission of names is even more law-abiding, because the Coptic names have developed normally from Egyptian

prototypes and have passed directly into Arabic, without intermediation. In Asia Minor the old names have passed through Greek before being Turcicized, but the number of modern names that have no rational Turkish explanation is so large that many of them must be older. Fortunately, a great many of the towns mentioned in the Boghaz-Keui texts survived into classical times, and are mentioned in our sources.

One of the commonest sources of alteration of names is popular etymology or the less striking morphological adaptation, which is exceedingly common in Semitic lands. The Greeks, especially, were very much given to changing the names of barbarian towns just enough to make them sound like Greek names or words. Out of a great number of illustrations we may select Thebes, Abydos and Daphnae in Egypt, Pella and Pegae in Palestine, Charax for Aramaic *karkâ, kerák*, "fortress." Thus Walmâ may or may not be the Greek Olbia, but the latter is obviously a popular etymology. Mr. Smith's assertion that "it would not be necessary to regard Olbia as a phonetic equivalent of Walmâ unless the latter name also means 'the happy'" (p. 106 f.) can thus, logically considered, only imply that he believes that the early place-names of southern Asia Minor belong to a language or group of languages closely resembling Greek. The impossibility of this is seen by the evidence collected by Kretschmer and now pouring upon us from Boghaz-Keui. Again, the river Seḫa[1] may or may not be the Sarus, Arabic Seiḥân—Forrer prefers to locate it in Pamphylia. But the identification cannot be ruled out of court by a semi-critical application of the philological method. Mr. Smith quotes some pertinent remarks of Le Strange regarding the Moslem names of the Oxus and Jaxartes, Pyramus and Sarus, which were combined with the two mysterious rivers of paradise, Gihon and Pishon, corrupted by the Arabs to Jaiḥân and Saiḥân, by the Turks to Jaihûn and Saihûn. But Le Strange did not know the origin of the identifications. The Persians regarded the Raṇha (Avestan; Pahlavi Arang) or Oxus as being a sacred river, along with the Khšart or Ašart, Jaxartes. Naturally enough the Mandaeans and Christian Syrians, who were so closely in touch with Iranian conceptions, identified the Gihon and Pishon with the two sacred Persian streams, as expressly stated in Mandaean and Syriac sources[2]. The Moslems simply took the identifications over from the Nestorians of Turkestan. In the case of the Cilician rivers, however, the reason for the identification with the rivers of paradise is unknown. If the Seḫa is really the Sarus, the explanation is easy; the Moslems (in this case Arabs) found that the Sarus bore a popular name which sounded strikingly like that of the first river of Paradise, Seiḥân[3], and so were led to make the double identification.

In close connection with these two identifications comes that of the river Astarpa, happily identified by Garstang with the modern Isparta, a combination which again draws Mr. Smith's wrath. Unfortunately, the question has been complicated by Sir William

[1] I write all occurrences of the letter s without the inverted circumflex. It is absolutely certain that the Cappadocian (Nasi) language of the "Hittite" texts did not possess a sh at all. Hence both s and š are used for s: the vastly more frequent occurrence of š is either due to the fact that it was far more common than s in Accadian, or to the fact that the Assyrians always pronounced written š as s, while the Babylonians interchanged the sibilants, as in Hebrew and Aramaic. Forrer is the only Hittite scholar who has yet seen these facts clearly, and thrown the whole useless ballast of š overboard. For the benefit of the Egyptologist, we may recall the fact that the ś in the titulary of Ramesses II is transcribed either s or s, usually the latter, by the Hittite scribes. Thus we have in *K.U.B.*, III, 30: insibya = *nśw(t)-by(t)*—not *bjty* (!)—; Wašmuaria šatepnaria = *Wś(r)-mjʿt-Rʿ śtp-n-Rʿ*; Riamašeša = *Rʿ-mś-św*. Now we know also that the Greek sigma was regularly transcribed as ś by the Cappadocian scribes.

[2] *Cf.* the writer's discussion in *A.J.S.L.*, XXXV, 189, and for Syriac Ephrem Syrus and his successors.

[3] The Arabic Seiḥân is a popular rhyming conforming of *Feisân (Pishon) to Jeiḥân (Gihon).

Ramsay's infelicitous idea that the name Isparta is derived from a Greek εἰς Βάρταν (*i.e.*, the town of Baris), an idea which is unparalleled and incredible. Isparta is a case of the simplest and most common form of metathesis, favoured by the assonance with the name Sparta.

The present writer meets with his share of criticism for "negation of all sound methods" in connection with the identification of the river Xanthos in Lycia with the Siyanta. Presumably the difficulty here is—philologically speaking—that the name Xanthos has a Greek etymology in *ξανθός*, "tawny." Here again the native Lycian Sñta (SUNDWALL, *Die einheimischen Namen der Lykier*, 195) seems to have received a popular etymology in Greek, though it must be confessed that since *ξανθός* has no good Indo-European etymology, the original Lycian name of the river may have been applied to it for the colour of the water[1]. As is well known, the name Xanthos originally belonged to the river, and was only secondarily applied to the city of Arñna. My method in identifying the Siyanta with the Xanthos was the following. Taking *K.Bo.*, IV, 3, I concluded from a comparison of its data with the material already known that it refers to places in south-western Asia Minor. Mira and Kuwaliya I then tentatively compared to Greek Myra (Mura) and Kabalia to the north of it. Wiyanawanda then made me think of Oenoanda in the north of Lycia (rather than Oenoandos in eastern Cilicia, as I thought for a time). This identification, finally, made me think of Xanthos : Siyanta. Professor Garstang improved on these comparisons by identifying Mirâ with Milyas instead of with Myra, and carried the work on by making numerous happy combinations, with most of which I agree fully. It must candidly be admitted that this is pioneer method, but I fail to see anything unscientific in it. Had our work stopped here, categorical proclamation of its truth would have been most unscientific, but these initial results have been proved by Professor Garstang's further work. One may differ from him in relatively unimportant details, since no two scholars can agree on all points of such a new field of research. Thus I find it hard to accept Duddusga = Daskusa, Kuadunasa = Kadyanda, Kussar = Gazıura (now Götze has identified Greek Gaziura with Gazziura), etc. Most of the identifications, however, are both geographically and philologically sound, and will probably be confirmed by the decisive voice of archaeology when the badly needed archaeological survey of Asia Minor is carried out. But Kizzuwadna-Pontus and Gasga-Armenia Minor are foundation stones of ancient Anatolian geography which will not easily be moved.

Before concluding my brief comments, I may be pardoned for respectfully challenging Mr. Smith in his own territory. He, too, has made philological slips, some of them just as serious as ours. Thus he holds (p. 105) that the modern Jerâbis or Jerâblus is a distorted corruption of the name Carchemish. To one familiar with the laws governing the transmission of ancient Palestinian and Syrian place-names, this suggestion, which seems to go back to Mr. Woolley, is impossible. Jerâbis is doubtless Greek Europos, just as Ḫirbet Jefât (Djefât) is the ancient Yodefât-Iotapata, by the change of initial y to j after t (final t of Ḫirbet, which often influences the initial consonant of the following name) and the dissimilation of the first t in the name proper. Jerâbis then stands for (Ḫirbet) Yerâbis: the variant Jerâblus is simply due to adaptation of the obscure final syllable to the common -blus = polis, as in Ṭarablus, Tripolis.

[1] The name of the river Xanthos in the Troad is paroxytone (*Ξάνθος*), and the same was doubtless true of the Greek form of the name of the Lycian stream. This fact in itself should make us pause before seeing in the river-name more than a conformation to the spelling of the Greek word.

Again, Mr. Smith furnishes an illustration of his own superior methods on p. 107, n. 13. His suggestion that Niblani should be read Liblani is improbable, but not impossible, though the identification with Lablani-Lebanon is out of the question, since Šubbiluliuma had to cross the Euphrates to reach Mount Niblani. On the other hand, the suggestion that NU should also be read la in Hittite is impossible; this value does not even occur in Sumero-Accadian and could only arise in a Semitic milieu. Nulaḫḫi-Lulaḫḫi is a case of dissimilation precisely like Ḫanigalbat-Ḫaligalbat[1]; dissimilatory phenomena have never been shown to depend upon initial or medial position of sounds in a word, as implied by Mr. Smith. The attempted correction of Nuḫašši = Lu'aš to Laḫašši is contradicted by the Egyptian spelling N(w)gs[2].

On the other hand, p. 109, n. 6 provides a case of over-use of Egyptian. The Egyptian spelling of the name Kizwadna shows, to be sure, that the name was not pronounced with any sound corresponding to Semitic samek (Eg. $\underline{t}$), but since we do not know exactly how $\underline{d}$ was then pronounced, we are left with a choice between z, ž, dz, j, or perhaps even ts and č. Semitic ṣade drops out of consideration for a non-Semitic tongue. The remark "whether the consonant before the n was a d or hard ṭ there is no proof" is very strange since it has been abundantly demonstrated that the Anatolian peoples did not distinguish between mediae and tenues, *i.e.*, between voiced and voiceless stops, like d–t, b–p, g–k. What does he mean by "hard ṭ"—the Arabic cerebral enunciated by spreading out the tongue over the roof of the mouth, or the Amharic emphatic ṭ enunciated as a dental with an "inherent" glottal catch? His view that the longer form "Ḳizzuwadna" (why the Semitic ḳ?) is preferable to Kizwatna may be correct, but cannot be proved by Egyptian transcriptions, where doubled consonants and vowels are practically never indicated. In any case, since the Hittites did not double their consonants, according to the clear evidence of variants, the difference between the longer and shorter forms of the name does not amount to much.

These illustrations of the defects in Mr. Smith's critical analysis of Professor Garstang's results might be extended considerably, but I refrain. Kizzuwadna is still Pontus, as maintained by Winckler and nearly all his successors in the thorny field of Anatolian geography.

[1] *Cf.* the writer's note in the *Am. Jour. of Philology*, XLIII, 166 ff.

[2] The ḫ and g are both efforts to transcribe the sound gh (voiced ḫ), which was lacking both in Egyptian and in cuneiform. For the proof cf. *Journal*, X, 6, n. 3; *A.J.S.L.*, XV, 125 ff.

KIZZUWADNA AND OTHER HITTITE STATES

By L. A. MAYER and J. GARSTANG

It is evidently desirable at this stage to preface our theory of the disposition of the Hittite provinces[1] by a few elementary considerations, if only to eradicate from the field of discussion the tares which at present obscure a fair view of the general question. In the first place it is common knowledge that the Hittites dominated Asia Minor for nearly 1000 years[2]; and that during this period they extended their power, at various times and to varying extent, in the west to the Aegean, in the south to Damascus, and towards the south-east as far as Babylon. It may then be accepted as an axiom that during the greater part of this time Asia Minor generally was under the Hittite domination, notwithstanding periods of rebellion and other local incidents. At different epochs of this long period other oriental powers, including Egypt, challenged their positions, which, however, remained intact. Their physical frontier towards the east and their own organization within it proved in fact impregnable, and it seems clear that the Hittite Empire fell eventually to invasion from the side of Europe to which it was more exposed. A glance at a map showing the physical features will show that the natural frontier of Asia Minor runs not north and south but from above Alexandretta north-eastwards towards Batum, along the ranges of Anti-Taurus and the almost continuous mountain systems which divide the waters of the Euphrates from those which flow into the Black Sea. The existence of this double and treble wall[3] between the Hittites and their rivals in the Near East enables us to explain how the Hittite dominion remained unshaken from without, notwithstanding repeated signs of internal disaffection and weakness.

The centre of this power, the capital of the Hittite state and empire, was Ḫattušaš, which most students will identify with the ruins of Boghaz-Keui where the state archives were found. Now Boghaz-Keui itself lies north-east of the centre of Asia Minor: the area of Pontus is in fact no further, while physically less separated from it, than the southern coast of Cilicia, and much nearer than Sipylus and Karabel on the western coast. From Boghaz-Keui to Trebizond (the latter well towards the east of former Pontus) is about 280 miles as the crow flies: from the same point to Adana is 220 miles, with Taurus

[1] *Index of Hittite Names: Geographical, with Notes* (British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, *Supplementary Papers*, 1923) quoted hereafter as *Ic.H.N.*

In order not to overcrowd these notes the very numerous textual and other references assembled in the Index will not be separately quoted in what follows. The following further abbreviations will be used:

A.J.S.L.: *American Journal of Semitic Languages.* [Lu., Luckenbill.]
Bo.Stu.: *Boghazkoi-Studien.* [Hr., Hrozný; Wei., Weidner.]
Bo.T.U.: *Boghazkoi-Texte in Umschrift.* [Fo., Forrer.]
K.Bo.: *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazkoi.*
L.A.A.: *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology.*
R., *H.G.*: Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor.*

[2] For the greater part of the time visibly under the Ḫattic rulers.

[3] The middle course of the Euphrates below Malatia was like an advanced line in this scheme, behind which the Hittite "advanced posts" (in the direction of Syria) early found a measure of security.

intervening. To Xanthus or to Cadyanda, in Lycia, where there are traces of Hittite handiwork[1], the distance is nearly 400 miles, a figure which is exceeded between Boghaz-Keui and Ephesus. There is then no *prima facie* reason for excluding from our purview the north-eastern coast lands of Asia Minor. On the other hand, a further glance at the map will show that between the area of Pontus and that of Ḫatti within the circuit of the Halys, there is no conspicuous landmark. The oscillation of the political or administrative boundary between them at various historical epochs is itself an indication of this fact. Both areas drain into the Black Sea, and lie as we have seen behind the common Asiatic frontier. And just as these two areas are interlocked so were their destinies interwoven. Without the Pontic area Ḫatti would have had no defensible frontier in that direction; and conversely, during the dominance of Ḫatti, the openness of the communications restrained separate development or independent history. Indeed, centuries after the power of Ḫatti had fallen, the re-establishment of ordered administration by the Persians reveals the Halys basin and the north-east coast lands (Cappadocia and Pontus) as united in a single satrapy. The southern coastlands and the regions of Taurus, draining to the Mediterranean, are distinct and separate; and they formed accordingly a different satrapy.

Two conclusions emerge from these preliminary considerations, firstly that the historical tendencies of Asia Minor cannot be rightly understood without careful appreciation of its physical geography. This truism is in fact only mentioned to give it emphasis. Secondly that the early history of the Pontic area in the north-east is inseparable from that of Ḫatti: that area therefore claims our due consideration on an equal footing with Cilicia and the rest of Asia Minor[2].

In the Hittite organization as revealed in the later empire the two greater allies of Ḫatti are disclosed as Arzawa and Kizzuwadna[3]. It was this triple alliance that defended their Asiatic frontier. About the position of Arzawa there is already a general consensus of opinion that it lay on the southern coast of Asia Minor and comprised at any rate Cilicia Tracheia[4]. Where then was Kizzuwadna? This kingdom previous to the Treaty with Ḫatti about B.C. 1300 had no separate history of its own. If the evidence of the records hitherto transcribed[5] may be regarded as complete the area was not called by this name, nor did it figure separately in history previous to the signing of this document, which granted autonomy to its ruler Šunaššura. Formerly it formed part of Ḫatti[6]. We may suspect therefore that there was no prominent physical barrier between the two areas, which were, however, separable in fact by a political frontier. The text of the same treaty tells us more, namely,

[1] Compare the masonry shown on the right hand of the drawing in FELLOWS, *Lycia*, 121 with that of Boghaz-Keui, near the Lion Gate, in PUCHSTEIN, *Boghazkoi, Bauwerke*, Pl. 22.

[2] If anyone feels disinclined to admit the full force of this conclusion, in spite of the arguments adduced, that feeling is surely traceable to unfamiliarity with the history and geography of Pontus, which is to most rather like Keftiu to the Egyptians, the "back of beyond." A few hours with the map and the stirring historical traditions of Pontus will soon remove the feeling.

[3] *Cf.* the terms of the offensive and defensive alliance between Ḫatti and Kizzuwadna, I *K.Bo.*, 5, especially Rev. III, ll. 35-39; WEI., VIII *Bo.Stu.*, 103-4; LU., *A.J.S.L.*, XXXVII, 185. For Arzawa *inter alia* III *K.Bo.*, 4, Rev. III, ll. 22-5 and 31; also the treaties IV *K.Bo.*, 3 and V *K.Bo.*, 13, VI *K.Bo.*, 27, and FO., *M.D.O.G.*, 63, 8.

[4] Cf. HOGARTH, *Anatolian Studies*, 225, which we had not seen when this article was written. We apologize if we appear to deal scantily with this important contribution to the subject.

[5] *Le.H.N.*, 28. [6] Treaty, *loc. cit.* Obv. l. 6.

that Kizzuwadna bordered upon Ḫarri: a people and country whose realm lay eastwards, towards or in Armenia, though the boundaries of its territory are unknown[1]. Kizzuwadna then lay somewhere upon the eastern frontier in contiguity with Ḫatti. So far as these preliminary considerations take us, Kizzuwadna may thus have occupied eastern Cilicia proper (if this was not already included in Arzawa) or Cataonia, or Armenia Minor, or Pontus. The physical barrier of Taurus opposes the first of these possibilities, but is not insurmountable. We may however dismiss the second and third alternatives, for the treaty tells us that Kizzuwadna touched the sea. Further, the region of Cataonia comprises the approaches from Ḫatti to Northern Syria by way of Marash, and it is inconceivable that the Hittite emperors would have handed over the control of their chief or sole lines of communication with Syria to an autonomous power recently in rebellion[2]. The area of Cataonia and beyond seems in fact to have been dotted with time-honoured Hittite shrines[3]. With regard also to Armenia Minor we shall show that this was probably the home of the turbulent Gašga tribe[4], an identification which some English scholars support who do not agree with us as to the situation of Kizzuwadna.

As between Cilicia proper and Pontus, what then is the evidence to enable us to come to a decision? All the older indirect evidence derived from a scrutiny of Egyptian sources may now be regarded not indeed as negligible but as entirely secondary compared with the direct evidence of the Hittite archives. Some of these are narratives of campaigns and lines of march where geographical sequence is clearly indicated. Others contain lists of geographical names that by frequent association form groups, defining areas which may in some cases be distinguished and eventually localized. The obstacle to identification at present is the unfamiliarity of these place-names. As a preliminary step, to render this new material readily available, and at the request of several scholars, we published our index containing all the geographical names transcribed up to mid-summer 1923, with some additional references introduced for comparison or special reasons. Collaterally we

[1] *Ix.H.N.*, 18.

[2] Mr. Hogarth however accepts this situation (*Anatolian Studies*, 233) which, in view of the proved Hittite sagacity in peace and war, seems to us to rule out the Cataonian theory. His argument does not explain how the boundary might touch the sea (with Ḫatti beyond), nor does it take into consideration the new evidence of the place-names and other points considered below. It is without derogation to the scholarly handling of his material that we remain accordingly unmoved by his conclusions.

[3] Cf. *Ix.H.N.*, Notes on Dunna, Ḫubišna, Laanda, Maraš, etc. Compare also the solar radiate deity of Komana (*L.A.A.*, 1914, 114 ff.) with the sun-goddess of Arinna (*Ix.H.N.*, 5, 6). Mr. Hogarth brings together these two sites (*op. cit.*, 233) which we identify completely for several reasons. In the lists of local hiera just mentioned the name Komana never occurs, while Arinna always takes first place. Yet at Komana there was in classical times an ancient and principal shrine of the Goddess MA-BELLONA, whose special attributes were identical with those of the Hittite divinity (*cf.* III *K.Bo.*, 4, Obv. I, ll. 21–5; Hrozný, III *Bo.Stu.*, 171).

These lists of hiera in the vicinity of Cataonia are of peculiar significance, and might have been adduced as establishing a geographical group by frequent association. Compare

Text of Telibinuš: Ḫubišna, Tuwanuwa, Nenašša, Laanda, Zallara, Maššuḫanda,
Treaty w. Mitanni: Dunna, Ḫubišna, Laanda,
Treaty w. Nuḫašši: Dunna, Ḫubišna, Išḫupitta, Laanda,
Ptolemy (Cataonia): Kabassos, Tynna, . . . Kybistra, . . . Komana, . . . Leandis.

Incidentally we may mention here (in reply to *Journal*, x, 108) that the reading Maššuḫanda is well supported by the variant forms (*Ix.H.N.*, 34), and from the contexts may very well prove to be Mazaka, otherwise unrecognized. Burušḫatti is different.

[4] *Cf.* also *Ix.H.N.*, 14. Hrozný also came to much the same conclusion (III *Bo.Stu.*, 158).

classified all the names, ancient and modern, of the probable areas involved. Our analysis comprised some 6000 index cards and the comparative material twice as many. The work, with the help of students and friends, took three years. We were struck as it progressed by the evident survival of Hittite names in classical times[1], and more particularly by the re-appearance of some Hittite names after the classical period[2], during which they had been officially submerged. We learnt too that in searching to place the various districts it was necessary to dispossess one's mind of all previous theories, and to look upon the physical features and natural routes upon the map alone as permanent factors. If Erech survives to-day as Warka[3] why should not Teburzia and Arawanna, which are grouped among the eastern enemies of the Hittites[4], be Tabriz and Erivan? If the Gašga folk were swineherds[5] should not their country lie west of the Halys[6]? It will be seen as we proceed that these ideas were abandoned like many others in the course of our investigation, in which we have endeavoured to test every published theory as well as our own by the cold touchstone of the facts stated on each card. There is nothing unscientific in this method, it is merely elementary; it started *ab initio*, assuming nothing, and the theory established as the result claims only to be a basis for further investigations, philological, archaeological and topographical. As several groups of names emerged and became identifiable with groups of names upon the map, the outline of the Hittite organization disclosed itself. Some of the detail which has since been tentatively added on a less solid background will doubtless require modification as more cogent evidence becomes available. But we are not alone in believing that the framework will remain and stand all tests[7].

Without attempting to recapitulate the whole argument, the process may be appropriately illustrated by a number of groups selected over as wide a field as possible, one from each of the principal confederated areas, others from the eastern borderlands and beyond, as being of more immediate interest to students of Egypt.

SYRIA. A clue to the explanation of many Hittite names is found in the name Yaruwadaš, which is written alternatively Yaruwandaš or Yaruwattaš: this was the name of a fortress in the district of Barga[8]. Embodied in it the name of Arwad is transparent, and the identity is confirmed by comparison of the relevant Tell el-'Amarnah letters[9] with the Hittite document concerned[10]. The land of Barga was thus the mainland opposite to the island: its name survived in the classical Bargylus, and indeed it still survives undisguised in two place-names on the coast, one 18 k. north-east of Beirut and the other 12 k. north of Sidon[11]. Turning to the campaign of Šubbiluliuma in Syria a number of places are

[1] *E.g.*, Arawanna, Damaš̱unaš, Dunna, Ḫumiššenaš, Kumani, Kuršaura, Laanda, Nenašša, Sarišša, Tuwanuwa, Uda, Wiyanawanda.

[2] *E.g.*, Barga, Ḫalab, Harran, Maraš, Ḫimaš(maš), Kuwanna, Lawasa, Pala, Red River, Suta, Zimurria.

[3] *Cf.* SIDNEY SMITH, *Journal*, x, 105.

[4] I *K.Bo.*, 2, Obv., ll. 11, 13; 20, 22.

[5] FO., *M.D.O.G.* 61.

[6] R., *H.G.* 32.

[7] "Cette carte, qui appellera peut-être des corrections de détail, donne dans ses grandes lignes des indications qu'on peut juger définitives." M. CONTENAU, *Syria*, v (1), 1924.

[8] *Ix.H.N.*, 10.

[9] KN., No. 57.

[10] III *K.Bo.*, 3; HR., III *Bo.Stu.*, 5.

[11] *Cf.* Kiepert's map in OPPENHEIMER, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, 33. (For this reference, we are indebted to Sir George Adam Smith.)

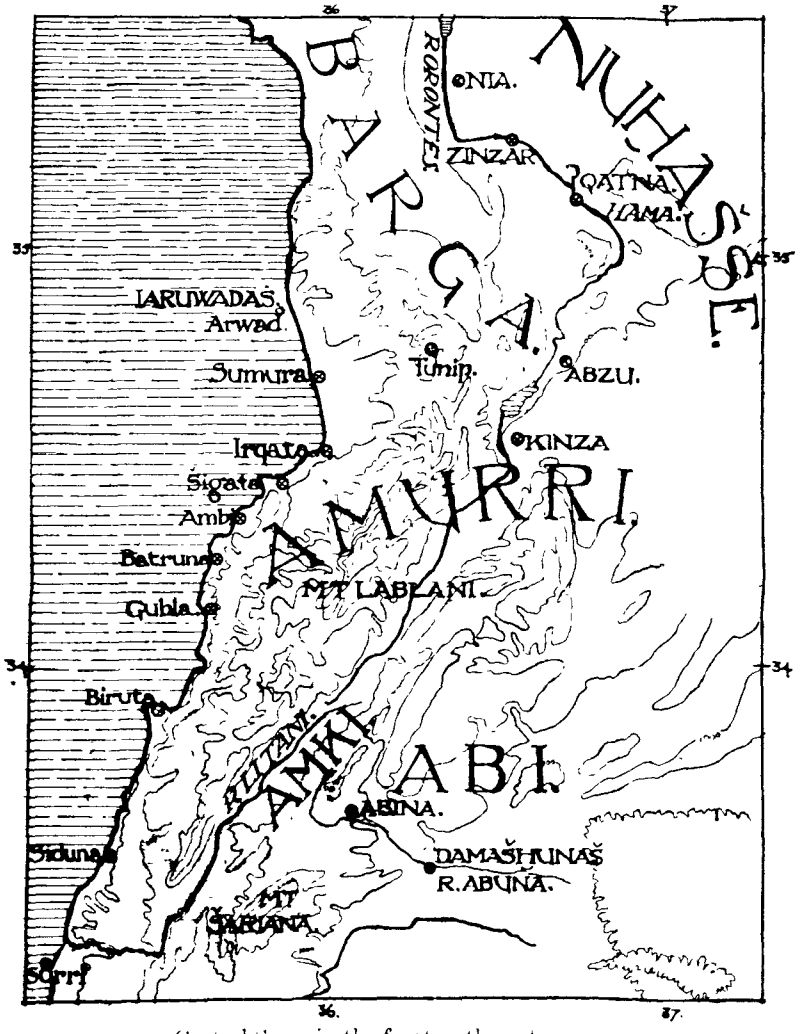
grouped to the south of Aleppo[1]. A study of the context will show that the geographical sequence was probably thus:

Ḫalpa, Mukišḫi, Araḫti, Nia, Qatna, Abzu, Kinza and Abina.

We identify these places respectively with

Aleppo, [southwards], Tell Riha. Kh. el Mudik, Hamath, Homs, Kadesh and the Assyrian Abi on the Abana near Damascus.

These identifications are not all new. The feeling that Qatna was at Hamath has been gaining ground for some time, while that Kinza was Kadesh is generally believed. The proposed identity of Abzu with Homs, leading to the equation Abzu = Emesa = Homs, is



Central Syria in the fourteenth century B.C.
A study based on the Hittite archives and Tell el-'Amarnah letters.

interesting both topographically and phonetically. Whether these identifications will be borne out by further evidence is not of such immediate importance by way of illustration as the grouping of these names between the fixed points of Aleppo and Kadesh. Without

[1] I *K.Bo.*, 1, Obv., ll. 30–46. *Cf.* Weil, VIII *Bo.Sta.*, 11–15 and notes.

any other evidence the area of Nuḫašše, mentioned in the text between Katna and Kinza, becomes localized, while the sequence of names given by a study of incidents of the campaign upon the map provides, as we have seen, clues to the identity of the towns, which may now be compared with and tested by those derived from other sources.

MITANNI. It is again one of Šubbiluliuma's campaigns which groups together several names that can be recognized[1]. After a campaign in Išuwa, beyond the Euphrates, Šubbiluliuma marched against Alše. He took by storm the fortress of Kutmar; next he captured the fortress of Šuta, which he plundered; he then appeared before Waššukkani, the Mitannian capital, with the same intentions. The district of Alše is already known from Assyrian sources; it lay chiefly upon the north bank of the Tigris, just above the great bend where it is joined by the river from Bitlis, corresponding in general terms with the classical Arzanene. Kutmar[2] is identified, philologically and geographically, with the Assyrian Kullimeri, a chief town of Supria, Armenian K'lmar. It was apparently the chief fortress of the region. Šuta[3], on the way to Waššukkani, may be readily identified with Kefr Zuti (Siti) on the main road south; for it is known from other sources that the Mitannian capital lay somewhere near the headwaters of the Khabur. The name Waššukkani[4] would appear to be possibly a Hittite rendering of a local name, Waššuk, and Tell Waḫsuk is to be found to-day, Lat. 26.43, Long. 41.8, on the Jaghjagha Su, near its junction with El Radd, both tributaries of the Khabur. This site satisfies all the general indications; but only excavation or some other direct evidence can determine whether the ruins of the former Mitannian capital constitute in fact this ancient tell. However that may be, this sequence of names leaves little doubt as to the main lines of Šubbiluliuma's advance, which must have followed up the main branch of the Euphrates past Palu, subsequently turning southwards past the Nimrud Dagh, the mountains westward of Lake Van, which thus rose on his left hand as he traversed Alše. This fact makes possible the identity of that mountain with "Mt. Niblani" which the conqueror claims repeatedly to have made as his eastern boundary. Thus at the conclusion of the whole campaign, both east and west of the Euphrates, he recapitulates: "Because of the presumptuousness of Tušratta the king, I plundered all these lands and brought them to Ḫatti. From Mt. Niblani, from that side of the Euphrates, I restored them to my domain." And again: "In the time of Tušratta I seized them [the lands of Mitanni]: I left the Euphrates behind and [made] Mt. Niblani my boundary[5]."

Other strongholds mentioned in the texts may be tentatively identified. Thus Aḫuna, grouped with Tirga beyond the Euphrates in the river country of Astata[6], looks very like the classical Ichnae on the Nahr Belik, near the confluence of which with the Euphrates Tirga has been independently located[7]. Another one, Ḫarmurik, the first of a group of

[1] In the same texts (the treaties between Ḫatti and Mitanni), ll. 25–9 and 6–9. WEI., VIII *Bo.Stu.*, 9; LU., *A.J.S.L.*, XXXVII, 164.

[2] *Ix.H.N.*, 30. WEI., *op. cit.*, 8, n. 2. [3] *Ix.H.N.*, 43. [4] *Ibid.*, 49.

[5] The writing Lablani, which occurs appropriately in a treaty with Nuḫašše (I *K.Bo.*, 4, col. IV, l. 36) shows that the Hittite scribes knew the Lebanon by another and more obvious name. In view of the facts adduced and the passages quoted (after the translations by WEIDNER, VIII *Bo.Stu.*, 15, 23), it is unnecessary to suppose with Weidner (*op. cit.*, 3, n. 5 and 23, n. 5) and others (FO., *M.D.O.G.*, 61, 31) that the Hittites confused the two names. The third context mentioning Niblani (I *K.Bo.*, 1, Obv., l. 4) is ambiguous. Mr. Sidney Smith's statement, *Journal*, X, 107, that our view is unsupported by any evidence is contradicted by the same facts.

[6] WEI, VIII *Bo.Stu.*, 24, l. 19. [7] *Op. cit.*, 24, n. 1.

four, if correctly read[1] may be Tell Karmurik, 15 miles south-west of Tell Waḫsuk. Ḫarrana as the ancient Harran seems hardly doubtful, being grouped with Irrite[2].

In this way, without dwelling upon detail, little by little the whole of northern Mesopotamia can be tentatively portioned out to its various provinces, Aštata, Irriti, Taiti, and so forth. Muršil in due time, if we are not mistaken, led his troops through the same fields[3], followed successively by his ally Tarḫiniš and his general Ḫutubianza. From a study of his narrative, from which we infer that Masuwati of the former text is Miššuwanzaš[4] of the latter, we conclude that the powerful province of Kalašma[5] is to be sought in the neighbourhood of Diarbekr. It is tempting to place "the mighty land of Ištaḫara" in the vicinity of Lake Van (classical Astakana): but new texts claim a pause for further reflection[6].

ARZAWA[7]. In the earliest text Arzawia (a district) is associated with the district of Adania. If the latter prove to be identical with Adana, then it may be inferred that in the time of Telibinus Arzawa did not comprise the whole of Cilicia, but only the tract bordering upon it to the west, that is to say Cilicia Tracheia[8]. How far it extended westward in this early period cannot be determined. The rebellion of Arzawa on the accession of Muršil brought about speedy retaliation from the young king, whose rapid movements and skilful tactics rank among the great military achievements of history. His campaigns in this area extended over the close of his first year and the second year of his reign[9]. During the winter he went into "winter quarters" on the banks of the river Aštarpa. Numerous places are mentioned in sequence in the narrative, and these are complemented by details of boundaries in the subsequent treaties. From these it is clear that as a result of this rebellion, Arzawa was now broken up into its several principalities, among which was one comprising Mira and Kuwalia. The treaty defining the political relations and physical boundaries of this area may be taken as an indication of the real significance of these geographical texts. Thus IV *K.Bo.*, 3, Obv. I, ll. 17–22 reads

17 [To] here [?Till now] the town of Maddunaša, the fortress of Dudḫališ, was your boundary.
18 [From] there [the shrine of] the Illat-gods of Wiyanawanda be your boundary.
19 Now into the town Aura you shall not go over. From there onwards
20 the river Aštarpa [of] the land of the town Kuwalia be your boundary. This land be yours
21 Protect it. And from the river Aštarpa and from the river Šiyanta
22 not one of my towns you shall occupy![10]

[1] Weidner, however, prefers the reading Murmurik *loc. cit.*, 23, n. 6.

[2] *Ix.H.N.*, 24; WEL., VIII *Bo.Stu.*, 26, n. 1.

[3] HR., III *Bo.Stu.*, VII. 239 ff. [4] *Ix.H.N.*, 34.

[5] *Op. cit.*, 25, GÖTZE (*Kleinasien zur Hethiterzeit*) locates this kingdom in the heart of Ḫatti—an impossible position. The error begins with his assumption that the related place Zaparaššaš was necessarily Ptolemy's Zoparissus in Melitene (cf. *Ix.H.N.*, 51), whereas there are reasons for believing it to be the Assyrian Sabiresu near the bend of the Tigris. The same unlucky start spoils a number of his geographical conclusions. His philological work however is a real contribution to the subject.

[6] GÖTZE, *op. cit.*, 7, 8. [7] *Cf.* GÖTZE, *op. cit.*, 8.

[8] *Cf.* HOGARTH, *Anatolian Studies*, 238. [9] We follow Hrozný, III *Bo.Stu.*, VI, 181, ll. 8 ff.

[10] The text, which supplements the parallel one from V *K.Bo.*, 13, Obv. I, ll. 23, 28 (the latter already admirably rendered by GÖTZE, *op. cit.*, 24, n. 1), reads as follows:

IV *K.Bo.*, 3, Obv. I.

l. 17. ki-e-iz-ta(!) ^{ALU}ma-ad-du-na-ša BÁD.KI.KAL.BAD ŠA ^{m}du-ud-ḫa-li-ia ZAG-aš e-eš-ta
l. 18. ki-e-iz-ma-ad-ta ŠA ^{ALU}wi-ia-na-wa-an-da ^{ILU}ILLAT ^{pl} ZAG-aš e-eš-du
l. 19. nu-gan I.NA ^{ALU}a-ú-ra pa-ri-i-a-an li-e za-a-id-ti ki-e-iz-ma-ad-ta

The Hittite text thus associates two districts called Mira and Kuwalia, and bounds them by two rivers, the Šiyanta and the Aštarpa. All beyond these boundaries belonged to Muršil. Between the rivers, necessarily on the land side, a town Wiyanawanda lay near the frontier and another, Aura, lay in the forbidden ground behind it. A glance at the classical map and the accounts of classical geographers show in the neighbourhood of Lycia the two historic districts of Milyas and Kuwalia[1], bounded in classical times, broadly speaking, by the Xanthus and the Cestrus. These two rivers are now called respectively Eshen or Eshenide and the Isparta. Following up the former river, inside the bifurcation with the Ak-Su there is a ruinous ancient site once "surrounded by a fine Cyclopean wall," now called Ooran[2]. Following up the main stream eastwards we pass near the site of Oeneanda[3] above the south bank. Briefly, corresponding to the districts of Mira and Kuwalia, lying between the rivers Šiyanta and Aštarpa are Milyas and Kabalia between the rivers now called Eshenide and Isparta; while the town Wiyanawanda on the land boundary is represented by Oeneanda. The phonetic equivalences of these names and the geographical grouping conforming so precisely with the text are obvious and cannot be set aside. If substantiated the result shows that at the time of Muršil's campaign Lycia had been a tract of Arzawa, from which this treaty separated it. The first test of this result is entirely accordant. Early in Muršil's campaign, after his first blow had divided the rebels into three, he pursued one group as far as the river Aštarpa, near the banks of which at Walmaa he defeated them. Assuming that Muršil's first blow was struck at the heart of the country, and there are reasons which make this likely, then as he advanced westward the river now called Isparta lay across his path, and near its mouth according to Strabo was a place called Olbia. The phonetic equivalence of Olbia to Walmaa is obvious; and

l. 20. ^{NÁR}aš-tar-pa MÂT ^{ALU}ku-wa-li-ia ZAG-aš e-eš-du nu-ud-ta a-pa-a-ad MÂT.TUM e-eš-du

l. 21. [na]-ad-za pa-aḫ-ši U IŠ.TU ^{NÁR}aš-tar-pa U IŠ.TU ^{NÁR}ši-ia-an-ta

l. 22. I.EN ALUM.IA li-e ku-in-ki a-ša-aš-ti.

Dr. Mayer adds the following notes to his reading:

l. 17. kêz-kêzma "here-there." I do not know of any passage suggesting the meaning "till now—from now onwards" for these words, but the change of mood and tense in our text ("it was"—"let it be") would make it rather probable, if the text is a correct one. V *K.Bo.*, 13, Obv. I, 29 and 30 translated by Götze, 24, rules it out by reading "e-eš-du" ("let it be") as in the sentences that follow (ll. 18, 20), but even the latter text has "kèzatta" in l. 29 thus putting the position of the fortress of Dudḫalia in some contrast to the following points of the boundary. Incidentally our former reading Kuadunaša (*Ix.H.N.*, 29) seems to be amended definitely to Maddunaša by this text.

l. 18. As gods without some visible monument cannot be a boundary, a word like "shrine" or "images" must be added.

l. 20. Perhaps the most important difference between our text and the parallel one is in the word "ZAG-aš" (=boundary) omitted in V *K.Bo.*, 13. Götze is therefore compelled to add something in order to give his sentence a proper meaning, and he suggests "IŠ.TU" (="vom Flusse Aštarpa ab"). If his text is correct, and a word must be added, Professor Garstang's suggestion "as far as" would suit better the position and be more in harmony with the next line. But it seems to me that in this case the text of IV *K.Bo.*, 3 is much superior, because with or without the addition of ŠA (=of) the words ^{NÁR}aš-tar-pa MÂT ^{ALU}ku-wa-li-ia can mean only "the river Aštarpa *of* the land Kuwalia" of (l. 21) Kupanta-KAL who must not extend his territory beyond the rivers Aštarpa and Šiyanta. A similar construction occurs in the names of gods, *e.g.*, ^{ILU}U^{DALU}PÚ-na or ^{ILU}U^{ALU}ma-ra-a-aš.

[1] On the change of the Digamma to *β*, *cf.* R., *H.G.*, 22 and 312 n.

[2] Fellows, *Lycia*, 125. "Euren" in some maps. There was a Lycian name Ure (Sundwall, 232).

[3] Forrer's map of Arzawa, *M.D.O.G.*, 63, evidently starts from the Cilician Oeneanda as a base, and consequently his district names, though much the same as ours in sequence, read from E. to W. without much relation to physical or classical geography. For him Arzawa is Cilicia proper and some of Cilicia Tracheia.

it adds further weight of agreement to the related suggestion that Isparta is a relatively modern version of the Hittite river name Aštarpa[1], and to the theory of the Lycian territory just outlined.

The records suggest to us three phases at least in the political development of Arzawa. In the first the Land of Arzawa is grouped with the Land of Adania: if the latter prove to be Adana[2], then it may be inferred from geographical and subsequent historical considerations that Arzawa in the earliest period comprised Lycia Tracheia. We have seen that if our identifications are correctly founded on the accession of Muršil it extended or had expanded towards the west so as to embrace Pamphylia and Lycia as far as the Xanthus; to the east, if the river Šeḫa prove to be Seiḫân, it extended at any rate as far as Adana. As a result of Muršil's policy it was broken up, but at the time of Ḫattušil III it is found with a frontier which extended as far inland as Tyana and Hyde[3]. This last reference is the only clear indication as to the eastern extension of Arzawa at any time, and this is not direct: but unless we are to assume that the frontier, already tending north of east, turned abruptly southward from Tyana, either towards Tarsus cutting off Cilicia from Tracheia, or more eastward down one of the river valleys cutting Cilicia into two, it is natural to assume that the boundary which led through Hyde and Tyana followed the range of Taurus eastward to connect with the time-honoured eastern frontier of Cilicia down the ridge of Amanus. The significance of this consideration will become apparent when we come to discuss the boundaries of Kizzuwadna.

GAŠGA. A detailed examination of the texts[4] of Šubbiluliuma, Muršil II and Ḫattušil III discloses Gašga

(*a*) as the buffer state between Ḫatti and Ḫarri,
(*b*) as lying in a mountainous vicinity,
(*c*) as between the Halys and the Euphrates,
(*d*) as bordering on or near to Kizzuwadna, etc.[5]

Amongst the numerous sites mentioned in and near to Gašga are

Išḫubitta, Ḫumiššenaš, Ḫimašmaš, Zimurria:

we identify these respectively with

Euspoena, Komisene, Kamisa, Zimara.

In two cases, namely, Kamisa (modern Kemis), and Zimara (modern Zimarra), both classical and Hittite names seem to have survived almost without change. In view of the discussions in philological journals[6] and the analogies already quoted, the suggested equivalence of Išḫubitta with Euspoena appeals to us as of special interest. The area indicated by these names is the northern portion of Armenia Minor, west of the uppermost great bend of the Euphrates at Zimarra below Erzingan. The district of Gašga proper on full consideration of the evidence seems to us to lie westward of the Euphrates between Zimarra and Malatia, bounded nominally to the south by Tochma Su and to the north by the

[1] Mr. SIDNEY SMITH, *Journal*, X, 106, mis-states our view and evidently has not appreciated our suggestion that the old river name Astarpa has by changes of time taken the more recent and intelligible form Isparta, the name of a local town which has arisen upon its banks.

[2] On this question however, *cide* SIDNEY SMITH, *Journal*, VIII, 46 and X, 110, n. 7.

[3] VI *K.Bo.*, 28, l. 9. *Cf.* SAYCE, *Journal*, VIII, 233; *Ix.H.N.*, 47.

[4] *Ix.H.N.*, 14.

[5] We do not find any evidence that it was near to Arzawa as inferred by HOGARTH, *Anatolian Studies*, 232.

[6] FRIEDRICH in *Z.D.M.G.*, N.F., I, 159, etc.

Kangal Su, but ever and again found extending its confines northwards, westwards and southwards. The town Zazzisa, which marks the limit of the inroads of rebels in the time of Šubbiluliuma's father, seems appropriately to place itself at Azizie in the pass of Anti-Taurus between Mazaka and Malatia. This name in its present form, as Professor Ramsay has pointed out to us, is probably quite modern; but it seems possible to us that it merely conventionalizes an older name of similar sound. In several other cases we have found that radical elements of really old names implant themselves in various ways in the neighbourhood. Thus, in support of our view, slightly to the west, upon the same road, the form appears as Azesha, while the mountain which rises above the modern village is called by the same name. In the vicinity are several tumuli and ruined buildings, and the antiquity of the site and route, generally speaking, cannot be questioned.

KIZZUWADNA. We come lastly to Kizzuwadna itself, about which all the general evidence has been discussed by several earlier students of the question. That this evidence had hitherto been unconvincing is plain from the fact that there has been no general agreement as to the position of this state, and it is only the more recent evidence of the Hittite archives that has led to a gradual consensus of opinion, not shared however by several English scholars, that it lay in the area later called Pontus. Our own method of enquiry has led us to support the conclusion that it lay in Pontus, and we bring to the general discussion of possibilities a new factor the importance of which will be apparent. In the treaty which established Kizzuwadna as an independent kingdom[1], among the places which define the Hittite side of the frontier[2], we find the following in sequence

Šaliaš, Anamušta, Turutna, Šerigga;

on the modern map may be found

Sala, Amastum, Tortan, Erzingan.

The places form a sequence along the southern slopes of the main watershed which formed the southern frontier of Pontus. Sala is an ancient site, the classical Zara. Šerigga appears in Ptolemy as Zoriga in the vicinity of Erzingan. Erzingan was in fact a district name[3], and its application specially to the town formerly called Eriza is not older than Byzantine times. We know nothing of the history of the sites called Amastum and Tortan: but the phonetic equivalences of the names, their sequence with the other names on the map corresponding exactly with the Hittite text and the line of real frontier which they indicate, remove this group of equations from the ground of mere speculation. This being so, we note as a further point of agreement that the treaty makes special reference to Urussa, the site of which, by the direct evidence of the text, was near the frontiers of Kizzuwadna, Ḫatti and Ḫarri; and that with the line of frontier marked as indicated, the position of Eriza will be found to fulfil these conditions, while the phonetic similarity of the two names is self-evident. Further, the frontier was continued in its last stage by the river Šamri, upon the banks of which, according to our reading[4], was Turpina, the last place upon the common

[1] I *K.Bo.*, 5, etc. translated by WEIDNER, VIII *Bo.Stu.*, 89 ff., and LU., *A.J.S.L.*, XXI, 180.

[2] Described with diagram and map in *L.A.A.*, 1923, 172 ff.

[3] *Ibid.*, 175.

[4] Mr. SIDNEY SMITH, *Journal*, VIII, 115, n. 2, states that the reading Eḫbina is the only one possible, but this several philologists regard as purely a matter of opinion. From the orthography there is no evidence either way, but as an initial syllable Eḫ is without parallel among Hittite names. (*Ix.H.N.*, 13.) It is read Durbina by Professor Luckenbill (*A.J.S.L.*, 21, 187), who rendered great service by publishing his early translations of these texts.

boundary. The word Šamri means "raging," and the fact that it can be translated suggests that it may be a descriptive appellation of the river in question. Now the eastern frontier of Pontus lay along the valley of the Acampsis, the modern Chorokh Su, a river which in antiquity was called uniquely the Boas, meaning "roaring." Upon its bank, in Lat. 40.35, Long. 40.58, is the place given by Kiepert as Tarpinü and in the standard I.D.W.O. map as Tarpin. These several "coincidences" so conform with the physical and political requirements of the frontier of Pontus that we cannot but consider their cumulative agreement as good evidence.

We stated at the outset that the area of Kizzuwadna would probably be found to have little or no physical separation from that of Ḫatti. The situation in Pontus satisfies this and indeed all the preliminary considerations: it is consistent with the teaching of historical geography, it explains easily the few special factors such as the inclusion of Komana and the iron fields, and finally it offers an intelligible account of the line of frontier which the Hittite text defines. The theory of a position in or near eastern Cilicia does none of these things. No tract of country there can reasonably form a part of Ḫatti while the other coast lands of the south, separated as they are by the wall of Taurus, remain distinct; nor can it have bordered on Ḫarri (even if Ḫarri were confined to the banks of the Euphrates south of Išuwa[1]) without lying across the main line of communication between Ḫatti and their Syrian possessions. Nor can the southern Komana be included in such a scheme, without assuming an artificial frontier inconsistent with all the teachings of the historical geography of the country. No attempt is made by the advocates of the southern area to define or even to explain the line of frontier which is the most important factor of the new evidence. Any attempt to do so leads inevitably to an untenable position. Let us take for instance Mr. Sidney Smith's constructive argument (*J.E.A.*, x, 111), which is admittedly at first glance attractive, and follow up logically his own position from his own premises. His chief point is based upon the possible identity of Šalia and Erimma on the border of Kizzuwadna with Šaliaš and Arimattaš of the so-called "Dattašaš" treaty, in which they are associated with a place Uššа. Now the text of the Kizzuwadna treaty tells us categorically that Šalia and Erimma were on opposite sides of the frontier—the former in Ḫatti, the latter in Kizzuwadna[2]. Mr. Sidney Smith states that in *approximately the same relative positions*[3] were Šaliaš and Arimattaš on the border of Dattašaš and in Dattašaš[4]. Assuming the identity which he

[1] As inferred by Mr. Sidney Smith from Assyrian sources, *Journal*, VIII, 113 and 114, n. 1.

[2] Treaty: Rev. col. IV, l. 46; Weil, *op. cit.*, 109; Lu., *op. cit.*, 187.

[3] The italics are Mr. Smith's; we do not find any reason for this emphasized statement in the text, *e.g.*,

l. 19. IŠ.TU ZAG MÂT ^{ALU}bi-taš-ša-ma-aš-ši ^{ILU}ILLAT^{pl}
^{ALU}a-ri-im-ma-ad-ta ZAG.aš ^{ALU}a-ri-ma-ad-ta-aš-ma-gan
A.NA MÂT ^{ALU}bi-taš-ša a-aš-ša-an-za.

"From (there) the boundary of the land Bitaššа *goes as far as* the [shrine of the] Illat-gods of Arimatta, but the town of Arimatta belongs to the land Bitaššа."

This statement is followed by an enumeration of other points of the boundary between the land of the river Ḫulaiaš and its neighbours, namely, the Ḫatti-land proper and the province of Uššа. Nine lines are filled in this way before mention of Šaliaš, of which is said—

l. 29. ^{ALU}ša-li-ia-aš-ma-gan A.NA MÂT ^{ALU}ḫa-ad-ti a-aš-ša-an-za.
"But Šaliaš belongs to the land of Ḫatti."

This text was first translated by Professor Sayce in *J.H.S.*, XLIII (1923), 46.

[4] *Journal*, x, 111, ll. 1, 12, 21.

advocates, Saliaš is both in Ḫatti and in Dattašaš and on the borders of both, while Arimattaš is both in Kizzuwadna and Dattašaš and on the borders of both. If taking a pencil one tries to explain this apparent incongruity, it will be found to be physically possible only on the supposition that at the time of the Dattašaš treaty the frontier of Kizzuwadna did not exist, but that a frontier at right angles to it separated Dattašaš from Ḫatti, the former now occupying a tract of country which in fact hardly a generation previously had been divided between Kizzuwadna and Ḫatti. This conclusion would involve the assumption of a complete political re-organization of which there is no documentary or physical indication. Nor does it help logically to locate Kizzuwadna in Cilicia: for there is no independent indication that the district called Atania was anywhere near Arzawa, nor indeed are we aware of any proof that Adaniaš was in Arzawa[1]. Finally the localization of Uššaš[2] of this text does not affect the question of Kizzuwadna at all, unless the identity of Erimma and Šalia with Arimattaš[3] and Šaliaš be proved; and we have seen this suggestion to be inadmissible on present evidence.

All these possibilities had been tested by as mechanical a process as possible before publishing our Index, and we return more confident than ever to our position of Kizzuwadna in Pontus, which is shared by most European scholars to-day. This result will probably appeal to anyone looking at the question broadly as having at any rate the merits of simplicity, consistency and balance. With the main Hittite force in the centre, with the left wing confided to the ally of Kizzuwadna stationed in Pontus, his flank upon the sea, and with the right wing held by Arzawa whose flank also rested on the sea, the positions held by the Hittites were impregnable on the side of Asia so long as this political unity was maintained. They commanded all the passes from the gulf of Issos to Batum; natural lines of communication radiated from their capital with a complete system of lateral communications as perfect as though designed by a modern general staff. The alternative hypotheses require little comment if this one be fully appreciated. In any case it is not for us to weigh their value.

It is indeed doubtful whether anyone who has a fixed theory in which he candidly believes can examine impartially the merits of theories which conflict with his own. Most of us would confess to a certain impatience in reading evidence that seems at first sight irrelevant (to our own thesis), or conclusions that seem to miss the point. If any illustration of this human tendency is needed, it is to be seen in the naïve attitude towards our work adopted by the writer of this interesting article on Kizzuwadna[4] in the last volume of this

[1] Mr. SIDNEY SMITH, *ibid.*, l. 21. [2] *Ix.H.N.*, 49.

[3] The criteria are not favourable to the identity of Erimma with Arimattaš. Cf. Arinna, Arinnanda; Lawaša, Lawazantia; Maraš, Marašanda. Each of these names is distinguished from its fellow, and as yet we have no case of direct interchange between the corresponding forms. For -attaš = -antaš [-anda], *cf.* Yaruwadaš and its variants, *Ix.H.N.*, 24.

[4] Mr. SIDNEY SMITH, in this *Journal*, x, 105, warns his readers against "the danger, more especially, of Professor Garstang's methods." This remark, in itself of doubtful taste, could only be justified by a dispassionate exposure of the methods denounced. No effort is made however by Mr. Smith even to explain our method. The note he proceeds to quote (Šeḫa) is one of several conclusions derived from a consideration of the whole problem of the physical and political geography of Arzawa (*cf.* note "Arzawa," *Ix.H.N.*, 7 and *L.A.A.*, 1923, 21 ff.), which he does not examine. In his remarks on our proposed identification of Walmaa on the Aštarpa with the site of Olbia on the Isparta (p. 116, fourth line from the bottom) he distorts Professor Garstang's view, though correctly quoted four lines previously, and from this insecure platform makes further useless remarks. His statement that it "would not be necessary to regard

Journal. After all, the ultimate value of a constructive theory lies not so much in its acceptability to other theorists or students, but in the way it conforms with, satisfies and explains all known facts upon the subject. A single proved disagreement on a vital point would kill the theory, and conversely the greater the number of requirements fulfilled, and of facts reasonably explained, the stronger it becomes, and the nearer its probable approximation to the truth. The difficulty lies in the practical impossibility of proving anything by inductive reasoning, and the ease with which the slenderer items of cumulative agreement (or "coincidence") may be severally destroyed. *Ex parte* discussion therefore may do more harm than good, by dispersing the germs of ideas that might be fruitful, unless each one taking part makes it his chief purpose to learn to understand and appreciate his opponent's views, and the common desire of all be to seek the Truth.

Olbia as a phonetic equivalent of Walmâ, unless the latter name also means 'the happy'" requires no comment; but it is gratuitous to add that the identification proposed is a negation of all sound methods and to couple in the same denunciation Dr. Albright's suggestion that the River Sianta is "to be found in the classical Xanthus." Does Mr. Sidney Smith wish it to be believed that he is ignorant of the common phenomena and science of place-names?—or is it only that he had not patience to read and appreciate our argument? His further statement (p. 112, n. 9) that Professor Garstang "hailed" the reading Zabarina as correct, creates a false impression and is contrary to the facts, which may be read in our note on this name, *L.H.N.*, 28 and 50, where the difficulties of the reading and various alternatives are discussed, and a further note (*L.A.A.*, x, 176), where correspondence with the original transcriber, Dr. Weidner, is put in evidence. Lastly, on the subject of Kizzuwadna (p. 111), he arbitrarily suppresses the evidence that we consider to be the most important, and complacently says that if no better arguments can be adduced we may revert to his own theory.

We must exonerate Mr. Smith from any intention to mislead; the apparent misrepresentations and suppression of evidence clearly arise from his personal enthusiasm for his own theory and aptly illustrate our contention.

TOMB-CHAPEL 525 AT TELL EL-'AMARNAH

With Plate VI.

On Plate VI is reproduced a water-colour sketch by the late Mr. Newton of the elevation of Tomb-chapel 525, found in the expedition of the winter 1920–21. Some account has already been given of this important and remarkable chapel in *City of Akhenaten*, I, 95–6 and 103–4 with Plates XXV top, XXVI and XXVII, 2. Not only were two stelae found in it which throw entirely fresh light on the history of the Aten heresy at Tell el-'Amarnah, but the frieze of the shrine is inscribed with an inscription to Amūn, the first to be found on this site.

The present plate will be best understood if it be examined in conjunction with Plate XXVI of *City of Akhenaten*, I[1]. The spectator is standing at the door of the open court and looking down its axis at the shrine. This last is reached by a staircase of eight steps with a low balustrade. The dark portions to right and left in the lower part of the picture represent in section the wall of the court and the low mud-brick bench which runs around. The two columns which stand at the top of the staircase and support the frieze and cornice may be regarded as certain restorations, for enough of them had survived to enable both the proportions and the scheme of decoration to be completely recovered. The colouring of the columns is unusual. The ground colour is a bright green: the lotus leaves of shaft and capital are in dull ochre with outlines in red.

Considerable fragments of the frieze with its interesting inscription addressed to Amūn in black hieroglyphs edged with magenta on a white ground were found lying in the court below, so that doubt as to its original position is almost impossible. The pieces recovered are not sufficient to stretch the whole distance across the shrine, and thus some doubt remains as to the correct placing of the inscription. There is, however, a high probability that the ☥ sign which forms the centre of the inscription and from which it reads outwards in opposite directions stood over the middle of the stairway. The roll and cavetto cornice which surmounted the frieze is of the usual form, the colours of the petals being red, blue, green, blue and so on. That the shrine was roofed is a legitimate inference from the existence of the frieze and cornice. There appear to have been two recesses in the back of the shrine, marked in the elevation by slightly darker colouring. The remains were very slight, and it is just possible, though not likely, that the right-hand recess should in reality consist of two side by side. At the top of the staircase will be noticed a truncated conical pedestal of mud-brick, the use of which is not known.

The whole shrine is built of mud-brick and whitewashed inside and out. The hillside, covered with these brilliant white chapels with their occasional touches of colour, must have formed an attractive scene in the Egyptian sun.

[1] See also *Journal*, VI, 179–80.

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In the *Annals* will also be published the account of the excavations being carried out among the private tombs of Thebes by Mr. Robert Mond. Judging by the photographs which have already arrived in England, the new tombs discovered in these excavations this winter are likely to prove of the highest interest from the artistic as well as from the archaeological point of view.

Another item of interest which will appear during the present year is the report of the excavations being made at Niebla, a prehistoric site in South Spain, by Professor J. P. Droop, on behalf of the Rio Tinto Mining Company.

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WALTER WRESZINSKI

In the preceeding century, when the discovery and excavation of treasures which had slumbered for thousands of years in the valley of the Nile was in its beginnings, their speedy publication stood in the foreground of public interest. The material superabundantly coming forth was published in many works of various contents and sometimes excentric size. Only a small number of persons was able to estimate and sift it.

Egyptology did not become a science in the very meaning of the word before the following epoch, when the separate facts learnt from the monuments had been systematically studied. Then only the era of authentic new text editions was inaugurated.

Inadequate attention, however, was paid to the pictures. Of course it is not surprising that the outline sketches of older publications awakened but little interest in the art of Egypt. As long as it was necessary to copy the originals by hand drawing and to reproduce them by lithography the pictorial side was almost entirely neglected. Moreover, the subjectivism of leading the pencil was complicated by misunderstandings of the object, and both were increased in copying, especially in those cases when the drawings were only roughly sketched and could not be finished before the originals.

The invention and development of scientific photography placed the material at the disposal of various branches of science in an authenticity unknown up to that time and in particular brought for the first time the studies of art and culture within the reach also of those who were not fortunate enough to learn from the originals. But it was only gradually that this new means of such an immense importance and the phototypic process based upon it was introduced, so that to-day even the most important specimens of ancient Egyptian culture have been rendered availaible only sporadically in O. K. reproductions.

A new history of the culture of ancient Egypt which has become a desideratum by the immense results of the excavations of the last 30 years, should combine the advantages of its predecessors with the results of the improved technique.

For this purpose it is necessary to collect the whole material available and to make it accessible to general use, in the same way, as has been the case already with the documents written on stone and papyrus. Thus the permanently solid foundation would be given for a description which affords reexamination and criticism to everybody.

P 761a. 800 IV. 25.

The present handbook should be considered from this point of view. In it the author sums up the results of his photographical expeditions which he has undertaken until now. The lighting apparatus described in the Orientalistische Literaturzeitung, 13th year, No. 7, made it possible to take pictures as if by daylight, even in the darkest tombs. All the plates, unless otherwise expressly stated, are based upon Prof. Wreszinskis own photographical views; at home they were afterwards combined and magnified or reduced, but not altered in themselves.

The first separate volume now before us with its 424 several-page plates in the size of the prospectus contains for the most part photographs of Theban tombs. Some especially important museum pieces, however, are also included such as the splendid Mastaba of Leiden and others. The first 100 plates, made according to the original comprehensive plan, are accompanied by many small pictures, scattered in a detailed text, of originals of the subjects presented on the plates. The succeeding plates are accompanied by a scantier text, and fewer insert pictures are included, in order not to make the work too expensive. This first part can, however, be delivered only to purchasers who also subscribe to the second part of the work, since the stock of the first edition, containing the valuable insert pictures not included in the second edition, is rapidly being exhausted.

The second part of the work gives on ca. 200 plates the greatest part of all the representations of foreign peoples on Egyptian monuments, with the exception of those from the Theban tombs, published already in the first part. They cover a period of 1500 years: the oldest picture is from a tomb of the 5th dynasty, the latest from the temple walls of Rameses III. The source of the photographic reproductions is the "Foreign Expedition" of the Berlin Academy of Science, which was conducted by the late Dr. Max Burchardt in the winter of 1912—13. They are assembled just as in the first part of the handbook, enlarged or reduced, but themselves unchanged.

The plates offer a material which can be utilised in various directions. The Egyptian representations of the peoples with whom the inhabitants of the Nile valley came together in peace or in war are, if not our only, at least an extremely important source in estimating the ethnological conditions of those times and countries. From them we learn to recognize the various classes of the Semitic population of Syria, the Hethites and many other nonsemitic tribes mentioned in the inscriptions, and whose connection with the other peoples of the eastern Mediterranean and with the Cretan-Mycenian culture has just become an important subject of research. Numerous examples of the inhabitants of Libya and the countries of the upper Nile also appear.

For the most part of course they treat of warlike engagements, and battle pictures, some of them in monumental proportions, accordingly occupy a large part of the plates; in particular the various representations of the battle of Qadesch are given — this most important piece of composition in Ramesside time. These battle pieces of the New Empire occupy a special place in the Egyptian art of surface representation; the development of their composition is one of the most important and captivating problems of the ancient history of art, for whose solution the foundation is here given. But also the disposal and the movement of the single figures in the whole picture are, in the battle scene, of unique liveliness and variety.

With the representations of battle are combined those of booty. Apart from the types of captives, whose characteristic, sometimes caricatured rendering, in respect of pose and motion greatly interested the Egyptian artists, the numerous representations of objects of ancient handicraft fascinate the spectators' eyes, particularly those of the goldsmith's art, which render possible, under the most favorable conditions, the taking up of the discussion of the many questions relative to this branch of art.

In addition to these main contents of the plates there are many pictures of the Egyptian army in its various formations; certain plates represent the celebrated botanical gardens of Karnak etc. etc.

The size of the originals caused a considerable magnification of the reproductions too, in consequence these were doubled in size. In spite of that the plates had to be folded either once or twice according to their size; by this means however, it was possible to present each picture in the size needed for exact study. In addition, detail illustrations are added to the large plates, where desirable, and almost every phototype is accompanied by a tracing. Only the most necessary extra pictures are furnished, in order to keep down the cost of the work.

The text treats in the usual manner of all that the pictures present, but where desirable it digresses in order to set the presentations in an historical frame. Controversies about older descriptions are avoided on principle. The Egyptian texts are translated throughout, the translations being indicated as such by the type.

Apart from the narrow circle of specialists, the work appeals to readers among the archaeologists and historians of art, writers of ancient history, old Testament historians and ethnologists.

The second part, like the first, will appear in fascicles and, coming out in monthly editions or in double sections once in two months, will probably be complete towards Christmas 1925. We hope that the price will not exceed 270 to 300 Marks.

Leipzig, April 1925.

J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.

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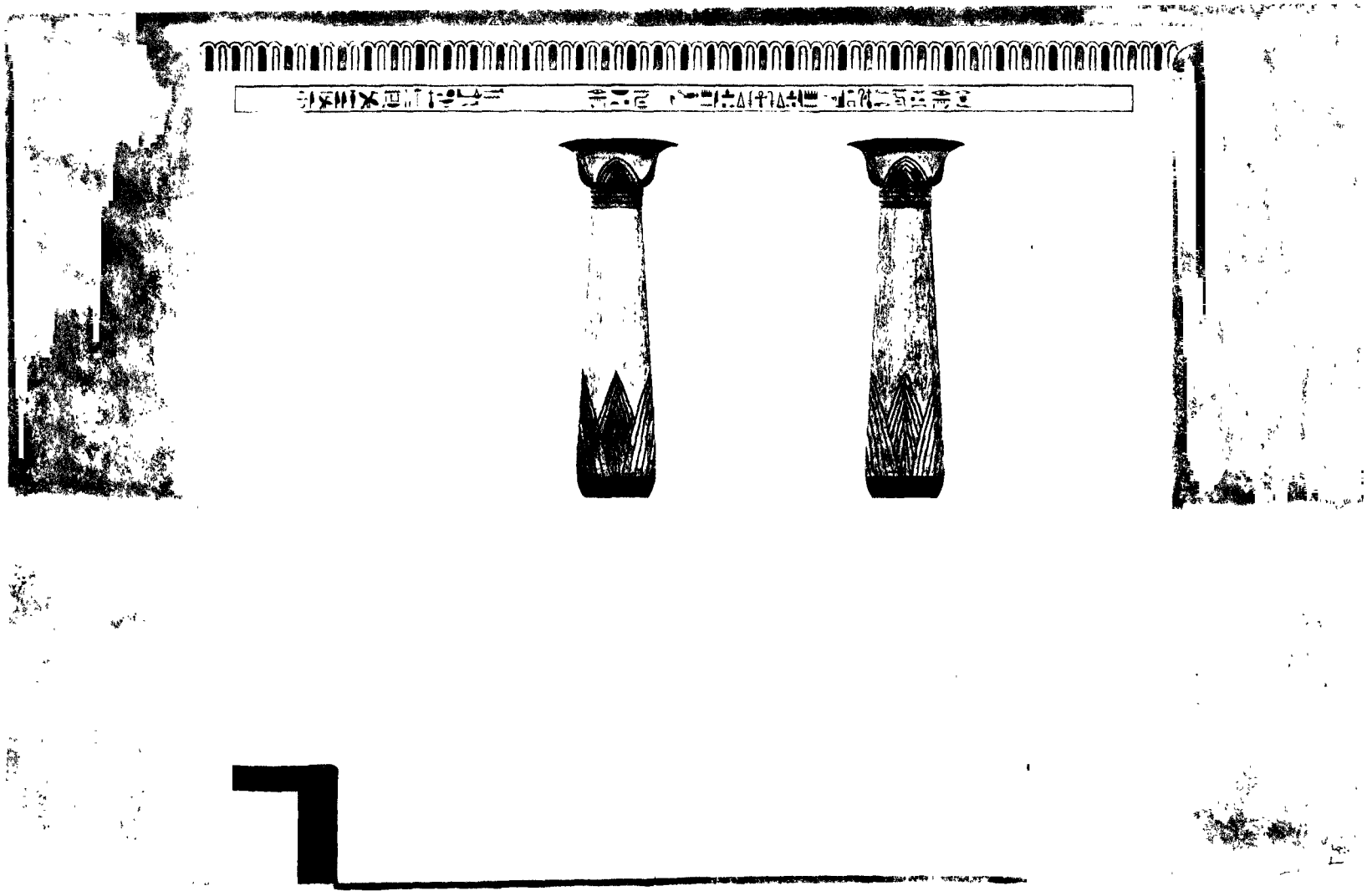
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Elevation of the Shrine in Tomb-Chapel 525 at El-'Amarnah.

FRESH LIGHT ON THE TOMB ROBBERIES OF THE TWENTIETH DYNASTY AT THEBES

SOME NEW PAPYRI IN LONDON AND TURIN

By T. ERIC PEET

The events of the last two years in Luxor have brought into fresh prominence the tombs of the kings in the Western Valley. It therefore seems a suitable moment to put before those who are interested in the subject what is known concerning the remarkable series of robberies which took place in these and other tombs in the later part of the Twentieth Dynasty. I am the more anxious to do this since I am able to give some account of no fewer than five unpublished papyri in the British Museum and several at Turin, all of which deal with this very interesting subject. Of the British Museum papyri in question part of one has long been known under the name of Harris A[1]; the rest of this, as well as two more, were seen and partially copied by Spiegelberg[2] many years ago but never fully published, of a fourth only a defective and inaccurate copy[3] has appeared, while a fifth is, I believe, wholly unknown[4]. These papyri I hope, with the permission of the Museum authorities, to publish in complete form in the near future. In the meantime I trust that a less technical and more general account of them will prove acceptable to readers of this *Journal*. The Turin papyri to which reference will be made are mainly portions of a great diary or log-book which was kept from day to day by the authorities of the Theban necropolis, and of which a few pitiful fragments have survived.

The tomb robbery papyri may be divided into groups according to the particular thefts with which they deal.

Group I. The Abbott and Amherst Papyri.

These two papyri have been known to the world for many years and it will be enough to recall quite shortly the events with which they deal.

The Abbott Papyrus[5] is dated on the sixteenth day of the third month of the inundation season in Year 16 of Neferkerēʿ Setpenrēʿ, now generally numbered Ramesses IX[6]. Pesiūr, prince of Nō (the east bank of Thebes), would appear to have complained to the vizier Khaemwēse that certain royal and other tombs for which his rival Pewerʿō, prince of the West of Thebes and chief of police in the necropolis, was responsible had been plundered. The vizier and the royal butlers thereupon appointed a commission to examine the tombs.

[1] Newberry, *The Amherst Papyri*, 29 ff.

[2] Spiegelberg, *Studien und Materialien zum Rechtswesen des Pharaonenreiches*, Hannover, 1892.

[3] *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, xxviii, 178 ff.

[4] Pap. 10403 (belonging to the Vasalli group). This was first made known to me by Dr. Jaroslav Černý, to whom I am under a very heavy obligation for the generous way in which he placed at my disposal his discovery and collation of this as also of some important fragments at Turin.

[5] *Select Papyri*, British Museum, 1860, Plates I–VIII.

[6] Ramesses X according to the arrangement of Petrie and Maspero.

Of ten royal tombs of the Eleventh to Eighteenth Dynasties examined nine were found intact, including that of Amenophis I, which Pesiūr had reported to be violated, but a tenth, that of King Sekhemrēᶜ-shedtaui and his wife Nubkhas, was found to have been entered by tunnelling and the royal pair dragged out of their sarcophagi. Of the tombs of the chantresses of the House of the Divine Votaress of Amūn two were found intact and two plundered, while as for the tombs of private persons all had been violated without exception. The commission then reported to the vizier and butlers, while the prince of the West of Thebes, Pewerᶜō, produced the guilty persons, who confessed.

A fortunate chance has preserved considerable portions of this confession in the Amherst Papyrus. The first page is badly damaged, but it can be in part restored with considerable probability, and I hope to show elsewhere that it contains a mention of the high priest of Amūn, Ramessesnakht, which has been overlooked. That, however, is of minor importance here. Suffice it to say that the confession contains a vivid and oft-quoted account of the visit of the eight thieves to the tomb of Sebekemsaf and the despoiling of the royal mummies. Of the names of the thieves five have survived on page 2, and to these we may safely add Setnakht and Nesamūn, who are stated on page 4 to have fled. We also gather the information that on the 19th of the month the thieves were taken across to the West of Thebes and made to identify the tomb from which they had stolen. The omission of this incident from the account given in Abbott is curious. In the last two lines of the damaged page 1 we have a clear indication that the date of the robbery was Year 13 of Ramesses IV, Neferkerēᶜ. We read that in that year[1], "four years ago," the thief who is confessing made an agreement with Setnakht, known from page 4 to be one of the thieves of the royal tomb, to commit some crime the nature of which is not stated, for the page ends here and the first few lines of the next are lost. But since the first surviving line shows us the robbers at work in the tomb of Sebekemsaf, it is extremely probable that this is the crime contemplated at the end of page 1, and it may thus be dated with some confidence to Year 13, four years (or three years, as we should say) previous to the enquiry.

Returning now to Papyrus Abbott, we find that on the same day, the 19th, the vizier and the butler Nesamūn performed another duty on the west bank, the examination of the "Place of Beauties" in which were the tombs of the royal children, wives and mothers. The reason for this further examination lay in the fact that a certain coppersmith of the West of Thebes, Pekhal son of Mitsheri, had been arrested in this spot with two other men two years previously, and when questioned by the then vizier Nebmarēᶜnakht had confessed that he had been concerned in thefts from the tomb of Isis, the queen of Ramesses III. Either this confession, probably made under torture, was untrue or the commission had reason for wishing to protect the responsible Pewerᶜō, for it reported all the tombs in the Place of Beauties as intact, including of course that of Isis.

Thereupon a procession of officials and workmen of the necropolis was formed and sent across to the east bank where it made its way to the very house of the prince of Nō,

[1] The passage is to be restored ·



hpr 4 rnpt r tꜣi is normal late Egyptian for "four years ago."

Pesiūr, and exulted loudly over him. This behaviour on the part of the deputation was hardly likely to improve the ruffled temper of Pesiūr, and, meeting later in the evening the chief workman of the necropolis with two of his friends, he was drawn into a discussion of the events of the day. He pointed out that the necropolis people had little reason to exult since one royal tomb at any rate that of Sebekemsaf and Nubkhas, had been violated. To this the chief workman Weserkhepesh replied that at least "all the kings and royal wives, mothers and children who rest in the great and noble necropolis together with those who rest in the Place of Beauties are intact[1]." Pesiūr's answer is that "however this may be, two scribes of the necropolis Ḥori and Pebes have made five capital charges against you which I am reporting to Pharaoh" These charges we may safely assume to refer to other violations of tombs.

The threats of Pesiūr were doubtless immediately conveyed to his enemy Pewerʿō who attempted to safeguard himself by reporting the whole conversation to the vizier on the 20th, adding a complaint that the two scribes Ḥori and Pebes ought not to have reported to Pesiūr but to the vizier direct. The vizier lost no time in taking action, for Pesiūr's threat of reporting to the Pharaoh did not allow of delay. On the very next day, the 21st, the Great Court of Nō was summoned, the unfortunate Pesiūr being himself a member. The three coppersmiths Pekhal and his companions who had two years previously confessed thefts from the tomb of Queen Isis and had now denied them before the commission of the 19th day were produced, questioned and found to be innocent. Pesiūr was thus "put in the wrong," the three coppersmiths were released, and a report of the whole matter was drawn up and deposited in the archives of the vizier.

Such is the official version of the story. But who can tell how far it corresponds with the facts? Not we of to-day, at any rate, unless more evidence comes to light, for the whole affair bristles with difficulties. For instance we do not know the nature of all the charges which Pesiūr had originally brought against the necropolis people for whom his enemy Pewerʿō was responsible, since despite the fact that one royal tomb, two tombs of chantresses and all the private tombs had been violated the workers were still in a position to exult over him. It is further noticeable that in the final scene in the Great Court Pesiūr is discomfited by the mere production of the three supposed thieves of the tomb of Queen Isis which lay in the Place of Beauties and their proof of their innocence. Since this meeting was specially called to deal with his threats of two days previously, the evening of the 19th, it would seem that the five capital charges of which he then spoke must have referred to the Place of Beauties alone, and this is borne out by the vizier's address to the court in which he says that Pesiūr had 'made statements concerning the Place of Beauties." And yet this reasoning is hardly to be trusted, for it depends on the supposition that all was straight and above board. He who with any knowledge of things Egyptian assumed this would be foolish. There is clearly a coalition of Pewerʿō and his workmen with the vizier against Pesiūr, and what more likely than that they avoided investigation of those of Pesiūr's charges which were well founded by concentrating the attention of the Court on those which happened to be incorrect. Nay, we may go further still. The wretched coppersmiths had doubtless been in custody since two years previously when they made their confession. What would be easier than for the vizier to promise them the liberty which he

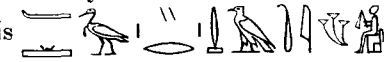
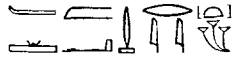
[1] In view of the fact that the tomb of Sekhemreʿ-shedtani and his wife was admittedly violated, are we to believe that the part of the West of Thebes in which this particular tomb lay, namely the Dirâʿ abu'l-Nagâ, was not part of the "Great and Noble Necropolis"?

eventually gave them in return for a disavowal of the confession, which would lead to the defeat of Pesiūr.

Group II. The Mayer A Group.

Another interesting group of papyri deals with events first brought to our notice by Papyrus Mayer A. The other members of this group are Papyri B.M. 10052 and 10403. The story begins with certain dockets on the back of the Abbott Papyrus, which give three lists of names, one of thieves of the "portable chests," or *prw-n-st*, and the other two of thieves of *pȝ ḫr*, which can mean either "the necropolis" in general or "the tomb." Most of these persons appear in Papyrus Mayer A, which is a jumble of documents from two separate trials, one concerning thefts from the portable chest[1] of King Ramesses II and the [2] of King Seti I, and the other dealing with robberies in the necropolis in the tombs of Queens Bekurel and Nesmut and at least one other. The dockets on the back of Abbott are dated "Year 19 corresponding to Year 1," while Mayer itself bears various dates in "Year 1" and "Year 2 in the Repeating of Births." It has been generally stated that Year 19 is that of Ramesses IX Neferkerēʿ and that Year 1 is the first year of his successor Ramesses X. I have pointed out elsewhere that the second of these statements is nothing more than an assumption and must only be regarded as such[3].

The British Museum Papyrus 10052 is a long document of 16 pages and contains evidence given in one of the two trials of Mayer A, namely that concerning the tombs, there being no direct reference at all to the portable chest[4].

Its earliest date is Year 1 in the Repeating of Births, fourth month of summer, day 5, ten days before the first date of Mayer A, and the trial recorded covered the days from the 5th to the 10th, with apparently the exception of the 9th, which is not mentioned. The Court on several occasions sat in the evening as well as in the daytime. The judges are those of Mayer A, namely the vizier Nebmarēʿnakht, the treasurer of Pharaoh and overseer of the granary Menmarēʿnakht, and the royal butler Yenes, fanbearer of Pharaoh. The first man examined is the herdsman Bukhaaf, who plays a great part in the proceedings of Mayer A. He confesses to thefts in the tomb of Queen Ḥebrezet, and this is perhaps the tomb to which reference is made in Mayer A (4. 2) when Bukhaaf is told to "Tell the *other* tombs which you opened." This  is perhaps identical with the royal mother  of Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 218b[5]. The name is possibly too the same as that of the father of the royal mother Isis who was given a tomb in the Valley of the Queens by the favour of Ramesses VI. This piece of evidence is worth quoting:—"He said, It was Pewēr, a workman of the necropolis, who showed us the tomb of Queen Ḥebrezet. They said to him, The tomb to which you went, in what state did you find it? He said, I found it open. He was examined with the stick again; he said,

[1] This translation, suggested by Gardiner in place of my "corridor-house" (*Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr.*, LIX, 72), is beautifully confirmed by the new Papyrus 10403. See pp. 43–44.

[2] This is shown by Pap. 10403 to be the correct reading rather than .

[3] *The Mayer Papyri A and B*, 4–5.

[4] In 15. 10–11 the scribe of the army, Ḥori, is examined in place of his father Efnamūn (dead) who had been "in the tombs and also stolen from this portable chest." But only the former charge is dealt with.

[5] See also Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 62–3 and 66; Gauthier, *Livre des rois*, III, fasc. 1, 174.

Let be, I will tell. The vizier said to him, Tell what you did. He said, I brought away the inner coffin of silver and a shroud (*śwḥt*) of gold and silver together with the men who were with me, and we broke them up and divided them among ourselves."

Bukhaaf next gives a list of the thirteen thieves who were with him in this tomb, and ends with an oath, "As Amūn lives and as the Ruler lives, if there be found a man who was with me and whom I have concealed, let his punishment be done to me."

Bukhaaf next gives an account of the disposal of the loot, involving a large number of persons who are all later brought up and questioned as receivers of stolen property. The materials given are generally gold, silver and copper, more rarely other things which Bukhaaf has himself bought with the stolen metal. "The thief, the incense-burner Shedsukhons," is then brought, and confirms Bukhaaf's account of the disposal of the booty.

This same Shedsukhons is next examined and made to tell the story of the original thefts. He describes how he was sleeping in his house when certain persons whom he names came in the night. "They said to me, Come out; we are going to fetch some of the bread and eat it." This last phrase is of considerable interest, for it shows that the *argot* of thieves is as old as the Ramessides. The word "bread," as the sequel shows, here[1] stands, like the modern "dough," for "booty." The narrative proceeds: "They took me with them. We opened the tomb and brought away a shroud of gold and silver amounting to 1 *deben*. We broke it up and put it in a basket and brought it down, and we divided it and made it into six parts. We gave two parts to Amenkhau because he had put us on to it[2] and he gave us four parts for the four of us." What follows is not without difficulties. Apparently the four parts are placed on or under a "stone-carrier[3]" which was in charge of a woman called Nesmut. She, however, gives the game away to Bukhaaf, saying, "They have been to fetch away the silver." From this it is clear that Bukhaaf was one of the original discoverers of this tomb and that Shedsukhons' expedition had been planned without consulting him. Bukhaaf at once collects his friends and seizes the stolen silver. This provokes a protest on the part of the father of Shedsukhons, who says: "You have come to take away my son's share, but his punishment will fall upon him to-morrow nevertheless." To which Amenkhau, one of Bukhaaf's accomplices, replies: "O doddering old man, if you are killed and thrown into the river do you suppose anyone will look for you." Various other members of Shedsukhons' expedition are then questioned, and lastly a certain Amenkhau, a trumpeter of the temple of Amūn. This man claims to be innocent, and explains his arrest as follows: One of the thieves, Perpethew, had quarrelled with him. "I said to him, You'll be put to death for this theft of yours in the necropolis. He replied, If I am I'll drag you with me." Severe beatings fail to extort any further statement from the witness and he is released, the court presumably admitting the justice of his plea that he had been falsely accused by Perpethew out of spite. This episode is confirmed in an interesting way by the Abbott dockets, where among the thieves of the necropolis we read (8A. 21), "The trumpeter Amenkhau of the temple of Amūn," followed by a group which can only read  or , and then the words "Perpethew of the temple of Amūn." I am unable to catch the exact sense of the difficult group here[4], but that in some

[1] So again later in the papyrus. [2] This seems to render the colloquial phrase used in the original.

[3] *ỉbỉ ỉnr*. Probably a wooden stretcher such as is used to-day for this purpose.

[4] It is tempting, since Perpethew and Amenkhau are both trumpeters, to take *mw* as meaning "ditto," *i.e.*, of the same profession. This is ruled out by the second passage (8B. 5), for the second Pa^{c}oemtaumt is not a scribe but a guard.

way or other it refers to the fact that Amenkhau had been arrested on the information of, or even in place of Perpethew there is no doubt. We have a similar use of the word in Abbott 8B. 5 where we read: "The scribe Paʿoemtaumt  Paʿoemtaumt son of Pewerʿō." This is explained by 14. 22 ff. in the present papyrus, where this scribe Paʿoemtaumt is examined and "found to have been arrested in place of Paʿoemtaumt son of Ḳauy[1]."

This man's evidence further confirms our belief stated above that Shedsukhons' expedition to the tomb was not the first, for the vizier urges him to confess as follows: "What is the story of your going with the incense-burner Shedsukhons when you penetrated this Great Tomb and brought away those five kedet of silver *after the thieves had been there.*"

On the 6th day of the month the thief, the incense-roaster Nesamūn, was tried. He is not only implicated in the theft of the shroud but also in that of certain silver vases, but he is apparently anxious to give the impression that all his thefts took place in one and the same tomb. One of his judges, Nesamenōpe, scribe of the necropolis, is however clearly aware of this and says: "The tomb from which you brought away the *theb*-vases of silver is one tomb and the tomb from which you brought away the silver shroud is another, making two in all." The prisoner then explains the disposal of the silver, and after he has been beaten once more Nesamenōpe says: "Then the tomb from which you brought the *theb*-vases of silver is yet another tomb, making three, in addition to the main lot of silver. He replied, It is a lie; the *theb*-vases belong to the main lot of silver of which I told you before: one tomb and one only did we open."

To the evidence of the thieves succeeds that of the receivers, conscious and unconscious. Some had evidently betrayed themselves by a suspicious affluence, and one lady in particular is requested to inform the court how she came suddenly to set up an establishment of slaves. All have the same ready response that we know so well in the mouths of the Egyptian peasants of to-day, and to nearly all do the judges, wisely no doubt, turn a deaf ear. No pains can have been spared in arresting all who could possibly throw light on the thefts, and some of the most valuable evidence is extorted from the fishermen who ferried the thieves across from Thebes to the west bank. It is a curious reflection that thieves living on the east side, unless they themselves possessed a boat, were bound to leave damning evidence behind them in the mouth of the person or persons whom they engaged to ferry them over. This fact was doubtless utilized to the full by the authorities in pursuing criminals, as indeed it still is.

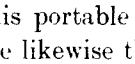
Among the evidence of the ferrymen one short paragraph appears to deal with events foreign to the matter of this particular papyrus. Panekhemōpe, a fisherman in the employ of the prince of Nō, says in the course of his examination that he "ferried the thieves from the District of the Falcon and landed them on this side. The judges said to him, Who were they? He said, The coppersmith Uaresi of the necropolis and the priest Panekhtresi son of Pawensh of the temple of ʿŌkheperrēʿ and the craftsman Itfnūfer, and I brought them over to Thebes. They said to him, Did you see what they were carrying? He said, I did not see it. He was again beaten with the stick. He said, Don't bully me, I did not see it. The vizier and court said to him, What sort of loads had they on their backs. He said, They had things on their backs, but I did not see them." Now the incident here related is

[1] This is, of course, a puzzle. Were Pewerʿō and Ḳauy one and the same, or has Abbott given the name wrongly? There is a Peweʿō son of Ḳauy. May not this explain the error?

not referred to elsewhere either in Mayer A or in the present papyrus; but the matter is cleared up by a reference to another papyrus, B.M. 10054, recto 3, 1 ff. Here a coppersmith of the necropolis named Paḥerihat is examined and says, "I went to the tombs of the West of Thebes with the coppersmith Pauaresi and the smith Pentaḥetnakht and the Setnakht and Panekhtresi a of the temple of King ʿŌkheperrēʿ and the coppersmith Itnūfer of the temple of Isis. We entered the tombs of the West of Thebes and we stripped off the silver and the gold which we had found in the tombs..... We went all six of us together, and the fisherman Panekhemōpe, a fisherman of the Prince of Nō, ferried us over to the West and his share was exactly the same as mine." Here we find the same ferryman Panekhemōpe taking over thieves of whom two and probably a third[1] are the same as those mentioned in Papyrus 10052. There can be little doubt that the same incident is referred to in both cases. In other words, Panekhemōpe, arrested as a suspect in the Mayer group of robberies, confesses his complicity in the thefts dealt with in Papyrus 10054. His evidence was thus of little use to the judges of the Mayer case, but it is important for us, for it enables us to fix fairly closely the date of Papyrus 10054, as will be seen later.

Another witness, the craftsman Nefuenani, when urged to confess, protests his innocence as follows: "I saw the punishment which was inflicted on the thieves in the time of the vizier Khaemwēse. Am I the man to go looking for death when I know it[2]?" Doubtless what this man had seen was the execution of the thieves of Sebekemsaf's tomb, and we have here not only a witness to the stir and impression made by the incidents of Abbott and Amherst, but a confirmation (if such be needed) of the later date of the present events.

It is hardly worth while to make further extracts from the dull catalogue of beatings, denials and confessions which make up the greater part of Papyrus 10052. Suffice it to say that Papyrus Mayer A becomes more intelligible now that we have the earlier parts of the trial before us. Several incidents which were before obscure have had fresh light thrown upon them and even some improvements in readings have been made possible.

Intimately connected with the Papyrus Mayer A is the British Museum Papyrus 10403. It is headed: "Year 2 in the Repeating of Births, fourth month of the summer season, day 16. Taking the depositions of the thieves of the portable chest in the temple by the scribe of the necropolis Nesamenōpe." For the moment I leave the date without comment, only noting that Nesamenōpe is already well known to us as one of the examining magistrates in Mayer A and in B.M. 10052. The first witness is the workman Ḫowtenūfer who is told to "tell us of every man whom you saw go into this place and do damage to the  of this portable chest. He said, Let the craftsman Pentaḥetnakht be brought; he will tell you all that occurred in connection with this portable chest of Ramessesnakht who was chief priest of Amūn. Those who did this are likewise the men who did the damage to the portable chest of King Usimarēʿ Setpenrēʿ the Great God, and to this [3] of King Menmarēʿ Seti." Here we are on familiar ground, for we are dealing with the portable chest section of the trials recorded in Mayer A. As B.M. 10052 threw fresh light on the thefts in the necropolis (*pȝ ḫr*) so 10403 clears up much that was doubtful concerning the damage done to the portable chests.

[1] Itfnūfer and Itnūfer are probably two writings for one and the same name.

[2] Reading of the last four words uncertain.

[3] *Cf.* above, p. 40, n. 2.

On Ḫowtenūfer's suggestion the craftsman Pentaḥetnakht is now brought. He confesses that with ten other men he went to bring off copper from the portable chest of Ramessesnakht. "They took up large stones and stood breaking off the ends of the poles of this portable chest of this chief priest of Amūn..... And I said, Don't spoil this wood, for they had cut off the two central pole-ends, one in front and one behind. And they broke off the other four pole-ends, total six. Now the scribe Pibok and the *wēb*-priest Tetisheri took two pole-rings of copper and put them in the.....the two of them. They gave us four pole-rings of copper between the seven (*sic*) of us thieves."

Let us place side by side with this a passage from Mayer A which gives the evidence of the herdsman Ḳer "He said, The foreigner Payheni took me and put me to guard some corn..... I was just coming down when I heard the sound of the men, they being in this treasury. I put my eye to the crack and I saw Pibok and Tetisheri within. I called to him (*sic*) saying, Come. He came out to me with two rings of copper in his hand. He gave them to me and I gave him one and a half *khar* of spelt in exchange for them."

It is hard to avoid the conclusion that the same incident is being described in both cases, and this is made certain when we find from Mayer A, 2. 13ff. and 6. 17ff. that Ḫowtenūfer witnessed this same incident. Another witness moreover, the foreigner Anefsu, who was guarding the corn along with the herdsman Ḳer, actually states that he went down "and found Tetisheri and Pibok hammering in the storehouse; I saw their faces through the crack of the door."

Our papyrus therefore contains evidence dealing with a particular section of the portable chest charges of Mayer A, namely that concerned with the portable chest of Ramessesnakht. It is now evident why the docket of Abbott (8A. 13) speaks of "portable chests" in the plural, for not only that of Ramesses II but also that of Ramessesnakht had been robbed. The evidence in Mayer must bear on both, for although, as we have seen, certain paragraphs refer to the chest of Ramessesnakht, the list of thieves given in 1. 10–12 only agrees in two names with that given by Papyrus 10403, which refers to Ramessesnakht alone.

The verso of our papyrus first gives us the evidence of the citizeness Taʿaper and the field labourer Pikhal concerning some copper of which the latter was said to be in possession, and after this the testimony of Shedeḥ his wife, who was apparently a porteress somewhere in the temple: "it was you who opened for those who went in and closed for those who came out..... Tell me the men whom you saw going into the storehouse in which the portable chest was in order to damage it. She said, I did not see it."

The date of this document is quite clearly given as Year 2 in the Repeating of Births, fourth month of the summer season, day 16. This is a date in the era first made known to us by the Mayer A and Ambras Papyri and taken by some, on very flimsy evidence, to be equivalent to the reign of Ramesses X (Khepermaʿrēʿ). This question need not be discussed here. What concerns us for the moment is the date of the day, the 16th day of the fourth month of summer. The earliest date in Mayer A is the 15th day of the fourth summer month in Year 1 of the Repeating of Births, on which day the portable chest trial began. Two days later the Mayer section of the necropolis trial began. It is a very curious coincidence that the date of the evidence given in Pap. 10403 should fall, so far as day and month are concerned, on the 16th, the day between these two dates, and since the evidence concerned is so closely connected with that of the 15th it is tempting to suppose that Year 2 has here been written in mistake for Year 1[1]. The second

[1] The possibility that Year 2 began on this very day, the 16th (Sethe, *Zeitschr. f. ag. Spr.*, 58, 39–42),

portable chest section in Mayer is unfortunately not dated, but the second necropolis episode, which follows it, is dated Year 2, day 15 of the ...th summer month, the month number being unfortunately lost. But whatever this number be it is clear that the trials recorded in Mayer A covered at least eight months[1], and there is thus nothing unreasonable in supposing that the date of 10403 is correct and that the trial was still in progress a Year and a day from its beginning. This is borne out by the lists at the end of Mayer A, for we have a list of thieves of the portable chests dated day 13 of the inundation season of Year 2 (11. 1 ff.) and a notice of depositions made by the thieves of the portable chest in day 10 of the second month (presumably of the inundation season), depositions indeed which have not survived. It is clear that the thefts had taken place some years before the beginning of the trial, for a certain Nesamūn, already old enough to be a priest, is brought "on account of his father" Pibek: "They said to him, Tell the story of your father's going with the men who were with him. He said, My father was indeed there when I was a little child, and I have no knowledge of what he did." The evidence of the weaver Wennakht whose father the thief Taty was "killed when I was a child" points in the same direction. Exactly how many years must be allowed for this, in view of the probable desire of these witnesses to exaggerate their youthfulness at the time of the crime and so win the greater credibility for their pleas of ignorance, it would be hard to say; perhaps not more than three or four years[2].

Group III. Papyrus B.M. 10054.

This document, except for the non-essential link with the Mayer A group indicated above, stands entirely alone. It is for the most part in lamentable condition, the upper layer of papyrus from part of the recto having been stripped completely off and gummed over the corresponding page of the verso. We may conjecture that the papyrus suffered in the same explosion in Alexandria which played such havoc with Harris A (B.M. 10053 recto).

At the right-hand end of the verso is the docket "The trial of the thieves" written across from bottom to top in a neat large script. It may be remarked here that this is the only one of these documents which preserves its original title docket. The contents begin

is made unlikely by the omission of the year number in the next date in Mayer. Had this not been the same as the last, namely 1, it would have been inserted. Thus on the 17th we are still in Year 1. See p. 72, n. 3, of this *Journal*.

[1] *I.e.*, from Year 1, 4th summer month, day 15 to Year 2, 1st at a minimum, summer month, day 15.

[2] Sethe (*Zeitschr. f. ag. Spr.*, lix, 60–61 states that these events must have taken place after the "fall" of the high priest of Amūn. Amenḥotpe, and therefore after the 21st of the third month of the inundation in the 16th year of Ramesses IX Neferkerē‘ when, according to Abbott 7. 3 and 15–16, this man was still in office. But this reasoning is only cogent if we assume that Amenḥotpe did "fall," for which I see no evidence whatsoever. It is true that an attack of some kind was made on him (Pap. Mayer A, 6. 6 ff., where Sethe defends my translation—to my mind the only one grammatically possible—against Spiegelberg's criticism in *Zeitschr. f. ag. Spr.*, lviii, 47–8), an attack doubtless alluded to, as Spiegelberg has seen, in Pap. B.M. 10052. 13. 24, where the phrase *pȝ ḥrg n pȝ ḥm-nṯr tpỉ* can perfectly well be translated, with Sethe, as "the war of (*i.e.*, against or concerned with) the high priest." It is further true that the witness in Mayer A, 6. 6, in speaking of Amenḥotpe, uses the imperfect past tense "who was high priest," but this phrase indicates nothing more than that at the time when the witness spoke this high priest was high priest no more. There is nothing in either passage to indicate that the six months' attack brought about a "fall." It is quite possible that it ended in victory for him, in which case this episode and likewise those stated by the witnesses in Mayer A to have been contemporary with it may perfectly well have taken place *before* the date in the 16th year given by Abbott.

naturally with the recto which still contains remains of four pages, the first of which is completely undecipherable owing to the damage mentioned above. The document is continued by two pages on the verso immediately to the left of the title. The rest of the verso has no connection with the tomb robberies and may be shortly dismissed here. It contains firstly a list of persons to whom in Year 6 of an unnamed king spelt was given for the making of bread—evidently a state ration of some kind—and secondly a short note, dated in year 10 without king-name, of the handing over of a boat (reading not quite certain) to the washerman Amenmōse. Both these entries are, from their position on the papyrus, posterior to the main portion of the document. It is possible that the year dates refer to the Repeating of Births.

Returning to the verso, we find on the first surviving page the examination of a thief whose name is lost. He confesses that he and his companions "went to the tomb of Thanūfer who was third prophet of Amūn. We opened it and brought out its contents: we took its mummy and threw it down in a corner of his tomb. We took his mummy cases to this boat along with the others to the district (?) of Amenōpe. We set fire to them in the night. We stripped off the gold which we found on them and four *kite* of gold fell to the lot of each man, total 1 *deben* and 6 *kite*." Here then we have a robbery among the private tombs, and the tomb of Thanūfer is actually known to us, being No. 158 of the Gardiner-Weigall list, in the Dirâ' abu'l-Nagâ. The same witness confesses thefts in another tomb but does not name its owner, probably for the very simple reason that he did not know it. The workmen and coppersmiths of the necropolis would hardly be able to read and naturally could put no name to the owners of the tombs they pillaged until instructed either by accomplices of more educated kind or by the judges in the trial.

The next witness, whose testimony is partly lost, is probably the ferryman Panekhemōpe, already known to us from Papyrus B.M. 10052. "I ferried over with them by night," he says, "and landed them on the west bank of Thebes. They said to me, [Wait] until we come to you. Now on the evening of the next day they came to me and called to me in the night and I went to them on the bank. I took them all six and brought them to this side of the river and landed them at the Theban bank. And after some days Panekhtresi came to me bringing me 3 *kite* of gold."

The thief Amen.....nūfer is now brought and admits two thefts, one from a tomb unnamed and the other from that of Amenkhau, a keeper of the treasure and fan-bearer of the temple of Amūn. This tomb appears to be unknown.

The next piece of evidence concerns the theft[1] which was referred to in Pap. 10052 by the fisherman Panekhemōpe. This has already been dealt with under the Mayer A group and no more need be said about it here.

We now reach the first preserved date of the papyrus, Year 18, second month of the inundation season, day 24, on which day the priest Penwenḫab confesses to stripping[2] gold from certain rings belonging to the royal mother of King Ramesses Usimarēʿ Setpenrēʿ (Ramesses II). It would seem from this that the tomb of Queen Thiy-merenēse, wife of Seti I and mother of Ramesses II, had been attacked.

Turning now to the much damaged verso, we find the heading "Year ... third month

[1] The same theft perhaps as that referred to by Panekhtemōpe himself in his evidence. See last paragraph but one.

[2] ; a new word, I believe; surely the Coptic ⲕⲱⲣ, to pare or peel.

of the inundation season, day 14. Trial of the thieves who were found to have robbed and who were examined by the vizier Khaemwēse, and the royal butler..... scribe of Pharaoh, and the royal butler Neferkerēᶜemperamūn, herald of Pharaoh, and the prince (*ḥȝtỉ-ᶜ*) Pe....." The man examined is the Amen.....nūfer, son of Anḥernakht, of the recto, and though very little of his confession remains it is clear that the crime was a further one additional to those which he confessed on the recto.

Since the trial recorded on the verso must be subsequent to that on the recto, we may fill in the lost year as 18 with comparative security and suppose the trial to have taken place in the month following that of the recto. We find Khaemwēse in office as vizier and Neferkerēᶜemperamūn as butler. These two officials were in office in Year 16 of Neferkerēᶜ Ramesses IX and it is tempting to suppose that our Year 18 refers to the same king. In this case the other butler will probably be Nesamūn and the prince, of whose name only the beginning Pe remains, will be either Pewerᶜō or Pesiūr. This dating would fit in well with that of the Mayer group, which dates from the Years 1 and 2 in the Repeating of Births. Now the Abbott dockets referring to the Mayer trial show that Year 1 is equivalent to Year 19, and this Year 19 being on the back of a document (Abbott) dated in Year 16 of Neferkerēᶜ must refer either to this king or a later, probably to this. Combining in this way the evidence of the year dates with that of the officials mentioned, we reach a strong probability that B.M. 10054 is to be dated in Year 18 of Neferkerēᶜ. One witness states that his attempt on the tombs took place "four years ago." This theft, and perhaps all those dealt with in this papyrus, for they seem to be closely connected, is thus probably to be dated to Year 15 of Neferkerēᶜ.

The rest of the verso is occupied by a list of persons "to whom spelt was given for the making of bread by the steward of the House of the Divine Votaress of Amūn Nesmut and the scribe of the army Ḳashuti." The people in the list appear to have been dependents of the temples on the West of Thebes "from the temple of Seti as far as the temple of Usimarēᶜ....." It is dated in Year 6, third month of the inundation season, day 10. No king name is given and we cannot therefore determine with certainty the reign to which it is to be attributed. On the other hand, we find that Pewerᶜō is still prince of Nō and that a certain Sedi is in office as a scribe of the Ramesseum. Now in the Papyrus 10053 verso this Sedi is involved in thefts of so serious a nature that he must have been at least displaced if not executed, and we may safely say that the present Year 6 is earlier than the Year 9 of 10053 verso. This latter papyrus, as we shall see later, is probably to be attributed to the era known as the Repeating of Births. To this same epoch we may therefore very tentatively assign our list. Being on the verso of a document of Year 18, probably of Ramesses IX, it must fall later than that reign, *i.e.*, either in the Repeating of Births which seems to have immediately followed it or else later still, and the former possibility is strengthened by the references to Sedi.

Group IV. The Harris A Group.

The text published 25 years ago by Newberry under the name of Harris A[1] is in effect the recto of the British Museum Papyrus 10053, whose verso bears a text of equal interest which we shall consider in a later group. The papyrus was terribly damaged by an explosion in Alexandria, but the recto can be restored almost completely by the aid of

[1] Newberry, *The Amherst Papyri*, 29 ff. and Pls. VIII–XIV.

tracings made by Miss Harris before the accident. This text has never achieved much popularity, owing partly to the fact that it appears to be a mere list of names. Taken in conjunction with certain other documents, however, it becomes a papyrus of the highest interest.

Its nature has been generally misunderstood. It is usually stated to be a "list of names of the metal-thieves who were found to have robbed the Beautiful Places." In reality the words here rendered "names of the metal-thieves[1]" are a technical term for "depositions concerning (the disposal of) the copper by the thieves." Such a record is a normal feature of these trials for tomb-robbery: once a thief has confessed his guilt the next step is to get from him a list of the persons to whom he has disposed of his booty, with the amounts given to each, the object of this procedure being of course the recovery of the stolen objects.

A glance at the papyrus will show that it contains the depositions of eight thieves, one of whom makes two separate statements. Thus in 1. 8 we read "Deposition of the thief Amenua the younger, son of Ḥori of the necropolis." Under this head follows a list of seven persons, and against each is written the amount of copper which he or she had received from the said Amenua. In some cases the copper is in the form of vases, and in such cases the details are given.

The names of the thieves are as follows:—

Amenua the younger, son of Ḥori, of the necropolis.
Pentawēre, son of Amennakht, of the necropolis.
Nekhtmin, son of Pentawēre, of the necropolis.
Amenḥotpe, son of Pentawēre, of the necropolis.
Mōse, son of Pentawēre, of the necropolis.
Peison, son of Amenua the younger, of the necropolis.
Ḥori, son of Amenua the younger, of the necropolis.
Peḳen, son of Amenua the younger, of the necropolis.

The date of the document is fortunately beyond all doubt. It is headed Year 17, first month of the winter season, day 5 (or 6, 7 or 8) of King Neferkerēʿ Setpenrēʿ (Ramesses IX). Its full title is "Record of the depositions-concerning-copper of the thieves who were found to have robbed the Beautiful Place, who were tried by the vizier Khaemwēse and by the chief priest of Amūn King of the Gods Amenḥotpe in the temple of Maat in Thebes, set down in writing with an end to its (*i.e.*, the copper's) recovery by[2] the prince Pewerʿo, the scribe of the quarter Wennefer, the chief workman of the necropolis Weserkhepesh, the Ḳadet of (*sic*) the porter Khonsmōse of the necropolis." The document itself offers little more of interest and it is to other papyri that we must go for our further information.

In the summer of 1923 I copied an unpublished papyrus at Turin which contains a deposition by a thief beginning "Deposition of the thief Nekhtmin son of Pentawēre of the necropolis." The papyrus is a mere fragment of seven lines which have lost their beginnings: it appears to record an expedition by the thieves to a tomb where some stolen property has been hidden under a stone. The second line contains the names of two further thieves, Amenua and Pentawēre. These names seemed familiar to me, and on searching for them I found that they all three occurred among the eight thieves of Harris A. Here then we

[1] *ḏd·tn nꜣ ḫmt n nꜣ ỉtꜣỉw.*

[2] This is undoubtedly the correct rendering of the words *r šd·w m dt.* This use of the verb *šdỉ* is not uncommon in these and allied papyri and is very similar to its use in the sense of to "exact" a tax or to "draw" a ration.

very probably have a fragment of a confession of the robbery or robberies from which came the property the disposal of which is detailed in so dull a manner in Harris A.

But this is by no means all. There are in Turin a number of fragments of a diary or log-book which was apparently kept from day to day in the necropolis. The majority of the fragments which have survived cover the year 17 of a king never named, but who from the internal evidence may fairly safely be identified with Neferkerēʿ Ramesses IX. This journal contains notes of varying length concerning the events which took place in the necropolis. These are often extremely concise and on some days we only read that the staff worked or did not work, or that the scribe Ḥori went over to Thebes. Occasionally, however, the journal is more profuse and records evidence taken on enquiries into strikes, lack of rations or thefts.

One of the fragments of this journal bears the number 2005 in the Catalogue of the Turin Museum[1]. Here, in a very difficult and partly destroyed context (date lost), we read that a certain man whose name is lost "afterwards had a written roll brought and took it in his hands. And he read it and said:—

Amenua son of Ḥori,
Pentawēre son of Amennakht,
Nekhtmin son of Pentawēre,
The deputy Peʿanḳen son of Amenua,
The deputy Amenḥotpe son of Pentawēre,
Ḥori son of Amenua,
Nekhemmut son of Amenua,
Mōse son of Pentawēre, total 8."

It will escape no one that six of these names are immediately identifiable with six of the eight thieves of Harris A, and by a happy stroke of luck a passage in another part of the journal proves that Peʿanḳen is the same person as the Peḳen of Harris. The two lists then are in total agreement except that for the Nekhemmut son of Amenua of the journal we have Peison son of Amenua in Harris. These two men may possibly be different, but it is much more likely that they are the same. In this case Peison may have been another name for Nekhemmut, but, since the name Peison means "this brother," it is also possible that Nekhemmut had made his first appearance in the trial merely under the description of "this[2] brother" (*i.e.*, of Peʿanḳen and Ḥori).

This passage of the journal therefore probably gives precisely the same eight thieves as Harris A. What follows is sadly mutilated. We see references to the eight men (perhaps "prisoners[3]" is to be read) and to silver and gold. Then in Year 17 first month of the winter season day 14 there is a transaction involving the scribe Ḥori of the necropolis, the eight prisoners and the Great Broad-Hall of the temple of Maat, after which the diary passes on to days 15, 16 and 17 with more trivial events.

The depositions of Harris A were taken on day 5 (or 6, 7 or 8) of the first month of the winter of Year 17 in the temple of Maat and there is no need to labour the obvious fact that here in the journal on days 13[4] and 14 we have a reference to the same series of events as in Harris.

[1] It corresponds in part to Pleyte Rossi's Plates XCII–XCIII.

[2] The use of *pȝi* "this" rather than *pȝ* "the" would be perfectly normal.

[3] *rmṯ* followed by a lacuna; read *rmṯ-sȝw*.

[4] Assuming that the journal did not omit a day or days.

This is not the only portion of the necropolis journal which mentions the affair. A large section has survived in isolated fragments which can be fitted together to cover the days of Year 17 from day 1 of the second winter month to day 23 of the third winter month[1]. The entry for day 17 of the second month is: "The eight [thieves] of the necropolis were prisoners in the temple of Maat in Thebes." Again under day 21 we read: "The workmen were idle. The sergeants[2] of the necropolis stood before the vizier Khaemwēse and the chief priest of Amūn in the chapel of Amenrēʿ King of the Gods. They said to them, Behold the prisoners are in your hands, let them be guarded, all the eight. And they caused to be loaded up the silver and the gold and the garments and ointment and everything which had been found in their possession. And they brought the inspectors and they said, Put them in a storechamber in the temple of the Osiris King Usimarēʿ Miamūn, the Great God, and put a seal on them. And they did so. And they placed the eight prisoners in charge of the prince of the West and the scribe of the quarter and the two heralds of the West of Thebes the same day." It is of course possible that these are not the same eight thieves, but in view of the dates this would seem extremely unlikely. What follows however puts it almost beyond doubt.

This same piece of papyrus continues to record small events from day to day down to day 24 of the second month, where we find the entry: "Examination of the eight men and their wives." The trial, however, is not recorded in detail and the journal passes on at once to day 25 and continues day by day until day 14 of the third month where a promising looking entry breaks off in the middle, and several lines are lost. Now Dr. Černý has called my attention to the fact that there is another large fragment of the journal in Turin which fits on here with a break of only a few lines at the top, and he has very generously placed his copy at my disposition. The fitting is beyond all question, for the beginnings of the lines of the new fragment are actually on the old. This new fragment contains what is practically a duplicate of parts of Harris A. We have the depositions of four thieves, Pentawēre son of Amennakht, Amenḥotpe son of Pentawēre, Peison son of Amenua and Peḳen son of Amenua. The arrangement of the lists is the same as in Harris except that here in the first two cases the name of the thief is followed at once by a list of the objects stolen by him and then by the names of the receivers with the quantities given to each. The contents correspond closely with those of Harris, the names being mostly in the same order and the quantities agreeing, though some of the receivers named in Harris are here omitted, for what reason it is hard to say.

The date of these depositions can, I believe, be fixed. They are not earlier than the 14th day of the third month of winter, which was the last journal date before them. What is more, they now occupy two separate pieces of papyrus the first of which fits on to the piece of the journal described above, while the second fits on to a further piece of the journal beginning with the date day 15 of the third month of winter. The whole of these depositions must therefore be ascribed to day 14 itself. It is possible that between the two sheets of papyrus there are one or more columns of depositions missing, but that could only be proved by finding them.

The continuation of the journal is not without its interest for us. Under day 21 of the same month we find the entry: "No work. There went up to the Place of Beauties the butler, the mayor of Nō and vizier Khaemwēse, and the workpeople of the necropolis with

[1] For this portion I am dependent on a collation kindly lent to me by Professor Alan Gardiner.
[2] *ḫwtiw.*

their sergeants, to examine the royal mother and royal wife Isis. They opened the tomb and found the stone of red granite broken through by the eight thieves in the doorway (?), they having wrought destruction on everything there.....[1]." Here the page is torn away and when the diary resumes it is dealing with more prosaic happenings either of the same day or more probably of day 22.

This tomb of Queen Isis is perhaps that which was examined by the commission of the Abbott papyrus, and it has generally been assumed in consequence that the eight thieves referred to were those of the Amherst papyrus who robbed Sebekemsaf's tomb. Having regard to dates and context it is very much more probable that the eight men in question were those whose names are given to us in Harris and whose imprisonment is recorded by the necropolis journal. It is even possible that all the stolen property under discussion came from this tomb. Possibly the false alarm with regard to this tomb of which we read in Abbott had indicated it as one which was for the moment unsuspected and so a safe object for robbery.

One more portion of the journal is of interest to us. In the papyrus published by Pleyte Rossi as Plate XCV we have clearly a record of depositions of the Harris A type. Of column 1 only the figures which followed the names and gave the amounts of copper remain. Column 2 begins with the conclusion of a list, perhaps that given by the thief Mōse son of Pentawēre, for of the two of its names remaining one is that of the merchant Pewēremnō, accused by Mōse in Harris A. Then follows the deposition of Ḥori son of Amenua and that of Peḳen. Lastly comes that of a thief whose name is lost. The date of this last is preserved, namely Year 17, second month of winter, day 20. The previous depositions, namely those of Ḥori and Peḳen with perhaps others, must have been taken not later than the 19th.

The place of this document in our series is not hard to find. The papyrus is not an actual piece of the necropolis journal, which, as we have seen above, passes over the 20th day without comment. It is rather a separate document of the nature of Harris A itself, and in this respect differs from the similar series of depositions which were actually inserted in the journal on the 14th day of the third month. It will be noticed that both these documents contain depositions by Peḳen. In that of Pleyte Rossi XCV only three names of receivers survive and they are not in the list given by Peḳen on day 14 of the third month and embodied in the journal. They are, however, in the Harris A list, and indeed, speaking generally, there is so much agreement in detail between the three lists that it is probable that they refer to the disposal of one and the same lot of stolen property.

The course of events with regard to these robberies in Year 17 may thus be drawn up in tabular form as follows:

First month of winter, day 5, 6, 7 or 8. Depositions of Harris A.

First month of winter, day 13–14. Entries concerning the eight thieves (P.R. XCIII) in the necropolis journal.

Second month of winter, day 17. The eight thieves stated to be in prison in the temple of Mut in Thebes. Necropolis journal.

Second month of winter, day 20 (and perhaps 19). Depositions of certain of the thieves (P.R. XCV). Not necessarily necropolis journal.

Second month of winter, day 21. Stolen property is collected and the eight thieves placed in charge of Pewerʿō and his subordinates. Necropolis journal.

[1] SPIEGELBERG in his *Zwei Beiträge* was the first to call attention to this passage.

3520

Third month of winter, day 14. Depositions of certain of the thieves. Necropolis journal.

Third month of winter, day 21. Inspection of the tomb of Queen Isis. Necropolis journal.

The small fragment of a confession at Turin (see above, p. 48) carries no date and its relation in time to the series cannot be determined.

Group V. Papyrus Mayer B.

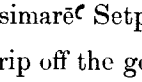
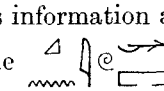
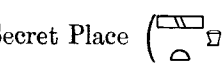
This papyrus, a mere fragment, can be related to none of the groups at present known to us. It contains the confession of a thief who describes a visit, probably not the first, by himself and four other men to the tomb of King Ramesses VI. The visit itself was a sequel to a scene in which one Pais had found the thieves in unlawful possession of certain metal and threatened to report them to the prince of the West. He was pacified as usual by the promise of a further expedition to the tombs in which he should bring away loot for himself. From the fact that on this occasion only clothing and objects of copper were taken we may safely infer that the tomb had been exploited for some time and that its more valuable contents, the gold and silver, had been removed.

We cannot connect the thieves with any known to us from the other papyri. It is true that a coppersmith Pentaḥetnakht is also found in 10054 and a coppersmith Ḥori in 10052, but the names are so common that we are not justified in drawing any conclusions from them.

Group VI. Papyri B.M. 10053 verso and 10383.

Before the explosion which damaged it so sadly the verso of 10053 must have been an interesting and probably fairly intelligible document. It is still interesting, but not very intelligible, for whereas the recto has lost the ends of its pages the verso has lost the beginnings. With these have disappeared the titles of the various sections and the result is confusion.

Only six lines of page 1 remain and here we find certain priests being tried for theft, the amount being stated at 300 *deben* of silver and 89 *deben* of gold of the royal *ḥarîm*. "The trial was held in Thebes by the chief priest of Amūn....."

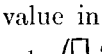
At the top of the second page a fragment luckily gives us the date, Year 9, second month of the inundation, day 23(?), but the rest of the title is lost. A thief is clearly being examined and is inculpating another. "He took me with him inside the temple of Usimarēʿ Miamūn..... He brought the carrier of cassia wood belonging to King ʿŌkheperrēʿ and laid it before me. He made me strip off its gold..... It was he who worked it..... and he did not give me a single *kite* of it." The man is then asked to "tell of all the gold which you stripped which belonged to the House of Gold of King Usimarēʿ Setpenrēʿ, the Great God, and of every man who was with you and who went to strip off the gold of the door-jambs [1] of the House of Gold of King Usimarēʿ Setpenrēʿ the Great God." The witness gives this information and adds, "Some days later I went with them again and we brought away the [2] which leads up into the Secret Place . We stripped off the gold which was on it and melted it

[1] *Cf.* Pap. Harris 1, *passim*.

[2] This passage is important for the meaning of *ḫnî*.

down and I found one *deben* of gold on it. I divided it between myself and my confederates in the same way as the rest." A further question is put concerning the "copper which you brought away belonging to the fastening of the upper door of the gateway of stone of Elephantine."

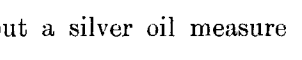
Page 3 contains the evidence of another thief who recounts numerous expeditions to strip gold off the door-jambs (*ḥtrw*). This man also states that "the scribe Sedi, the priest Tuti and the priest Nesamūn went to the 'Doors of Heaven' and set fire to it and stripped its gold and stole it along with the scribe Sedi." The only other point of value in this confession is the statement "We went to the door-jambs of the door of the temple ()."

We may stop here to ask what is the scene of these thefts. In the Cairo papyrus which gives a plan of the tomb of Ramesses IV the *pr nb*, "House of Gold," is the name given to the sarcophagus chamber, and the natural impulse is to give the phrase the same meaning here, and therefore to suppose that the thieves are attacking the door-jambs of the sarcophagus chamber of the tomb of Ramesses II. But a moment's reflection will show that there is no reason why this same phrase should not apply to some room in a temple. What is more, there are certainly no granite doorways in the tomb of Ramesses II, whereas every visitor to the Ramesseum will remember the three black granite doorways which give access from the inner court to the hypostyle hall. I believe it is these to which reference is made in this papyrus. This seems to be borne out by the description of the door-jambs by one thief as "the door-jambs of the door of the temple ()." The word , as these papyri abundantly show, is used as an abbreviation for the temple which is under discussion at the time. It is further to be noted that all the criminals are priests. It would therefore seem that here we have a picture of the priests of the Ramesseum actually engaged in plundering their own temple, an amazing revelation of the condition which Theban affairs had reached some time in the Twentieth Dynasty.

Pages 4 and 5 contain a series of charges against various people accompanied by no evidence. These show that the attacks of the thieves had now gone beyond metals,—perhaps these had all disappeared,—and were directed against the actual wood of the fabric of the temple. Thus we read: "Charge concerning the four planks of cedar belonging to the 'Land of Silver' of King Usimarēᶜ Miamūn Setpenrēᶜ, the Great God, which the scribe Sedi gave to the citizeness Teherer, wife of the divine father Ḥori: he gave them to the craftsman Aḥauty of the chapel of Ḥui and he made a coffin for her." And again: "Charge concerning the three planks of *mry*-wood from the great statue of the court of the temple which the scribe Sedi gave to the scribe of the army ᶜŌner of the temple of Amūn. It was the craftsman Peson who cut it up and the scribe of the army ᶜŌner sent to him several times saying, Get me a shrine of cedar. And the scribe Sedi gave him a shrine of cedar which measured two cubits in height."

These words need little comment. They make it abundantly clear that the temple of Ramesses the Great was being literally looted about the end of the Twentieth Dynasty by its own priests. History may some day reveal to us the cause which made such things possible. Did it lie in the presence of foreigners, sometimes described more specifically as Libyans or Meshwesh, so clearly recorded in portions of the necropolis journal?

Leaving for the moment the date of this papyrus we pass on to B.M. 10383, known as the Van Burgh Papyrus. An inaccurate and incomplete copy of this was published many

years ago[1]. It is dated Year 2, fourth month of summer, day 25. "Day of the trial concerning the gold and silver which were stolen from the temple of Usimarēʿ Miamūn in the House of Amūn, which the prophet Amenmōse son of Ta of the temple had reported to Pharaoh, and instructions had been given to the mayor of Nō and vizier Nebmarēʿnakht, and to the overseer of the treasury of Pharaoh overseer of the granaries and royal butler Menmarēʿnakht, and to the steward and royal butler Yens to try them." The scribe of the army of the temple is questioned about a silver oil measure (). He accuses the scribe of the treasury Setekhmōse of taking it to the "vizier's room which is in the temple" and cutting off a certain number of *deben* from it (the number is omitted). Then the *wēb*-priests and lector-priests of the temple came and took it away again and cut off 5 *deben* of silver from it and finally the remainder seems to have been appropriated by a newly elected *sem*-priest, Ḥori.

On page 2 the same witness is said to have "told the story of" very large amounts of copper stolen from various doors, presumably in the temple, but only the headings remain and the stories have not been filled in. The third page does not concern us for it records only a dispute about a piece of wood for a mast.

What is the date of the two papyri we have just described? The Van Burgh is dated in Year 2, and the combination of the three officials Nebmarēʿnakht, Menmarēʿnakht and Yens, who are judges in the Mayer A trials dated Year 1 and Year 2 in the Repeating of Births, makes it very tempting to assign the Year 2 of this document to the same era. In the absence of more evidence we may do this provisionally. The other papyrus, 10053 verso, is dated Year 9. Now the recto of this consists of Harris A, dated Year 17 of Neferkerēʿ Ramesses IX. If we accept the general principle that an Egyptian scribe always filled first that side of the papyrus on which the fibres were horizontal then Harris A is the earlier of the two texts on this piece of papyrus and our document, bearing the date Year 9, must be later than the reign of Neferkerēʿ. This reign was[2] followed by the epoch known as the Repeating of Births and it is to that era or to some later king that the Year 9 must refer.

An examination of the personal names in the papyrus does not take us very far. The scribe of the army Ḳashuti of 10053 verso is quite possibly the same as that of Mayer A 12. 10, but it is more doubtful whether the scribe of the treasury Setekhmōse of 10383 is to be identified with the scribe of the royal records Setekhmōse of 10053. The prophet Peiseni and the *sem*-priest Ḥori of 10383 may or may not be the *wēb*-priest Peiseni and the divine father Ḥori of 10053: both names are extremely common at this period.

It will therefore be wise in the light of present evidence to attempt no further precision with regard to the dates of these two papyri.

Group VII. Ambras Papyrus.

The Ambras papyrus, Vienna No. 30, is the last of the tomb-robbery documents. It is dated Year 6 in the Repeating of Births and entitled "Inspection of the records of the

[1] *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, XXVIII, 178 ff.

[2] Always assuming that the Year 19 of the Abbott dockets is Year 19 of Neferkerēʿ, which though probable is not certain. The Repeating of Births may even be part of Neferkerēʿ's own reign, *viz.*, from Year 19 onward.

sergeants which the chief of the *šṯ* bought from the men of Thebes, which were in the jars." Nothing is easier than to get a totally wrong impression from the terse wording of an Egyptian document, but it would appear that two jars of documents had been found by the people of Thebes and that the officials bought them back for the archives. The contents of the first jar are nine papyri, one of which was "the record of the examination of the wreaths of Amūn made by the priest Amenkhau," while another was "the records of the Ramesseum."

The papyri found in the other jar are called "the documents concerning the thieves." "Report of the recovery of the gold, silver and copper which the workmen of the necropolis were found to have stolen" is perhaps actually our Harris A (10053 recto), and, if this is so, since no mention is made of the text on the back, we have a confirmation of the later date which we assigned above to this.

"The examination of the pyramid tombs" can hardly be anything but Abbott and "the evidence concerning the pyramid of the King Sekhemrēᶜshedtaui" is surely Amherst. The other five documents have not come down to us.

SACRED TREES IN MODERN EGYPT

By WINIFRED S. BLACKMAN

With Plate VII.

THE cult of the local shêkhs is a very prominent feature in the religious life of the *fellâḥîn* of modern Egypt, and there are few villages that do not possess at least one domed tomb built in honour of a holy man. Sometimes, indeed, there are several such buildings either actually within the village or on its outskirts. Wherever a shêkh's tomb is erected there is generally a tree or trees associated with it. Sometimes the tree itself constitutes the only monument to the dead saint, and occasionally the holy man's resting-place is marked by a stone or stones, usually overshadowed by a sacred tree. These trees must be treated with reverence, and no leaves or branches must be plucked from them by profane hands. No Muslim even must take a leaf away except after the proper prayers have been recited, usually accompanied by a small gift of candles or money with which to buy them, the candles being afterwards used for lighting up the tomb at night. The tomb of a certain Shêkh Gadullah which stands near El-Lâhûn has two or three trees growing close beside it (Pl. VII, fig. 4). A "servant" is attached to the tomb who is called the "servant of the Shêkh." This man and his family live in a small adjacent hut. On one occasion one of the women of this family was persuaded by a man, who had not performed the proper prayers, to pluck a small branch off one of the Shêkh Gadullah's trees and give it to him, and for this he gave her a small sum of money. A few days after this sacrilegious act the woman died.

These sacred trees are often supposed to possess curative properties, and their leaves are believed to be a cure for sore eyes and various other ills. Votive offerings, usually consisting of coloured handkerchiefs, may be seen hanging from the trees, but this is more usual when there is no tomb, for when such a building exists the offerings are hung within it. Very many of the trees have large nails stuck into their trunks, recording prayers offered by devotees. Mr. Hornblower has informed me that such nails must be quite new ("virgin" nails) and of native manufacture. The tree of the Shêkh Sabr at Manyal in Beni Swêf Province (Pl. VII, figs. 2, 3) has many such nails stuck into its ancient trunk. People go to the tree of this shêkh to be cured of headache, among other things, and having offered up petitions to the shêkh to cure them, they hammer a nail into the trunk of his tree, at the same time twisting some of their hair round the nail.

The Shêkh Seyid, who is buried close to a small *'ezbah* in Miniah Province, is associated with a cone-shaped stone and a palm tree (Pl. VII, fig. 1). Close by is a small shelter, about a foot and a half high, made of mud bricks, in which candles are burnt for the shêkh. Childless women flock to this spot and step over the shêkh's stone seven times, and, when the fruit is in season, they eat one of the dates from his tree. This must be done on three consecutive Fridays, and absolute silence must be maintained by the women in question, both while on their way to the sacred spot and while they are performing the rite.









1. Tree of Shêkh Seyid at 'Ezbah Mismâr, Miniah Prov.
2. Tree of Shêkh Sabr at Manyal.
3. Manyal, with tree of Shêkh Sabr on right.
4. Tomb of Shêkh Gadullah at El-Lahûn.

Quite by accident, as it were, while I was conversing on another subject with an Egyptian woman of my acquaintance, she volunteered the following information, which has since been confirmed by three or four independent witnesses. Many of these dead shêkhs attained their sainthood during their lifetime, and yet, in spite of this sanctity attaching to him, more than one instance is known of a shêkh having been murdered. When this has happened a clay figure, supposed to represent the murdered man, is erected on the spot where his blood was spilt. His soul (*rûḥ*) will enter this figure and will not trouble the people by wandering about. In course of time the figure is weathered away, but from it arises a tree, so I was told, which is thenceforth associated with the dead shêkh and is called his tree, and into it goes the soul of the shêkh. This is the case with the tree of the Shêkh Sabr. The people assure me that he never had a tomb at Manyal, but that he is associated with his tree only. I am told that this belief that the soul of a shêkh goes into his tree is common to all the sacred trees, even when there is a tomb as well, but that in all cases the soul is there on certain days only, such as the day, usually Thursday or Friday, when the weekly visit is paid to the tombs of the shêkhs and to the graves of relations and friends.

This belief in the close association of the *rûḥ* of a dead shêkh with his sacred tree certainly points to a possible connection with the old idea that the *bai* (manifestation or soul) was closely associated with a tree or grove of trees. Just as at the present day a tree is supposed to grow up from the clay representation of a dead shêkh, so in ancient times a sycamore tree was supposed to have sprung up from the corpse of Osiris which was addressed by devotees as follows:—"Hail to thee, Sycamore, which enclosest the god, under which the gods of the Nether Sky stand, whose tips are scorched, whose middle is burned, who are just in [suffering]....Thy forehead is upon thy arm [in mourning] for Osiris....Thy station, O Osiris; thy shade over thee, O Osiris, which repels thy defiance, O Set; the gracious damsel (meaning the tree) which was made for the soul of Gehesti; thy shade, O Osiris[1]." Again, Isis on her weekly visit (*eṭ-ṭalla'*, as such weekly visits to the graves are called in modern Egypt) to the Holy Place of Osiris on the Island of Bîgah, poured out libations to the *'iwy*-tree, under the shadow of which was the burial-place of Osiris. She made a similar offering to the *mnṯ*-grove, on the branches of which rested the *bai* of Osiris. There are other examples of this ancient cult doubtless well known to the readers of this *Journal*. In the ancient paintings also, the association of a tree with the dead Osiris is often depicted.

[1] BREASTED, *Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, 27–8.

ATHANASIANA

By NORMAN H. BAYNES

§ 1. *The Recall of Arius from Exile.*

The date and the circumstances of the return of Arius from exile form one of the most important and perplexing problems of the period immediately succeeding the Council of Nicaea. Gwatkin writes "it seems impossible to fix the date of his recall...our data are hopelessly deficient[1]"; while Dr. Kidd curiously says the recall of Arius "may *for convenience* be assigned to 330, though the date is uncertain[2]." I am afraid that I fail to understand the meaning of the words which I have italicized.

The question was fully discussed by that great scholar Otto Seeck (*Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, xvii, 360 ff.; *Geschichte des Untergangs*, etc., iii, 425 ff.). In his view, as is well known, Arius was recalled by Constantine in A.D. 326—the year after the Council—and as Arius failed to respond to this invitation the impatient emperor wrote again on Nov. 27 of that year (Socr., i, 25). Arius met Constantine, probably in Sirmium; in November 327 (deduction from Athanasius, *Apologia contra Arianos*, c. 59) a second session of the Council of Nicaea was held (Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, iii, c. 23), and here Arius and his colleagues Eusebius, Theognius and Maris subscribed to the creed of Nicaea, and were received into communion. I am not aware that any student has ever accepted Seeck's reconstruction of the recall of Arius, and it does not call for any refutation here. It depends in part on the acceptance of the letter of Eusebius and Theognius (Socr., i, 14), but Lichtenstein's defence of this document[3] cannot, I think, stand before the criticism of Rogala[4], and I prefer to follow (*inter alios*) Tillemont, Gwatkin and Duchesne in regarding it as incompatible with our other sources. Duchesne writes in his *Histoire ancienne de l'Église* (ii, 165, ii, 131 n. 5, English translation): "It is not easy to explain the origin of this document. Perhaps Socrates may have been deceived in regard to its authors. It would suit well enough Bishops Secundus and Theonas. In any case it assumes Arius as rehabilitated by the bishops." This suggestion might be supported by reference to a confused passage in Philostorgius, i, 1, which states that Constantine recalled from exile τοὺς περὶ Σεκοῦνδον[5]. This document cannot in its present setting be used as evidence for the date of the recall of Arius.

Indeed the document from which any attempt to answer the question must start is, it would seem, the letter of Constantine to Arius preserved in the *Syntagma* of Gelasius Cyzicenus[6]. Seeck has argued that this is one of the many forgeries produced by Atha-

[1] Gwatkin, *Studies of Arianism*, 90–91.

[2] B. J. Kidd, *A History of the Church*, ii, 53.

[3] Adolf Lichtenstein, *Eusebius von Nikomedien*, 31 ff.

[4] S. Rogala, *Die Anfänge des arianischen Streites*, 78 ff.

[5] On the view adopted in this paper the Council referred to in the letter would be the Council of Jerusalem A.D. 335.

[6] Gelasius Cyzicenus, iii, 19, in *Griechische christlichen Schriftsteller*, edd. Loeschcke and Heinemann (1918), 183 ff.

nasius, but his view has not won general acceptance. This document is dated to the time when Paterius was praefect of Egypt, and therefore cannot be placed *before* A.D. 332–3[1]. If Arius had been rehabilitated by the Council of Nicaea, as Seeck thought, the violent abuse of this letter would certainly be incredible. He further argues[2] that "in den Jahren 330 bis 335 erscheint Konstantin in allem was glaubwürdig überliefert ist als Beschützer des Arius und Gegner der starren Orthodoxie." But this is not the case: in 333 the emperor had instituted a criminal commission against Athanasius, only to countermand the order on the discovery that the "murdered" Arsenius yet lived, and had then written the angry letter against the enemies of Athanasius preserved in the *Apologia c. Arianos*, c. 68. Constantine was clearly highly incensed against the Arians, and when Arius presented a creed to him it was a most unfavourable moment, and he rejected it with scorn[3]. But even in his anger there recurs the thought of that aim which he consistently pursued—the unity of the Church—and he cannot miss the chance of including even Arius in the Catholic communion: hence the invitation in its curiously characteristic form which it is difficult to think that even so hardened a forger—if we are to believe Seeck—as Athanasius would have imagined:

σὺ δὲ, ὁ σιδηρόφρων ἀνήρ, δεῖγμά μοι δὸς τῆς σῆς προαιρέσεως, εἰ σαυτῷ πιστεύεις καὶ ἔρρωσαι τῷ βεβαίῳ τῆς πίστεως καὶ καθαρὰν ὅλως ἔχεις συνείδησιν. ἧκε πρὸς ἐμέ, ἧκε, φημί, πρὸς θεοῦ ἄνθρωπον κ.τ.λ.

This letter is surely genuine: "it is a very strange document; if its authenticity were not guaranteed by so many outward indications we should scarcely believe that so violent an invective against an unhappy exile could ever have been written by any sovereign or in his name. But there is no room for doubt[4]"; and if genuine this dated document must give us our starting-point.

This letter had no effect and after a considerable interval (cf. *πάλαι* in SOCR., I, 25) it was followed by a second letter, dated Nov. 27 *sine anno* (SOCR., *loc. cit.*), presumably A.D. 333. This friendly appeal was answered by Arius and Euzoius who met Constantine in Constantinople, where we find the emperor at the baths of Aquae, in the neighbourhood of the capital, in November of that year[5]. The Arian leaders tendered an inoffensive creed, and persuaded Constantine of their orthodoxy.

At this point we are met by the problem of the letter addressed by Constantine according to GELASIUS (164, 13) *πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπίσκοπον Ἀλεξανδρείας* announcing this interview and calling upon the bishop to receive the suppliants.

Ἄρειον Ἄρειον ἐκεῖνον λέγω πρὸς ἐμὲ τὸν Σεβαστὸν ἐλθεῖν ἐκ παρακλήσεως πλείστων ὅσων, ἐκεῖνα φρονεῖν περὶ τῆς καθολικῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν ἐπαγγειλόμενον, ἅπερ ἐν τῇ κατὰ Νικαίαν συνόδῳ δι' ὑμῶν ὡρίσθη καὶ ἐκρατύνθη, παρόντος καὶ συνορίζοντος κἀμοῦ τοῦ ὑμετέρου συνθεράποντος. παραχρῆμα οὖν οὗτος ἅμα σὺν Εὐζοίῳ, γνόντες δηλονότι τὴν τοῦ βασιλικοῦ προστάγματος βούλησιν, ἀφίκοντο πρὸς ἡμᾶς. διελέχθην οὖν αὐτοῖς παρόντων πλειόνων περὶ τοῦ λόγου τῆς ζωῆς....ἀπέστειλα τοιγαροῦν οὐ μόνον ἀναμιμνήσκων ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀξιῶν ὑποδέξασθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἱκετεύοντας.

[1] *Cf.* SEECK, *Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste*, 182. For the date *cf.* ED. SCHWARTZ, *G.G.N., Philol.-hist. Klasse*, 1904, 393.

[2] *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, XXX, 427–8.

[3] GELASIUS, 184, 23.

[4] DUCHESNE, *op. cit.*, 136; *cf.* G. LOESCHCKE, *Das Syntagma des Gelasius Cyzicenus* (Bonn, 1906), 29–35 and ED. SCHWARTZ, *G.G.N.*, 1904, 346, 393: "unweigerlich echt."

[5] SEECK, *Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste*, 182.

The closing paragraphs of the letter with its urgent appeal to the bishop to cooperate in the task of establishing εἰρήνη and ὁμόνοια are particularly characteristic of Constantine's undeviating purpose. There can hardly be any question that the letter is genuine: it bears the marks of having been written directly after the momentous interview—note the opening words of the passage which I have quoted. But if so it cannot be addressed to the bishop of Alexandria whose death must be dated to 17 April 328 on the authority of the *Vorbericht* to the Festal letters of Athanasius[1]. The natural suggestion is surely that of DUCHESNE (*op. cit.*, E.T., 146, n. 1), either to remove the Gelasian rubric altogether or to conjecture that in its original form it read only πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπίσκοπον without Ἀλεξανδρείας: "neither the fragments of the text nor the place it occupies in the collection of Gelasius give any indication that it was addressed to Athanasius' predecessor." Only I should not place the letter after the Council of Jerusalem in 335, as does Duchesne, but immediately after the emperor's interview with Arius and Euzoius.

Is it too bold a suggestion to hazard the conjecture that Alexander of Constantinople complied with the emperor's request, received Arius into communion and then shortly afterwards died, to be succeeded by Paulus who thus as bishop of the capital subscribed to the decisions of the Council of Tyre in 335?—and was the legend of the death of Arius as developed by Athanasius many years later the attempt of some orthodox upholder of the Council of Nicaea to rehabilitate the memory of Alexander[2]? Perhaps this is too daring a suggestion.

It was probably late in 334[3] that Constantine, persuaded by Eusebius[4], wrote to Alexandria demanding that Athanasius should receive into communion whoever wished to join the church, threatening deposition and exile if he refused. Athanasius did refuse, and the displeasure of Constantine is reflected in the peremptory command that Athanasius should face his judges at the Council of Tyre: the bishop of Alexandria should no longer be free to disobey the royal summons as he had disobeyed that to the Council of Caesarea in 334[5]: disobedience this time would be met by armed force. The complete change of tone in this letter from that addressed to Athanasius some months before is very remarkable: it is to be explained by the bishop's refusal to receive Arius into communion.

Athanasius fled from Tyre to Constantinople whence he was banished to Gaul[6]: Arius had now a clear field in Egypt. Arius after his rehabilitation by the Council of Jerusalem went, it would seem, to Alexandria, but failed to make good his position there, which is not surprising at a moment when the city must have been angered by the exile of its bishop. Arius died soon after: whether he returned to Constantinople we do not know;

[1] LARSOW, 26. SEECK, *Regesten*, 178.

[2] I find it very difficult to reject, as does ROGALA, *op. cit.*, 101 ff. the express statement of HILARY, frag. 3, 13, Paulus vero Athanasii depositioni interfuit, manuque propria sententiam scribens cum ceteris eum etiam ipse damnavit. I should agree with Seeck in dating the death of Alexander before 335, cf. *Zeitschrift fur Kirchengeschichte*, XVII, 29 ff. It might even be suggested that *in its original setting* GELASIUS, III, 15, p. 165, 10–11 referred to Alexander of Constantinople.

[3] I have placed this letter late in 334 since it would appear that Eusebius of Nicomedia had previously made the same request and been refused by Athanasius (ATHANASIUS, *Apol. c. Ar.*, c. 59); I have therefore allowed for this in the chronology.

[4] I have not thought it necessary to refer in the text to the influence of Constantia and Eutocius.

[5] H. I. BELL, *Jews and Christians in Egypt*, 48.

[6] See § 2 of this paper.

we cannot use the Athanasian legend of the death of Arius for the purposes of any historical reconstruction of the course of events[1].

This chronology would appear to me to do the least violence to our sources. It remains to consider its relation to the account given by Athanasius in the *Apologia contra Arianos*. Here the emperor's letter to Athanasius calling upon him to admit Arius into communion and the refusal of that demand by Athanasius come before the first charge of the Eusebians and Melitians against Athanasius, i.e., *before* 330–331, and that refusal of Athanasius is given as the reason for the manufacture of those charges. In the presentation of events given by Athanasius it is thus not his oppression of the Melitians[2], but his loyalty to the Great Council, which exposed him to the attacks of his enemies. I would suggest that in order to secure this setting for his narrative Athanasius has antedated by some three years the emperor's demand, and has thus produced the chronological obscurities in Socrates and Sozomen, who sought to combine the account of Athanasius with that of their other authorities. It is to be noted that Athanasius only quotes the emperor's letter in part—Socrates quotes from Athanasius just this fragment: did the earlier part of the letter state that the bishop of Constantinople had *already* received Arius into communion? Athanasius gives no note of precise date, but he *does* say that the letter was brought to Egypt by the imperial agents Gaudentius and Syncletius, but these were the same two trusted imperial messengers, who had carried to Egypt a few months before the emperor's *first* letter to Arius inviting the heretic to his presence[3]; this small detail of evidence may perhaps tend to confirm the reconstruction here proposed.

In this instance I cannot help feeling that Athanasius has sacrificed historical accuracy to the purposes of his *Apologia*. I should be glad if the accusation can be refuted, for it would otherwise undoubtedly tend to shake our confidence in the trustworthiness of Athanasian chronology.

§ 2. *An Athanasian Forgery?*

Otto Seeck had studied the literature of the fourth century, both ecclesiastical and civil, so long and so thoroughly that his *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt* will for many a year remain the standard introduction to the history of that century. It is, however, fatally easy to read the text of that work without consulting the *Anhänge*, and there is at times the danger that Seeck's peculiar views of certain sources upon which that text is based may be insufficiently taken into account—in particular his views as to documentary forgeries of the period[4]. Athanasius was for Seeck the arch-forger: the habit of forging documents only grew upon him with the flight of the years; Athanasius "im Verlauf der Jahre immer dreister in seinen Lügen wird[5]." The principle laid down by Seeck as the

[1] *Cf.* n. 2 on previous page. It appears to me quite incredible that Arius *after* his reception by the Council of Jerusalem should have been called upon to present *another* credal statement. I am not convinced by the argumentation of ROGALA, *op. cit.*, 101–114.

[2] On these *cf.* H. I. BELL, *op. cit.*, Pap. no. 1914. It is to be noted that on account of this oppression the Melitians with the help of Eusebius secured the right ἔκτοτε καθ' ἑαυτοὺς συνάγειν καὶ μὴ ὑπό τινων ὀχλεῖσθαι, EPIPHANIUS, LXVIII, 6.

[3] The letter was sent together with a copy of the letter of Constantine ἐπισκόποις καὶ λαοῖς (see GELASIUS, 128): *cf.* ED. SCHWARTZ, *op. cit.*, 393–4. GELASIUS, 192, 14.

[4] For a criticism of Seeck's view of forgeries in Optatus, *cf.* NORMAN H. BAYNES, *Optatus, Journal of Theological Studies*, XXVI (1924), 37–44.

[5] *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, XXX (1909), 419.

basis of his enquiries into the fabrications of Athanasius can hardly be questioned: "Wenn aber in *einem* Falle sicher nachgewiesen ist dass Athanasius ein Fälscher war, so werden damit alle anderen Urkunden zweifelhaft die auf seine Autorität zurückgehen," though it is going very far when he adds "*oder zurückgehen können.*" That crucial instance of a forged document Seeck thought that he had discovered in the letter by which Constantine is alleged to have summoned the bishops from the Council of Tyre to Constantinople; with the detection of that forgery the whole Athanasian account of his first banishment is proved to be a tissue of lies. It is perhaps worth while to consider briefly this instance of Seeck's theory, since the discussion may serve to illustrate the preceding section of this paper.

The "*Vorbericht*" to the Festal Letters (LARSOW, 28) states that Athanasius fled from Tyre to Constantinople; he arrived in the capital on 2 Athyr, and after eight days was seen by the emperor: "und als er Muth gefasst, setzten seine Gegner den Kaiser durch allerlei Beschuldigungen in Schrecken, und so ward er auf der Stelle exilirt, und ging am 10 Athyr nach Gallien zum Caesar Constans." Athanasius is eight days in all in Constantinople—from 29 Oct. 335 to 6 November 335. It is thus impossible that during these eight days the eastern bishops should have been summoned from Tyre, that their leaders should have travelled to the capital, should in the emperor's presence have accused Athanasius of a threat to detain in Alexandria the Egyptian corn-ships and that Constantine should only then have banished Athanasius to Gaul. This account of Athanasius is therefore simply a *Märchen*—a fabrication to prove that his banishment did not depend upon the judgment of an ecclesiastical tribunal—the Council of Tyre: he was banished on a purely civil charge. (*Geschichte des Untergangs*, etc., IV, 57.)

Seeck has tested all the *day* dates as well as the *year* dates of the *Vorbericht*: the inaccuracy in year dates can be explained, and only one error in the day dates can be proved—25 Mechir 364 for 19 Mechir (= the date of the return of Athanasius to Alexandria)[1]. This one error Seeck would attribute to a scribal "Verwechslung von Zahlzeichen[2]." We are therefore bound to accept the accuracy of the *Vorbericht* in its statement that Athanasius left Constantinople for Gaul on 10 Athyr.

Of the letter of Constantine there are *three* versions: all are forgeries of Athanasius, each more unscrupulous than the former; (i) the first version can be reconstructed from the letter of the Egyptian bishops to Pope Julius: this is a document dictated by Athanasius; (ii) the second form of the letter is given in the *Apologia c. Arianos*, c. 86; (iii) the third version is known to us from Gelasius of Cyzicus: it is derived from the *Synodicus* of Athanasius—a work of his old age. The conclusion is obvious: "Dass eine Urkunde die mit dem Älterwerden desjenigen der sie uns überliefert hat, immer wieder eine andere Gestalt annimmt, von mehr als zweifelhafter Art ist, bedarf wohl keines weiteren Beweises." (*Geschichte*, etc., IV, Anhang, 407-408.)

Further Socrates and Sozomen cannot be cited in support of the account of Athanasius, for they themselves used the writings of Athanasius; they *may* have used such a source (*e.g.*, the *Synodicus*) in their account of the first banishment of Athanasius, and though this cannot be strictly proven, so long as the supposition remains a *possibility*, their account can have no independent value.

Such is Seeck's argument: is it conclusive? In the first place it is to be noted that of the dated events recorded in the *Vorbericht* all refer to happenings in Alexandria save the

[1] *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, XXX, 401-418. [2] *Ibid.*, 409.

two already cited and the death of Julian, and the death of the Apostate was an event which deeply stirred the imagination of the whole Christian Church. In the case of the dating in the *Vorbericht* of events which occurred in distant Constantinople it is obvious that confusion would be far easier.

To turn to the alleged three different versions of the letter of Constantine. Considering that both the character and the date of the *Synodicus* of Athanasius are hotly contested[1]: considering further that it is quite uncertain from what source Gelasius drew his version of Constantine's letter (for the unknown Johannes suggested by Loeschcke is admittedly but an x^2) and that therefore Seeck's version (iii) cannot be with any certainty traced to Athanasius, we might in strictness forgo any consideration of this form of the letter, for we are for the present only concerned with forgeries for which Athanasius can be deemed responsible. But I cannot escape the conviction that the version of Gelasius does indeed represent the original form of the letter which Athanasius has abbreviated. Apart from what we may regard as redactional variations, and apart from the closing sentence which is not quoted by Athanasius, the main difference between versions (ii) and (iii) is the lengthy passage in GELASIUS, 180, 20–34. The version of the letter given by Athanasius breaks off just before the words *οὕτως τεταπεινωμένον καὶ κατηφῆ τεθεάμεθα τὸν ἄνδρα ὥστε ἡμᾶς εἰς ἄφατον οἶκτον ἐπ' αὐτῷ περιπεσεῖν*; and in the previous sentence Athanasius has omitted the words *πενθῶν δὲ καὶ ὀλοφυρόμενος* (GELASIUS, 180, 15). I would suggest that the abbreviation of the imperial text at these two points is intentional: Athanasius was not anxious to perpetuate the picture of his own abject plight in the year 335; Constantine's portrayal of the primate of Egypt was menschlich—allzu menschlich! But this picture is confirmed by the Melitian papyrus recently published by Mr. Bell[3]: the luggage packed and put on board ship—only to be taken off again because of the indecision of Athanasius; *πάνυ ἀθυμεῖ Ἀθανάσιος* (Pap. 1914, 38): *οὕτως τεταπεινωμένος καὶ κατηφής*: *πενθῶν δὲ καὶ ὀλοφυρόμενος*: the two descriptions are wonderfully congruous. Here, I believe, is no Athanasian forgery, but Athanasian suppression of embarrassing veracity. The version of the letter of Constantine given in the *Apologia c. Arianos*, c. 86, has been "edited" by Athanasius (*cf.* the treatment by Athanasius of another imperial letter suggested in § 1).

But the strength of Seeck's case rests upon the alleged differences between version (i) and version (ii) of the letter of Constantine. And here Seeck is simply in error, for the letter to which the bishops refer is indeed extant, but it is not the letter addressed to the bishops assembled at the Council of Tyre; it is the letter written, as the bishops themselves state (*πρὸ τούτου*, c. 9), at an earlier date to Athanasius himself when the emperor had learned that Arsenius had been found alive. It is further of interest to note that so far from concocting a forgery are the bishops that they are studiously careful to preserve in their summary the precise wording of Constantine's letter. A brief comparison will make this clear. The bishops write: (c. 9) *ὁ μὲν γὰρ βασιλεὺς, πρὸ τούτου γράφων, τὴν συσκευὴν ἐμέμψατο, τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ἠτιάσατο, τῶν Μελιτιανῶν κατεψηφίσατο, ἀθεμίτους, ἀρᾶς ἀξίους,*

[1] *Cf.* FR. GEPPERT, *Die Quellen des Kirchenhistorikers Socrates Scholasticus*, Leipzig, 1898, 82–111; P. BATIFFOL, *Le Synodikon de S. Athanase, Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, x (1901), 123–143; ED. SCHWARTZ, *Zur Geschichte des Athanasius* in *G.G.N., Philol.-hist. Klasse*, 1904, 394 ff.; HEINZ FROMEN, *Athanasii Historia acephala*. Diss. Münster, 1914, 11 ff.

[2] *Cf.* GERHARD LOESCHCKE, *Das Syntagma des Gelasius Cyzicenus*, Bonn, 1906, and preface to the edition of Gelasius by Loeschcke and M. Heinemann, 1918, xxviii–xxxviii. I quote from this edition.

[3] H. I. BELL, *Jews and Christians in Egypt*.

τὰ δεινότατα ἐγγράφως εἰπών. Constantine had in fact written περὶ δὲ ἐκείνων τῶν πάσης ἀρᾶς ἀξίων, τῶν Μελιτιανῶν δηλαδὴ τῶν σκαιοτάτων καὶ ἀθεμίτων οἵτινες...μόνον φθόνῳ καὶ ζάλῃ καὶ θορύβοις τὰ ἄτοπα κινοῦσι, τὴν ἀθέμιτον αὐτῶν διάνοιαν ἐπιδεικνύντες ταῦτα φθέγξομαι κ.τ.λ.: and later ὅπερ δηλονότι, πρᾶγμα αὐτοῦ τοῦ φωτὸς, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἐστὶ τηλαυγέστερον, ὅτι τῇ σῇ συνέσει ἐπιβουλεῦσαι ἐσπούδαζον (c. 68). The bishops write (c. 17) ἀπεστείλαμεν δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν βασιλέων ἐπιστολήν· ἔνθα οὐ μόνον ἐπ' Ἀρσενίῳ δυσχεραίνει ὅτι ζῶντος ἀνθρώπου φόνος ἐνεκαλεῖτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ποτηρίῳ ἐθαύμαζε τὸ ποικίλον τῆς κατηγορίας καὶ πεπλανημένον ὅτι πῃ μὲν Μακαρίου τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου, πῃ δὲ Ἀθανασίου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου κατηγόρουν, ὡς κλάσαντος ταῖς χερσὶ τὸ ποτήριον. The emperor writes (c. 68) τίς δὲ ἡ μετάβασις καὶ ποικιλία καὶ διαφορὰ τοῦ πράγματος, ὡς νῦν εἰς ἕτερον πρόσωπον τὴν κατηγορίαν τοῦ ἐγκλήματος τούτου μετάγειν; and later καὶ συνορῶσιν ὅτι πεπλασμένων καὶ ψευδῶν πραγμάτων εἰσι κατήγοροι.

There still remains, however, the question of the historicity of Constantine's summons of the eastern bishops to Constantinople. If it is only a fabrication of Athanasius, the consistency of the accounts is skilfully arranged. Constantine, riding through Constantinople (the reminiscence of the eye-witness), meets Athanasius μετὰ ἑτέρων τινῶν οὓς [ὧν GELASIUS, 180, 14] περὶ αὐτὸν εἶχεν (c. 86). When the bishops arrive in Constantinople and make their charges (οὐκέτι μὲν τὰ ἐν Τύρῳ θρυλούμενα παρ' αὐτῶν, περὶ σίτου δὲ καὶ πλοίων ἐποχῆς ὡς Ἀθανασίου ἐπαγγειλαμένου δύνασθαι κωλύειν τὴν ἀπὸ Ἀλεξανδρείας εἰς τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν τοῦ σίτου μετακομιδήν) ταῦτά τινες τῶν ἐξ ἡμῶν ἔνδον ὄντες μετὰ Ἀθανασίου ἀκηκόασι τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπειλοῦντος: so the bishops. In c. 87 in which Athanasius gives his own account of the scene we read καὶ τοῦτο (the charge of the Eusebians) πάροντες μὲν Ἀδαμάντιος, καὶ Ἀνουβίων, Ἀγαθάμμων, Ἀρβεθίων, Πέτρος, οἱ ἐπίσκοποι, ἤκουσαν. ἔδειξε δὲ καὶ ὁ θυμὸς τοῦ βασιλέως κ.τ.λ. The τινες of the bishops' letter are here named. It is at least an adept fabrication.

But Athanasius further tells us who of the Eusebians were present at the interview. They were Eusebius, Theognius, Patrophilus, ἕτερος Εὐσέβιος, Ursacius and Valens. But the *Apologia contra Arianos* was no secret libel like the *Historia Arianorum*: it was clearly intended from the first as public propaganda to be widely circulated. The date of its first publication is doubtful (348–350?)[1]; but whatever the precise year, though the Eusebii were dead, Patrophilus was still one of the most active of the enemies of Athanasius, while Ursacius and Valens had recanted and were in high favour with Constantius. Is it conceivable that Athanasius could have thought that he could for a moment have made his lie credible when he states that his most prominent living foes were present at the all-important interview? His account must stamp him the clumsiest of liars: and Athanasius, even were he knave, was certainly not a fool. The supposition is incredible.

Lastly we may turn to the evidence of SOCRATES, I, 35 and SOZOMEN, II, 33. It is clear that these historians did not derive their account of the proceedings *solely* from any extant work of Athanasius: even to the list of the Arians present at Constantinople given by Athanasius Socrates adds Maris. But Seeck suggests that Socrates may have used a lost work of Athanasius—the *Synodicus*. This is an unhappy suggestion, for Socrates adds, after quoting Athanasius by name, φασὶ δέ τινες τοῦτο (sc. the exile of Athanasius) πεποιηκέναι τὸν βασιλέα σκοπῷ τοῦ ἑνωθῆναι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπειδὴ Ἀθανάσιος πάντῃ κοινωνῆσαι τοῖς περὶ Ἄρειον ἐξετρέπετο. Socrates clearly possessed for the proceedings at

[1] *Cf.* OTTO BARDENHEWER, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, III, Freiburg, 1912, 61.

Constantinople non-Athanasian sources: this suggested explanation of Constantine's action is nowhere, so far as I can remember, adduced by Athanasius. We can hardly doubt that here we have the *vera causa* of the banishment of Athanasius, and the statement of Socrates only confirms the argument of the first section of this paper.

As regards the dating of the "*Vorbericht*" I would suggest that it rightly records the day of the first interview with Constantine and the fact that the exile of Athanasius immediately followed *an* interview with the emperor, but by a confusion the two interviews have been reduced to one. Between those two interviews Constantine did summon the eastern bishops to Constantinople. The imperial letter of summons Athanasius "edited," but did not forge. On examination Seeck's crucial instance of an Athanasian forgery falls to the ground.

§ 3. *The Return of Athanasius from his first Exile.*

It has now become customary to date the arrival of Athanasius in Alexandria on his return from his first exile to November 23, 337. (So *inter alios* M. GWATKIN, *Studies of Arianism*, 2nd ed., Cambridge, 1900, Note CC, 139–142; H. LIETZMANN, *Chronologie der ersten und zweiten Verbannung des Athanasius, Zeitschr. für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, XLIV (1901), 380–390; F. LOOFS, *Die chronologischen Angaben des sog. "Vorberichts" zu den Festbriefen des Athanasius, Sitzungsber. d. preuss. Akad. d Wiss.*, XLI (1908), 1013–1022; F. LAUCHERT, *Leben des heil. Athanasius des Grossen*, Köln, 1911, 49.) I desire to reconsider this chronology and particularly to regard it in connection with the imperial history of the time.

It is no longer necessary to discuss the genuineness of the letter of Constantine II to the Alexandrians announcing his permission for Athanasius to return to Egypt. As is well known, Otto Seeck almost to the last persisted in his contention that this letter was a forgery invented by Athanasius. But at the last he abjured his heresy (cf. *Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste*, 185) and we may safely accept that verdict. Since in this letter despatched from Trier on June 17 Constantine II is still a *Caesar*, and not yet Augustus, there can hardly be any doubt that Sievers was right (as against Tillemont, Hefele and Bright) in assigning it to the year 337; the argument that news of the death of Constantine the Great (May 22, 337) could not have reached Trier so early as June 17, 337 has been met by GWATKIN (*op. cit.*, 141, and *cf.* W. RIEPL, *Das Nachrichtenwesen des Altertums*, Leipzig, 1913, 200 ff.). We may therefore start from the assumption that Constantine II wrote to the Alexandrians, announcing his permission for the return of Athanasius, on June 17, 337. His assertion that he was only carrying out his father's intentions in granting this permission is to some extent supported by the fact that Constantine had never allowed the foes of Athanasius to consecrate any successor to take the place of the banished primate.

Constantine II had given his permission for the return of Athanasius, but Constantine, although the eldest son, had no clear title to authority in the eastern provinces; it was natural that Athanasius should desire to meet Constantius, the ruler of the Roman East, and at that meeting to be supported by the influence of his imperial patron. We know from Athanasius himself (*Apol. ad Constantium*, 5) that he did meet Constantius at Viminacium. When and in what circumstances? To that question an answer can only be suggested if we consider the position of affairs in the eastern provinces. Here our western sources fail us, and it is from the history of the Armenian Faustus of Byzantium that we must seek to reconstruct the course of events. For an attempt at such a reconstruction I may refer to my study of the work of Faustus published in the *English Historical Review*

for October 1910[1]. A brief *résumé* will suffice in this place. The Armenian king Tiran had been captured by Persia, and was held a prisoner by Sapor II. The Armenian nobility (*c.* A.D. 334–335) had made their way to the imperial court, and had appealed to Rome. In their absence the Persian king, or more probably his brother Nerses[2], invaded Armenia and took formal possession of the country. Constantine accepted the invitation of the Armenian nobles: one Christian sovran must aid another. He appointed Hannibalianus as *rex* or possibly as *rex regum*[3] (thus reviving the old title of the Armenian kings[4]) to represent the captive royal house of Armenia. With a Roman army Hannibalianus was, it would seem[5], sent to Armenia. At Oscha in the canton of Basan the Romans surprised the Persian forces, routed them and captured the royal harem. Nerses fled into Persia, while two Armenian nobles were appointed as vice-generals of Rome (? A.D. 336). It is no wonder that in the winter of A.D. 336–337 a Persian embassy appeared in Constantinople demanding the evacuation of Armenia[6]: if this demand were not complied with, Persia would go to war. Constantine was preparing to accept that challenge when death overtook him in May 337. It is probable that Sapor seized the favourable opportunity, and forthwith in the summer of 337 invaded Mesopotamia, and besieged Nisibis. The siege is placed by Jerome in A.D. 338, but, as we shall see, there is reason to think that the massacre of the relatives of Constantine, placed by Jerome in 338, really belongs to the year 337. The *Chronicon Paschale* dates the siege to A.D. 337, and the authority which is probably the common source of both reappears in Theophanes (ed. DE BOOR, 34–35) under the year of Constantine's death. Further, in the *Liber Calipharum* (ed. BROOKS, *Chronica Minora*, IV, *Versio*, 132), under the year 649 of the Greeks, after the relation of the death of Constantine and the accession of his sons we read *eodem anno* Persae adversus Nisibin ascenderunt etc. For a full discussion of these passages and their probable sources *cf.* the learned article by PAUL PEETERS, *La Légende de Saint Jacques de Nisibe*, *Analecta Bollandiana*, XXXVIII (1920), 285–373. The position in the East was critical, and it was imperative that Constantius should take action as soon as possible. The great captain was dead, and the Roman army insubordinate; Julian has described the difficulties with which Constantius was faced: *ὅπως δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπεμελήθης, τοσούτων κύκλῳ περιστάντων μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτὴν κινδύνων καὶ παντοδαπῶν πραγμάτων, θορύβου*[7] *πολέμου ἀναγκαίου*[8]*, πολλῆς καταδρομῆς, συμμάχων ἀποστάσεως*[9]*, στρατοπέδων ἀταξίας, ὅσα ἄλλα τότε δυσχερῆ κατελάμβανεν, ἴσως ἤδη διελθεῖν ἄξιον* (JULIAN, *Or.* I, 20, A–B). The soldiers refused to be led by

[1] *Rome and Armenia in the Fourth Century*, *English Historical Review*, XXV (1910), 625–643.

[2] Faustus apparently calls the Persian king Nerses (see M. K. PATKANIAN, *Histoire de la Dynastie des Sassanides*, *Journal Asiatique*, 6me Série, VII, 155), but the Persian army was, it would seem, led by Sapor's brother Nerses, *cf.* PATKANIAN, *ibid.*, 151.

[3] *Cf.* ANONYMUS VALESII, 6, 35, and my criticism of Seeck in *English Historical Review*, XXVII (1912), 755–756.

[4] *e.g.*, Tigranes: *cf.* T. REINACH, *Mithridate Eupator, Roi de Pont*, 343 ff.; P. PASCAL ASDOURIAN, *Die politischen Beziehungen zwischen Armenien und Rom von* 190 *v. Chr. bis* 428 *n. Chr.*, 23 ff.

[5] Cf. *English Historical Review*, XXV, 628.

[6] On LIBANIUS, *Orat.* LIX, §§ 71–72, ed. Förster, IV, 243, cf. *English Historical Review*, XXVII (1912), 756. The passage is explained by the account of Faustus. The neglect of Faustus by historical students and even by Armenian writers (*cf.* ASDOURIAN, *op. cit.*, 142 ff.) is to be regretted.

[7] The reading is uncertain: *θορύβου πραγμάτων*, MSS.

[8] *E conjectura* Capps; *γενναίου*, MSS.

[9] For desertions to Persia amongst the Armenian nobility cf. *English Hist. Rev.*, XXV, 628–629.

any Hannibalianus, *rex regum et Ponticarum gentium* though he might be. The only leaders whom they would obey were the sons of their unconquered general.

We know (i) that the army massacred six members of the house of Constantine in order to secure the empire for his three sons, (ii) that the three sons of Constantine met in "Paeonia" (JULIAN, *Or.* I, 20, C), (iii) that they were declared *Augusti* on Sept. 9, 337 (M.G.H., *Chron. Min.*, I, 235). The question is what is the relation of these events to each other. The massacre is dated to A.D. 338 by Jerome, and this dating is adopted by Seeck (cf. *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, IV, 28, Anhang, 391); but this seems improbable. "Eusebius *V.C.* IV, 68 tells us that as soon as the soldiers heard of the emperor's death, they declared unanimously that none but his sons should succeed him and that not long afterwards they demanded three *Augusti* to represent on earth the heavenly Trinity. Reading between the lines we may pretty safely assume that the massacre was the form in which the army expressed its decision and that it took place some time before Sept. 9" (GWATKIN, *op. cit.*, 112, n. 4). I agree: if the Caesar Dalmatius and the *rex* Hannibalianus had still been alive on Sept. 9, some notice must surely have been taken of them in the imperial settlement. Against this view Seeck has adduced the evidence of *C.J.*, V, 17, 7, a constitution issued from Naissus, and addressed to Dalmatius. The consulate is that of 337: the superscription is *Imp. Constantinus Aug. ad Dalmatium*; Seeck supposes that the superscription must originally have read *Impp. Constantinus, Constantius et Constans AAA ad Dalmatium Caesarem censorem.* This suggestion is in any case a misconception, for it was surely the father of the Caesar who was "censor[1]"—whatever that office may have meant in the fourth century. But there is no need to identify the Dalmatius of this superscription with either the Caesar or the censor, though it is probable that the constitution does, as Seeck suggests (*Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste*, 127), date from the autumn of A.D. 337: Naessus Felicianus and Titianus were the consuls and thus there is not the same chance of confusion as in the case of an imperial consulate. The dating is supported by the fact that *C.Th.*, IX, 1, 4 was issued from Salonica in December 337. The whole question of the date of the massacre has been argued at length by ALBERTO OLIVETTI, *Sulle Stragi di Constantinopoli succedute alla Morte di Constantino il Grande, Rivista di Filologia*, XLIII (1915), 67–79, and I concur in his conclusion that the massacre took place in the summer of 337. But the common proclamation of the three Caesars, the sons of Constantine, as *Augusti* implies an imperial conference and agreement. Athanasius says that he met Constantius first at Viminacium, Julian says that the three brothers met in "Paeonia": I would suggest that this meeting is to be placed in 337 and not, as is generally done[2] on the strength of *C.Th.*, X, 10, 4 and XV, 1, 5, in the summer of 338. That one of the two western *Augusti* was in the Balkan Peninsula in 337 is proved by *C.Th.*, XI, 1, 4 (and cf. *C.J.*, V, 17, 7 discussed above). In fact Sievers was right in placing the imperial conference in A.D. 337 and concluding that "eine doppelte Reise des Constantius [in 338] brauchen wir nicht mit Tillemont anzunehmen" [G. R. SIEVERS, *Athanasii Vita acephala, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Athanasius, Zeitschr. für historische Theologie*, XXXVII, N.F., XXXII (1868), 89–162, at 101].

But if the meeting of the emperors took place early in Sept. 337 Athanasius can hardly have reached Alexandria in November of that year. Indeed all the evidence seems to militate against the view. The tenth Festal Letter is written for Easter 338, but a Festal Letter was designed to be read soon after Epiphany (6 Jan. 338)—*peracto Epiphaniorum die*

[1] So indeed Seeck in P.-W., *s.v.* Dalmatius.

[2] *E.g.*, GWATKIN, *op. cit.*, 112.

(CASSIAN, *Coll.*, X, 1). Athanasius, when he wrote the letter, was, it is true, on his return journey, but he had not reached Alexandria (*cf.* the whole passage beginning "Denn wenn uns auch der Ort trennt" etc., LARSOW, 105); if he had really entered Alexandria on Nov. 23, 337, he would surely have had ample time to compose the letter after his arrival in the city. But that is not all: it was the same Athanasius who returned from exile as the Athanasius who had formerly persecuted the Melitians: he came with violence to sweep his adversaries from the Church. The new Melitian papyrus[1] gives support to the assertions of the eastern bishops at Sardica (*cf.* F. LOOFS, *Zur Synode von Sardica, Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1909, 279–297). Those charges which Athanasius discreetly never attempted to meet are no baseless fabrications. But in the statement of the eastern bishops we read:

Sed dum Athanasius post damnationem suam [A.D. 335 at the Council of Tyre] reditum sibi de exilio compararet, de Gallia ad Alexandriam post plurimum tempus advenit. quique praeterita in nihilum ducens acrius in nequitia praevalebat. nam comparatione sequentium levia sunt quae ab ipso prima commissa sunt. etenim per omnem viam reditus sui ecclesias subvertebat, damnatos episcopos aliquos restaurabat, aliquibus spem ad episcopatus reditum promittebat, aliquos ex infidelibus constituebat episcopos, salvis et permanentibus integris sacerdotibus, per pugnas et caedes gentilium, nihil respiciens leges, desperationi tribuens totum (*S. Hilarii Pictavensis Opera*, Pars IV, ed. ALFREDUS FEDER, 54–55, in *C.S.E.L.*, Vienna, 1916). So eventful an Odyssey must mean a delayed home-coming! (*cf.* SOZOMEN, II, 21, which may really refer to the return from the first exile: so H. I. BELL, *Jews and Christians in Egypt*, 54, n. 1).

From the meeting in the West Constantius hastened to Syria: *ἐπειδὴ γάρ σοι τὰ τῶν συνθηκῶν μετὰ τῆς ἀρίστης ὁμονοίας διῴκητο, παρῆν δὲ ὁ καιρὸς τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπιτάττων βοηθεῖν κινδυνεύουσι, πορείαις ταχείαις*[2] *χρησάμενος ὅπως μὲν ἐκ*[3] *Παιόνων ἐν Σύροις ὤφθης, οὐδὲ τῷ λόγῳ δεῖξαι ῥᾴδιον* (JULIAN, *Or.* I, 20, C). But the long siege of Nisibis by Sapor proved unsuccessful: after two months provisions ran short and plague broke out in Sapor's army: the Persian forces retreated from Mesopotamia. The immediate peril past, Constantius resorted to diplomacy: the harem of the royal house was still in his hands: Armenia remained the crucial point in Rome's eastern policy. Constantius goes north and successfully negotiates an agreement with Persia: the Armenian kingship is restored[4]. It was doubtless during the course of these negotiations that Athanasius once more met Constantius in Caesarea. The reason for this interview is not far to seek. The enemies of Athanasius in Egypt were forewarned: they determined to forestall his arrival. They persuaded Constantius to prolong the tenure of office of the praefect Philagrius: he had shown himself vigorously hostile to the orthodox party: he was too useful to be lost[5]. Athanasius of course knew of this: he must attempt to win the emperor to his side. In the capital of Cappadocia he met Constantius and thence departed for Egypt, arriving in Alexandria on Nov. 23, 338 (*Vorbericht* X). It is only natural that during the absence of Constantius in the East his brothers should have taken measures to secure peace on the

[1] H. IDRIS BELL, *Jews and Christians in Egypt*, Pap. 1914, 53–71.

[2] *E conjectura* Capps; *πορείας μὲν τάχει*, MSS.

[3] So Petavius; *ἀθρόως ἐκ*, MSS.

[4] For the course of these negotiations I may refer to my article, *English Hist. Rev.*, XXV, 628–629.

[5] For Philagrius *cf.* ATHANASIUS, *Hist. Arian.*, 9, 349 C, 10, 350 A; ED. SCHWARTZ, *Zur Geschichte des Athanasius* in *G.G.N., Phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1904, 347.

Danube and in the Balkan Peninsula. Of the presence of one or both of the western emperors in the Danube provinces in this year *C.Th.*, x, 10, 4 (Viminacium, *cf.* GWATKIN, *op. cit.*, 142) and *C.Th.*, xv, 1, 5 (Sirmium) are evidence. I would suggest that the chronological reconstruction here proposed enables us to do justice to *all* the evidence.

If indeed Constantius did for a time surrender Constantinople to Constans, this sacrifice would be adequately accounted for by the urgency of the defence of the eastern frontier. Seeck's suggestion[1] I provisionally adopted in the Cambridge Medieval History, but I am no numismatist, and it would be a service to the historical student if some specialist would subject the evidence of the coinage to a thorough reconsideration.

[1] OTTO SEECK, *Zu den Festmünzen Constantins*, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, XXI (1898), 17–65.

FRANCIS G. NEWTON

Born at Ipswich, April 4th, 1878.

Died at Asyût, Upper Egypt, December 25th, 1924.

FRANCIS G. NEWTON was born at Ipswich in 1878. From 1891 to 1895 he was educated at Repton. Having decided to embrace the career of an architect he went as a pupil for three years to Sir Aston Webb. At the end of his time he remained a further three years in the same office and then set up in independent practice in London. At this point it might have seemed that the normal life of a city architect lay before him. In 1906, however, he went with Dr. Thomas Ashby to plan the Roman remains which were being laid bare at Caerwent. This event marks the beginning of his career as an archaeologist. The winter of 1907 found him in Rome, where he made detailed studies of various monuments. This visit naturally opened up to him more fully the vast treasure house of Italian architecture. It did more, however, for it inspired in him that love of the south for its own sake quite apart from any professional interest which dominated the rest of his life. Henceforth, although he occasionally returned to his practice in London, his real sphere was the Mediterranean. There he was in constant demand by excavators, for his talent for drawing and planning combined with his genuine interest in the archaeological side of an excavation made him a draughtsman in a thousand, while his nature made him a camp-fellow in a million. In 1908 he was in Sardinia with Dr. Ashby and Duncan Mackenzie, planning *nuraghi* and Giants' Tombs. Shortly afterwards, in 1910–11, he again accompanied Mackenzie, this time to Syria, where they explored Moab in search of megalithic monuments and excavated at 'Ain Shems. It was on this occasion that he visited Petra and made what are probably the only complete measured drawings of some of the finer rock-tombs. It must also have been at the end of this work that he first made the acquaintance of Egypt.

During the war he served in B Battery of the Honourable Artillery Company, and was in Egypt in 1915 and 1916. Towards the end of the war many will remember him as a genial and efficient R.T.O. at a great French port.

In the winter of 1920–21 he was persuaded to accompany the expedition of the Egypt Exploration Society to Tell el-'Amarnah. It can readily be guessed that his talents made him a most valuable member of the staff on a site the main interest of which was architectural. The following winter found him again at Tell el-'Amarnah, and in 1922–23 he was even farther afield, for he accompanied the joint expedition of the British Museum and Pennsylvania University to Ur of the Chaldees, thus making his first acquaintance with Mesopotamia. The winter 1923–24 must have been a busy one for him: after conducting an excavation of two months' duration at Tell el-'Amarnah he again went out to Ur and finished the season there. This time he returned to civilization by the new motor route from Baghdad to Aleppo and spent some days in North Syria, using this opportunity to visit Baalbek: Palmyra was already known to him. On his way home he was diverted by a call from Sir Arthur Evans in Crete where he spent two or three weeks planning and surveying.



Francis G. Newton.
Died at Asyûṭ December 25th, 1924.

Photo by Swaine

On his return to England he was appointed by the Exploration Society as their Director of Excavations on a more permanent basis, and it was as leader of the expedition that he went out this season. His death is a severe blow to the plans of the Society, for the securing of his services had made the outlook more settled than it had been for some years.

Of Newton's talents as a draughtsman there is no need to speak. The anxiety of excavators in all parts of the Mediterranean to obtain his services is the best testimony to his reputation in this direction. But, like many other artists, his talents were by no means limited to the production of the plans which all may admire in the pages of this and other journals, and during the rare leisure hours of an expedition he would indulge a decided gift for water-colour sketching, generally of architectural subjects. Among his most successful achievements in this kind were some sketches of churches in Sardinia in the so-called Pisan style, which, with characteristic modesty, he concealed in a portfolio and could rarely be persuaded to show.

Newton has left us no book under his own name, but archaeological works and journals of various kinds are full of the products of his pencil and brush. His biggest single contribution is perhaps to be found in the *City of Akhenaten*, Vol. I, nearly all the plates in which, including the admirable coloured drawings, are from his hand. The fruits of his labours in Sardinia and Syria are scattered over half a dozen publications in three different languages. *The Papers of the British School of Rome* perhaps contain the most pleasing specimens of his handiwork. In each of Volumes V to VIII there is something of his: among the most attractive are the charming drawings, some in pen and wash and some in colour, of Roman wall-paintings from the Palatine, the House in the Via de' Cerchi and the Columbarium of Pomponius Hylas.

It would be hard to describe in a few words exactly what constituted the charm of a man who made and kept friends everywhere he went. Probably the secret was that he was completely unselfish. He had a kindly and generous heart, though he could be firm when the occasion required it, and he spoke evil of no man. He was the ideal camp companion, for his needs were few, his good temper imperturbable, his sense of humour keen, and he never spoke unless he had something worth saying. Only those who have lived in camp can fully appreciate what high virtues these are. Those who regret him most may find some consolation in the fact that his life was mainly spent in doing—and doing well—that which he most liked doing among the scenes which he best loved. Not to many is this given. The settings in which our memories will oftenest place him will be in the south, at the top of a dizzy ladder in some Roman church, in the smoke-room of an Italian Lloyd liner, in the dead streets of Knossos or the living streets of Cairo. These things were the breath of life to him.

A POSSIBLE YEAR DATE OF KING RAMESSES VII

By T. ERIC PEET

The history of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty is for the most part obscure, and resolves itself, after the reign of its first king, Ramesses III, into little more than a list of royal names and of monuments or isolated objects on which these have been found. At one time ten Ramesses, numbered from III to XII, were assigned to the dynasty, but since Maspero showed that the supposed Ramesses IX was identical with King Siptah of the Nineteenth Dynasty[1] the number has been reduced to nine. Of two of these, namely Ramesses VII and VIII, no year dates are supposed to exist. This note attempts to show that we do in effect possess a year date of Ramesses VII.

In the summer of 1923 I transcribed a most unattractive unpublished papyrus in the Museo Reale at Turin. It bears the numbers 1907–8 in Lanzone's catalogue of the Museum. Even when complete this document must have presented difficulties to the modern decipherer, owing partly to the extreme cursiveness of the forms, and partly to the slovenly handwriting of the scribe.

The contents of the papyrus consist of accounts, lists of goods of various kinds delivered to some person unnamed on certain dates, and valued in *deben* of copper, adding up in the end to 1364 *deben*. On the recto are the remains of three pages, of which only the centre one, page 2, is intact, page 1 having lost the beginnings of its lines and page 3 the ends. Page 2 is oddly headed "Given to him in the fortress of the necropolis when he came to drink there together with the scribe of the treasury Pe....." This is followed by a list of commodities and quantities of each. Line 7 begins "Given to him in Year 4, first month of the inundation season, day 10." The next three dates are damaged. The months and days, in order, are:—winter month 2 (or more) day 6, winter month 2 (or more) day 20, and summer (month lost) day 5. In the first two cases three vertical strokes[2] of the year date remain and we may safely assume that the year was either 4 or 5[3], since, as we shall now see, the next date is intact and is Year 5.

In l. 19 we have, quite undamaged, the dating "Year 5, third month of summer, day 3." On page 3 in l. 7 there is another date preserved, "Year 6, month second of the

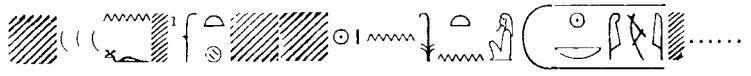
[1] *Ann. Serv.*, x, 131–8.

[2] In year dates 5 can be written in hieratic with five vertical strokes as well as in its more usual cursive form, and is actually so written in this papyrus.

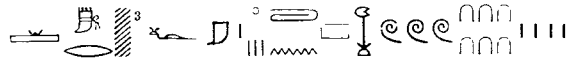
[3] Since at this period regnal years were reckoned from the day of the king's accession and not from New Year's Day we can never assume, unless we know the date of accession, that any particular day of the formal calendar preceded any other. Thus, if a king came to the throne on the 8th of the month Mechir, then Year 1, 8th day of Mechir would be the first day of his reign and Year 1, 7th day of Mechir would be the last. In other words the days from 8 to 30 of that month would actually precede in the regnal year the days of the same month from 1 to 7. A similar confusion obviously holds also in the case of the months and seasons. In the example just quoted part of the second month of winter (Mechir) and the whole of the third and fourth months (Phamenoth and Pharmuthi) would actually come before the first (Tybi), and so too the seasons of *prt* (winter) and *šmw* (summer) would precede that of inundation (*ꜣḫt*).

inundation season, day 5." With this we approach the end of the account, which is in fact summed up five lines further down as follows:—

12. 

13. 

14. 

15. 

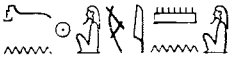
It is tempting to restore these lines as follows:—

"Total amount given to him [in goods][4] of every kind, 1210 *deben* of copper. [Given][5] to him [from] Year *x*, month *y* of the season day 1 of king Nebmaʿrēʿ Mia[mūn, the Great God, up to Year 6 (?).....of King] Usimaʿrēʿ Setpenrēʿ Mi⟨amūn⟩ our Lord..... Final total, 1364 *deben* of copper."

Such a summing up of items over a period of several years, possibly extending back into the reign of a previous king, is not unusual at the end of an account papyrus[6]. If this restoration is based on a correct understanding of the general purport of these lines it is clear that the year dates which immediately precede them in the papyrus will be those of "our Lord," *i.e.*, the reigning Pharaoh Usimaʿrēʿ Setpenrēʿ Miamūn, Ramesses VII, and we should here have proof that his reign lasted at least into a sixth year.

Unfortunately such a restoration of the text is by no means free from difficulties. In the first place, in l. 13 there is only room for the sign [7] in front of , and though this can be used in late Egyptian for "from" year *x* in place of the more usual *r sḫʿ m*[8], it is also just possible that *m* here means "in" Year *x*: it might be added that the words "day 1" which follow the gap after *ḫt sp*, and which prove that a full day and month date stood here, would hardly be needed if the translation "from" were correct and if the purpose of the sentence were simply to give the totals over a period of years. Moreover if this sentence purported to give the sum of the amounts over a period we should expect at

[1] Only room for .

[2] Puzzling. We expect ; *cf.* Pap. Turin, P.R., LXXXVI, line 4.

[3] Probably no loss.

[4] Read [*m ḫt*] *nb*.

[5] [*rdit*] *nf*.

[6] *Cf.* Pap. Turin, 1887; *Journal*, X, 123.

[7] The width of this gap, which extends down into lines 14 and 15, cannot be absolutely determined, for the piece of papyrus on its right has been completely detached and incorrectly remounted. Unfortunately there is no writing on the verso at this point: we thus obtain no help from that side and are left dependent on the evidence of these three lines themselves. To my mind the question is settled by l. 15 where we have a very clear  on the right in the original, followed by a trace of the . On the left of the gap is the long tail of this , fixing the lacuna here at about 8 or 9 millimetres, since the context does not admit of another word before *ḫmt*. This would give roughly the same lacuna in l. 14 in which we may supply , while in l. 13 it would leave room for no more than .

[8] *E.g.*, in the passage quoted in the addendum.

the beginning of l. 13 the sign  "total" before *rdit nf* "given to him," and on the original there is no room for this. Yet again, since in l. 12 we have a total of 1210 *deben* which in l. 15 becomes 1364 *deben* there should somewhere in ll. 13–14 have stood an amount of 154 *deben*, and so small an amount is much more likely to relate to a single day in the reign of the late king than to a period of years. These difficulties, any one of which might perhaps be evaded if it stood alone, are very serious when combined and seem to favour the restoration of l. 13 somewhat as follows:—

"Given to him on the first day of the ...th month of the season in Year *x* of Nebmaʿrēʿ Miamūn, [the Great God, 154 *deben*]....."

But we are not yet out of the wood, for l. 14 now stands isolated and it seems impossible to imagine how it could be related either to l. 13 or to l. 15. It cannot go with l. 15, which is complete in itself and it clearly continues a sentence begun in l. 13. Such a sentence might of course have begun *towards the end* of l. 13 in the portion now lost, but this is rendered most unlikely by the fact that in this papyrus fresh details of the account are always begun on a new line. It is thus difficult to avoid the conclusion that ll. 13 and 14 form a single and complete sentence.

How such a sentence can have run if in l. 13 we are to read "*in* year *x*" I cannot imagine, and I leave the problem to others. For myself I find the difficulties so great that I am forced back on to the rendering "from Year *x*" and all that it involves. One thing, however, is certain, namely, that when l. 13 was intact it contained a year date of Nebmaʿrēʿ Miamūn, Ramesses VI, and another thing seems to me probable, that, whatever translation we adopt, the years stated without king name in the body of the papyrus are those of the reigning monarch Ramesses VII, "our [good] Lord."

I have purposely left until last the evidence of the verso of the papyrus because I believe that the case must in reality be judged from the recto alone. The verso holds two texts, one at the left hand end, in the large formal script which we are accustomed to associate with filing-dockets, and the other at the right hand end in a small cursive script, probably a later addition. The first of these two texts might well be, from its position as well as from its style, a filing-docket describing in short the contents of the recto of the papyrus. It reads as follows:

"Year 7, first month of the inundation season, day 10. This day took place the valuation of the property of ʿOnakht.....together with the scribe of the treasury Pebes..... Property of the scribe of the treasury ʿOnakht, together with all his goods: 324 *deben* of copper. ⟨Plus⟩ 60; total 3[84] *deben* of copper. Delivered to ʿOnakht.....manufactured goods, 336 *deben* of copper. ⟨Plus⟩ 30; total 36[6]....."

The scribe of the treasury Pebes plays an important part in the accounts of the recto, and if we suppose that ʿOnakht is the person there referred to in the third person singular the above words may well be the docket of the contents. Unfortunately the figures on the verso do not agree with the final sums on the recto, and for this and other reasons I hesitate to suggest that the two are in so close a relation. If, however, they are, we get as an immediate corollary that the document is probably dated in the seventh year of Ramesses VII and that therefore his reign lasted at least into a seventh year.

I am conscious of having here put before Egyptologists a very inconclusive case, but the task of making historical deductions from papyri so badly damaged as are some of those at Turin is never wholly satisfactory. Two things only may be said in conclusion, firstly that we certainly have here a document mentioning the names of Ramesses VI and VII,

kings of whom we have very few remains, and secondly that the probability established by this papyrus that Ramesses VII reigned six or even seven years is strong enough to bring home to us the fact that the prevailing views as to the internal chronology of the Ramesside epoch may be very far from accurate.

Addendum

After this article was written Professor Alan Gardiner called my attention to a passage which so aptly illustrates the confusion wrought in the calendar months by the regnal year system as employed in the New Empire (see above, p. 72, note 3) that he suggested that I should refer to it here. It occurs on Ostracon No. 6 of the Colin Campbell collection, which bears a short account referring to grain. The whole passage is as follows:—



"I gave him 2½ *khar* of spelt as a ration for each month from Year 1 to Year 2, second month of the inundation to third month of summer, making ten months: 2½ *khar* for each month making 27 *khar*[2]."

It will be seen that the year dates merely give the two regnal years into which these ten months fell. The months in question are inundation (*3ḫt*) 2, 3 and 4, then winter (*prt*) 1, 2, 3 and 4, and finally summer (*šmw*) 1, 2 and 3. If the regnal year had begun, like the calendar year, with the first month of *3ḫt* all these ten months would have fallen into Year 1. The passage thus proves the corollary to Sethe's discovery concerning the regnal year mentioned in my note.

[1] Perhaps 3 dots (=¾) should be read. See note 2.

[2] The total should be 25. I suspect however that the monthly ration may have been 2¾ *khar* (the fraction is abnormally made for ½ *khar* in l. 3). The total would then be 27½ and I have noted in my copy that the surface after 27 is rubbed and may have held another small sign (*e.g.*, 2 dots =½ *khar*).

A MUMMY OF THE PERSIAN PERIOD

By WARREN R. DAWSON

In the Royal Society's *Philosophical Transactions* for the year 1825 is a very remarkable memoir[1] by a notable surgeon of the time, Dr. A. B. Granville, on Egyptian Mummies, based upon a specimen placed at his disposal. This memoir is a monument of exact observation, and contains a minute description of a mummy belonging to a period for which *data* are very scarce. Unfortunately it was not possible to procure a copy of Granville's work before the manuscript of the lately published book on Egyptian Mummies by Prof. Elliot Smith and the present writer was sent to press, and consequently no reference is made to it therein, but it is so important a work in the literary history of mummification that the present note is intended to supply the deficiency in our book, especially as the memoir in question is now a century old, and not easy to obtain.

The mummy in question is that of an adult woman and was obtained at Ḳurnah in 1821. From the excellent drawing of the mummy-case[2] it is evidently to be assigned to the Persian period, or about 500 B.C., as the shape and decoration of the coffin are characteristic of that period.

After carefully describing the nature and arrangement of the bandages, which were so abundant that after removal they weighed 28 lbs., the author proceeds to the examination of the mummy. The notes which he took have anticipated the methods demanded by modern scientific observation and give us in great detail the technical processes employed.

The mummy is in the fully extended position with the arms crossed over the breast, the hands lying about three inches below the shoulders. The right hand has the fingers fully extended whilst in the left hand they are in the attitude of grasping, an arrangement occasionally, but exceptionally, found in mummies of the Eighteenth Dynasty[3]. Even when the arms are elongated and not crossed, the fingers of the left hand are frequently flexed whilst those of the right hand are extended[4]. There is no embalming incision, but parts of the viscera have been extracted *per anum* with a sharp instrument which has considerably lacerated the orifice. The "second method" of Herodotus describes the manner of removing the viscera without making an abdominal incision, but has not been resorted to in this case, for the organs were not dissolved away but cut, considerable portions being left behind. Amongst the viscera not removed, special mention must be made of the kidneys and the heart, which were *in situ*, the latter attached to its great blood-vessels[5].

[1] *An Essay on Egyptian Mummies with observations on the Art of Embalming among the Ancient Egyptians*, by A. B. Granville, M.D., London, 1825, 1–50 and Pls. 18–23.

[2] *Op. cit.*, Pl. 18.

[3] *E.g.*, Tuthmosis II, Elliot Smith, *Royal Mummies*, Pl. 23; Yuaa, Quibell, *Tomb of Yuaa and Thuiu*, Pl. 52.

[4] *E.g.*, Maherpra, Daressy, *Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois*, Part I, Pls. 16, 17 (Cairo, *Cat. Gen.*), and the "Elder woman from the tomb of Amenophis II," *Royal Mummies*, p. 39.

[5] For the significance of the heart and kidneys see Elliot Smith, *Heart and Reins*, in *Journ. Manchester Orient. Soc.*, I, 1911 and *id.* and Dawson, *Egyptian Mummies*, 145 ff.

It may also be noticed that the uterus and its appendages were found in this mummy and also part of the cæcum with the vermiform appendix clearly defined[1]. The vacant spaces of the body-cavity were packed with resin and mud, a survival of the elaborate method of packing which developed in the Twenty-first Dynasty, though no attempt at packing *under the skin* had been made.

The brain had been removed by the usual nasal route, but so efficiently that not a particle of the brain or its membranes remained in the skull, which was partly filled with resinous matter introduced in a molten condition. The mouth was packed with pieces of resin-soaked linen.

The epidermis was completely absent except on the head (from which the hair had been cut off) and on the extremities of the fingers and toes, where a thimble of skin had been left in order to retain the nails, and in the case of one of the toes, where the nail had come off, it was refixed by thread. The embalmers of all periods from the Middle Kingdom to the end of the Twenty-first Dynasty paid careful attention to the nails to prevent them from becoming lost during the process of maceration in the salt-bath, but it is extremely rare to find such precision of detail in mummies as late as the one in question, the general method of procedure having by that time seriously degenerated. The skin was covered with saline crystals, both outside and inside the body-cavity, which bears additional witness to the fact that the salt-bath had been used, and also that crude natron had been mixed with the resin with which the body was smeared.

It may be mentioned that the cause of death in this mummy is quite conclusively shown to have been uterine disease, an interesting addition to the list of pathological conditions recorded from Egyptian mummies[2]. The mummy had been carefully prepared and contrasts strikingly with the very carelessly made mummies of late periods which we have described. It is fortunate that such a full account of the specimen has been preserved, for the memoir from which the above description has been summarized contains a minute and accurate anatomical description, and careful observations of every feature. Whilst we have to deplore the lack of reliable information on the details of mummification at a time when the possibility of procuring further material is becoming more and more remote, we cannot but feel grateful to the surgeons of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, such as Greenhill, Granville and Pettigrew, who left behind them careful descriptions of their specimens, whilst archaeologists of later generations have often either ignored or only very summarily described the mummies which have come to light in the course of their excavations.

I take this opportunity also of noting that another case of the association of onions with mummies[3] was recorded in 1764 when Dr. Hadley described to the Royal Society a mummy he had examined; in this specimen an onion was attached by bandages to the sole of one of the feet.

[1] GRANVILLE, *op. cit.*, 28 and Pl. 22.

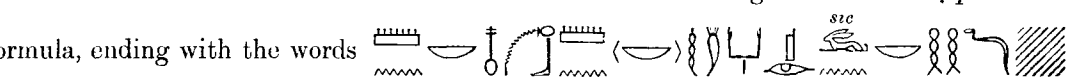
[2] ELLIOT SMITH and DAWSON, *op. cit.*, Chap. X.

[3] ELLIOT SMITH, *Mem. Inst. Eg.*, V, 31.

A POSSIBLE LATE REPRESENTATION OF THE GOD 'ASH

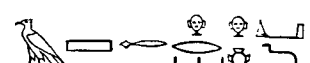
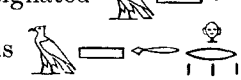
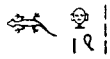
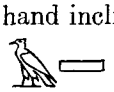
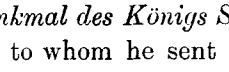
By ALAN W. SHORTER

With Plate IX.

Among the objects forming the collection of Egyptian Antiquities in the Brighton Museum is an elaborately decorated cartonnage mummy-case (provenance unknown) which, from the style, dates from the Ptolemaic, or possibly, as Dr. Hall suggests, even the Roman, period. In a vertical column down the centre of the cartonnage is the usual *ḥtp dỉ nswt* formula, ending with the words 

(last signs obscured by bitumen or some other dark substance) "..... everything good and pure, ⟨everything⟩ pleasant and sweet, (for) the *ka* of the Osiris On(nōphris) lord of eternity, Teos(?)" (*D*[*d-ḥr*])[1].

Of the many figures of divinities with which the cartonnage is covered one in particular attracted my attention, that of a god with three heads (those of a lion, a serpent wearing the crown of Upper Egypt, and a vulture), of which a photograph appears on Pl. IX. Such composite divinities occur not unfrequently in reliefs and paintings of the later periods (see *e.g.*, Blackman, *Journal*, v, Pl. IV, facing p. 28; Erman, *Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, 157, fig. 72). For the queerest example of a compound divinity yet published see Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu, and Arsinoe*, Pl. I, for which reference I am indebted to Prof. Griffith.

The god, as clearly appears in the photograph, is designated . Prof. Griffith has suggested to me that the group of signs  is a muddled version, due to phonetic changes of late times, of some such writing as . Dr. Blackman on the other hand inclines to the view that this group of signs should be read *ỉš ꜥỉ-ḥrw* recognizing in  the rather rare Libyan god *ỉš*, who is discussed somewhat fully by Sethe in Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Saḥu-Reꜥ*, 74; see also 14 and 83. In this view he is supported by Sethe, to whom he sent a sketch of the figure and a copy of the accompanying label. Sethe thinks that such a writing of *ꜥšỉ* is scarcely possible even in late times, agrees that the signs  are to be read *ỉš ꜥỉ-ḥrw*, as Dr. Blackman proposed, and translates "'Ash with many faces." At Sethe's request Dr. Grapow very kindly collected from the Berlin *Wörterbuch* material the following instances of  *ꜥỉ* used in the sense of *ꜥšỉ* "abounding in," "many of."

Blackden-Fraser, *Hatnub*, 8, 5: 

[1] This completion of the name has been suggested to me by Dr. Hall.

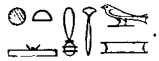
[2] Or: with *great* altars?



The god 'Ash, from a mummy-case in the Brighton Museum.

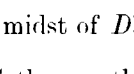
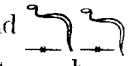
SETHE, *Urk.*, IV, 878: .

Siut, I, 228: .

Cairo, 20512: .

Statue in Cairo (Saïtic), seen in a dealer's shop: .

Since therefore in all probability *ʿ3-ḥrw* can be taken to mean "with many faces," the first two signs may well be the name of the Libyan god who is depicted in the famous relief from the funerary temple of Saḥurēʿ. If so, it is an interesting fact that the tradition of this rarely occurring god should have survived to so late a time. Perhaps his cult was revived during the archaising Saïtic period, when anything which savoured of the Old Kingdom in the way of religion or art was the correct thing.

There is just one more point of philological interest. The signs behind the god's head are  "in the midst of *Dìḏ*." This place-name occurs nowhere else, and is probably a muddled writing. Sethe says that it is somewhat suggestive of  and , variant writings of the name of the oasis of Baḥrîyah, *Ḏsḏs*. "But," he adds, "it may be a muddled writing of , 'his hill.'"

Prof. Griffith suggests that  is to be read *Mḏ*, a late way, possibly, of spelling the name of Oxyrhynchus or of another locality in Upper Egypt (see BRUGSCH, *Dict. Géogr.*, 314).

Perhaps other material will come to light, or is actually known to some scholar, which will definitely settle the point.

PAP. BRIT. MUS. CXXI, VERSO COL. I

By Professor S. EITREM

The first column of this magical papyrus Sir Frederic Kenyon did not copy out because of its fragmentary condition. Dr. C. Wessely published a copy of the fragments in his *Neue griechische Zauberpapyri* (*Denkschriften der Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Vienna, 1893, 40 f.). Mr. H. I. Bell of the British Museum had the kindness to copy the difficult text once more and as he asked me to publish it with some notes, I thought it worth while to re-edit the column, chiefly founding my text on Mr. Bell's readings and on the facsimile published in the *Atlas to Greek Papyri in the Brit. Museum*, 1907.

]..μ.ς

ἀγώγ[ιμον σεαυτὸν ἁγν]ίσας
ἡμέρ[ας γ̄ ?]ναν
ἥλιε.[]αι
ρομε []
νηστεύ[σας]νυκ ../]
τον ἑσπέρ[ας]ε ἀλλὰ [.]
νον και.[]ν Περσεφ[ό]ν[η ἔ]νεγκ(ε) ⟨τὴν⟩ (δεῖνα)
τα νυκτα []τὴν (δεῖνα) ἣν ⟨ἡ⟩ (δεῖνα) [ν]ε-
θμομα[ω]. τὸν ἄρτι ἤδη τ(αχύ)
ἐπὶ τὴν ε[]αν τοῦ (δεῖνα) ὅλ[ην ? διάν-
τα ⟨τὰ⟩ σπλάγχ[να ν]αὶ κύριε ν[αὶ ?
Δαμναμ[ενεῦ]πης δι' ἐ[πα]οιδὴν
ἤδη ἤδ[η ταχὺ ταχύ]. ρν· βλέπων τ[ὸν

ἀπηλιώ[την λέγε τοῦτον τὸν λόγον· κύριε πάν?]των, ὁ βρέχων
καὶ ἀστ[ράπτων ὁ καταπεπωκὼς τὸν?] ὄφιν καὶ κατα-
ξηράν[ας τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ πᾶν χωρίον ἐπί]ρρεον χρημ̄(άτισον) κοι(νά)
ἢ ὅ τι ἂν [σὺ θέλῃς]ει δὲ ὁ πρ/ χέρσον

σκευ[ὴ] [μ]έλ(ανος)· [ἴσ]χ[άδας) γ̄, φοίνι[κ]ας ὀστᾶ γ̄ νικο[λά]ου
καὶ ἀρτ[εμισί]ας μ[ον](οκλώνους) γ̄ καὶ ζ(μύ)ρ(νης) χόν[δρ]ους γ̄ καὶ ὕδα[τος]
ὀμβρίμου (?)
πάντα] λι[ώσας] ἐπί[γρ(αφε)] τὸν ὑπο(κείμενον) λ(όγον) ἐπὶ [χάρτην καθαρὸν·]
.....]ετραμμενη//(?) Ἴσις, ὁ δὲ τὸν Ὄσ[ιριν ?]. αν ὑποτα..
.....]εμαει μαλισθέντα συνήρμ[οζ]εν ὁ Ἀσκλ[ηπιός]
.....]υτον ἐζολονησεν μή σ[ε ἀν]αγκάζῃ σ σ' [ἀ][ν]α
[....]....[]η[.]θα[..].[..]. υμ
βα[σι..]λεύων [, σὺ δν] τρέμει βύ[θος
Ἰσ[....]αβε δ[ὸ][ς.]ιν καὶ σθένος ἐ[μοὶ

ἱερω[..]ετ.[ἐ][πά]κουσον καὶ γε[νοῦ μοι?]ι̣ν
ὅ̣τι.[]ην / Ὀνε[ιραίτητον?].ρ̣[].λε τὰ

ἐπὶ τη[ς?]ιπ'πων επι̣.[.]. . . . καὶ τρῖψόν σο̣υ̣
τὴν κ[εφαλὴν λέγων τὰ ὑπογεγραμμέν?]α, ε̣[ἶτ]α κοιμῶ μηδενὶ ⟨δ⟩οὺς ἀπόκρισιν·
ἐπικα[λοῦμαί σε, Ἰαὼ, καὶ Σαβ]ιὼθ καὶ Μιχαὴλ κ̣[αὶ] Ῥαφαὴλ καί συ
δύν[αμις? καί] σε Γαβριὴλ μὴ ἀ[πλῶ]ς μ̣ε̣ παρελθεῖν
φαν[ταζομένους? πάντ]ας, ἀλλὰ εἷς ἐξ ὑμῶν εἰσερχέσθω
καὶ χρημ[ατισάτω μοι π]ερὶ τοῦ (δεῖνα) πράγμα[τ(ος).]ιαια χηνη ιαω.
ταῦτα γρά[ψον εἰς φύλλα] δάφνης καὶ θ[έ̣ς σου πρ]ὸς κεφαλ(ήν).

So much I have made out of the fragments up to the present. The only possible supplement of the magic word *ν]εθμομα[ω* in l. 9/10 (P. Mimaut, l. 158: *ὁ τὴν ἡμέραν φωτίζων / νεθμομαω*—see my edition, p. 30) makes it evident that the fragment attached to this side of the column at any rate is not placed at the correct distance from the ends of the lines. On the other hand I doubt whether the end of l. 10, *ἤδη ταχύ*—into which the abbreviation is to be resolved—can be connected with any other word than the precedent *ἄρτι*; *cf., e.g.,* P. Bibl. Nat. 1593: *ἄξον τὴν (δεῖνα) τῆς (δεῖνα) πρὸς ἐμὲ τὸν (δεῖνα) τῆς (δεῖνα) ἄρτι, ἤδη, ταχύ*; *ibid.* 2908: *ἄξον ... σήμερον ἄρτι ταχύ* in the middle of the prayer. But certainly *ἤδη ταχύ* ordinarily concludes the prayer addressed to the deity invoked.

L. 11/12. *δίαν/τα* sufficiently shows that the lines on this right side are in proper order. The word is in itself very interesting; it has been hypothetically restored by Blass in the fragment of Empedocles, fr. 84 Diels, l. 25: *⟨αἱ⟩ χοάνησι δίαντα τετρήατο θεσπεσίησιν*—*cf.* *διανταῖος* and *Il.* XXIII. 116, *πολλὰ δ' ἄναντα κάταντα πάραντά τε δόχμιά τ' ἦλθον*, furthermore *ἔσαντα, ἔναντα.* That the lines are too short according to the arrangement in the facsimile (Pl. 65) appears from the supplements inserted above, l. 15 f., espec. l. 20 f.

L. 1. Perhaps *ἀγώ[γι]μ̣[ο]ς*? and l. 2 *ἀγωγ[ή.*

L. 2. *ἁγν]ίσας*: *cf.* P. Bibl. Nat. 897: *εἰσβάσεις αὐτὸν τὸν (δεῖνα) ἄνθρωπον ἁγνίσας (viz. αὐτὸν) ἀπὸ συνουσίας ἐπὶ ἡμ(έρας) γ'.* At the end of the line we may perhaps supply *γράφε τοῦτον τὸν λόγον εἰς σιδηρᾶν (μολυβῆν* etc.) *λάμ]ναν· ἥλιε*, etc. In fact, the *ἀγωγή* is often addressed to the Sun and to the demons of fire, *love* being itself flaming fire in the minds of magicians as well as poets. If *νηστεύ[σας*—or, as Mr. Bell reads, *νηστει̣[* —is correctly supplied, the inscription mentioned has been very short; here is another detail of the ritual prescriptions—fasting you have to make use of the magic procedure and incantation, and the evening (l. 7) is the only time fit for an *ἀγωγή*. L. 8: *Περσεφ[ό]ν[η* (P. Bibl. Nat. 337, 1403); the last word Mr. Bell reads *εγ*ᵏ (*δεῖνα*)—either we have to take this as *ἔ]νεγκ(ε) ⟨τὴν⟩ (δεῖνα), viz. ἐμοί,* referring to P. Bibl. Nat. 372, *καὶ ἔνεγκόν μοι τὴν (δεῖνα) καὶ κατάσχες αὐτῆς τὴν βρῶσιν καὶ τὴν πόσιν*, etc., *or* we may venture to read *ετ*ᵏ, *viz. ἢ]ν ἔτ(ε)κ(εν) ⟨ἡ⟩ (δεῖνα).*

L. 9. *ἣν ⟨ἡ⟩ (δεῖνα)*: it is not absolutely necessary to supply *ἔτεκεν*; *cf., e.g.,* P. Bibl. Nat. 527: *ἐγὼ ὁ (δεῖνα) ὃν ἡ (δεῖνα)*, 2908, 2909. L. 11 *ἐπὶ τὴν ἐ̣[κείνης οἰκίαν*: *viz. ἐλθέ; ἐρῶσ]αν τοῦ (δεῖνα) ὅλ[ην]? δίαντα ⟨τὰ⟩ σπλάγχ[να, viz. εἴσελθε*, addressed to the demon invoked; *cf.* P. Bibl. Nat. 1522, 1528: *καῦσον αὐτῆς τὰ σπλάγχνα* (*ib.* 1543); P. Osl. 1, 3: *ἐκζήτησον τὴν (δεῖνα) καὶ ἄνυγον αὐτῆς τὴν δεξιὰν πλευρὰν καὶ εἴσελθε ὡς βροντή*, etc. L. 13: *cf.* P. Bibl. Nat. 2939: *τέλει τελέαν ἐπαοιδήν, ib.* 295.

L. 14. *αὔτοπτ]ον* probably better than *ὀνειραίτητον*; *cf.* l. 17 *χρημ(άτισον)*. L. 15: *cf.* P. Lond. 46, 150 and 121, 234; *ἄναξ πάντων* P. Bibl. Nat. 1780. L. 16: *cf.* P. Bibl. Nat. 1323: *ἄλλο· κομφθο κομασιθ κομνουν* (so the words are divided in the MS.), *ὁ σείσας καὶ σείων τὴν οἰκουμένην, ὁ καταπεπωκὼς τὸν ἀείζωον ὄφιν*, etc., *ἀνάπεμψόν μοι τοῦ (δεῖνα) τὸν δαίμονα ταύτης τῆς νυκτὸς χρηματίσαι μοι περὶ τοῦ (δεῖνα) πρ(άγματος)*. L. 18 *ει δε* etc. looks like a variant to *πᾶν χωρίον ἐπί]ρρεον* in the preceding line.

L. 19. We have many recipes for the composition of magic ink, *Ἰσιακὸν μέλαν*, etc. It is appropriate here to quote P. Bibl. Nat. 3199: *σκευὴ μέλανος ἐν ᾧ δεῖ γράφειν τοὺς καλάμους καὶ τὸ ἐλλύχνιον· ἀρτεμισία μονόκλωνος, κατανάγκη, ὀστᾶ* (so MS.) *φοινίκων νικολάων γ', καρικαὶ ἰσχάδες γ', αἰθάλη χρυσοχοική, θάλλοι φοίνικος ἀρσενικοῦ γ', ἄφρος θαλάσσης*; P. Berol. 1, 244 has much the same ingredients, but here the foam of the sea is replaced by spring-water (*ὕδωρ πηγαῖον*); of course we may also think of *ὕδωρ ὄμβριμον, ποτάμιον, κρηναῖον, ζήνιον, θαλάσσιον*—each of them suits a magic invocation, although the different usage of them stated in P. Bibl. Nat. 222 is to be kept in mind. L. 20 *χόνδρος λιβάνου* is mentioned in P. Berol. 2, 13, 20. L. 21 *χάρτην, πιττάκιον, λεπίδα* etc. L. 22: *cf.* P. Lond. 46, 164: *ὑπόταξόν μοι πάντα τὰ δαιμόνια*, etc. L. 23: *cf.* Wessely's edition; Aesculapius here takes the function of Anubis. *μαλισθέντα*, probably for *μελισθέντα*, said of the dismembered Osiris [*μελισθέντα* is perhaps a possible reading. H. I. B.]. L. 24. The demon invoked is commanded to obey—if not, some other demon or more powerful magic shall compel him to obedience (*ἀναγκάζῃ*, not the conventional *ἀναγκάζω*).

L. 26. We may compare, *e.g.*, P. Bibl. Nat. 244: *ὃν τρέμει γῆ βύθος Ἅιδης οὐρανὸς ἥλιος σελήνη*. The text I have given here according to Mr. Bell's copy; but it is really very tempting to write *βα[σι]λεύων* [the space is too large; the fragments are at present mounted too close together. H. I. B.], and in the following line to supply *δ[ὸς ἰσχ]ὺν* [the space suits, but the letter before *ν* does not look like *υ*; *ι* is suggested. H. I. B.] *καὶ σθένος ἐ]μοὶ*, etc. Some such supplement is necessary after the preceding praise of the god's or demon's almighty power (a preceding imperative *ὑπότα[ξον*, l. 22, is of course very hypothetical). Only personal inspection of the papyrus might perhaps bring us nearer to the original arrangement of the fragments. L. 28: *cf.* P. Bibl. Nat. 1850: *γενοῦ μοι πάρεδρος καὶ παραστάτης καὶ ὀνειροπομπός*.

L. 29. We might expect something like *ὀνειραίτητον αὐθωρόν· βάλε τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς . . . τῶν ἵππων* (*cf.*, *e.g.*, *κόπρος ἱππία* in the "Mill of Saturn," P. Bibl. Nat. 3096, as ingredient of a sacrifice) *ἐπὶ . . . καὶ τρῖψον ⟨καὶ χρῖέ⟩ σου τὴν κεφαλήν*.

L. 34. *φαν[* , *cf.*, *e.g.*, P. Lond. 124, 24: *θυμοκάτοχον, πρὸς πάντας ποιοῦν· ποιεῖ γὰρ πρὸς ἐχθροὺς καὶ κατηγόρους καὶ λῃστὰς* (pap. *κατηγορας καὶ λῃστων*) *καὶ φόβους καὶ φαντασμοὺς ὀνείρων*; P. Lond. 121, 579: *φυλακτήριον—πρὸς φαντάσματα*. The laurel is used for procuring mantic dreams just as in P. Lond. 121, 802: P. Berol. II, 64. But Jahveh and his angels have replaced Apollo in the prayer to the deity. L. 36: P. Lond. 46, 393: *πρὸς κεφαλῆς σου τίθει τὸν ναόν*.

I may use the opportunity to re-edit the fragment C in Kenyon's edition, p. 115; *cf.* my paper, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, etc. (*Videnskaps-selskapets Förhandlinger*, 1923, no. 3, p. 20):

χ]αῖρε ἥλιε, χαῖρε Γα[βριὴλ ?
χαῖρ]ε Μιχαὴλ, χαῖρε Αω [ὅτι ἐπικαλοῦμαι
τὴ[ν ἰσχὺν τοῦ Ἰαὼ] καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ Σαβαὼ[θ καὶ τὸ
κρ[άτος τοῦ Ἀδωναὶ] καὶ τὴν ἐπιτυχείαν τοῦ αβλαναθα[ναλβα

κα[ὶ τὴν τύχην τοῦ α]καμμαχαμαρει .ọ ὁμοί(ως) τὴν χνι κ̣η̄ γρ(αμμάτων)
κν..... μ̣ε̣σκα...ε̣ἰτ̣α̣ σὺ γράψον νθ̄ Ιαεω λ(όγον)
δ̣ὸ̣ς̣[..... ὅ]τι οἶδα {σ(ου)} τά[δ]ε̣ ὀ(νόματα) τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος αρπ̣ο̣[ν-
χν̣[ουφι β]ριντατηνωφρι βρισ αρουαζαρβα σε̣ν̣
κριφ[ιχνουμα?]ωφι κοι(νὰ) καὶ τέλεσόν μοι τοῦτο [καρπ-
αλίμ[ως?

L. 5. *τύχην*, *νίκην*, etc.; we expect λέγε (*γράφε*, *προστίθει*, etc.) ὁμοίως, etc. *χνι* (Ken. *κνι*, but I think the *α* of *αβλαν.* in the line above misleads our eyes): probably here is a word for "formula" (*cf.* *στήλη*); we might expect λό(γον). L. 7 δὸς (or δός μοι) χάριν, *ἐπιτυχίαν* or the like. The fragment on the left side may now be placed in the correct distance from the right side due to the magic words filling up the lacunae. L. 10: probably we have here an adverb or we may have the object for *τέλεσον*. For *fragm. b* (Ken. p. 115) l. we have to retain *παράψιμον* = *παρέψιμον*, *cf.* l. 8 *ἐπακολουθῆσαι* (= *ἕπεσθαι*).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT
A. PAPYRI (1923–1924)

By H. IDRIS BELL

(I have to thank Mr. Tod, Mr. W. H. Buckler, Mr. Norman H. Baynes, and Mr. H. J. M. Milne for references and the loan of books, and many authors for their kindness in sending me copies of their works. As before I have not included references to articles in works such as Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll or, as a rule, to mere notices which add nothing to the subject dealt with.)

1. Literary Texts.

(Omitting religious and magical works, for which see § 2.)

General. The last part of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* included no literary texts, and the year has indeed been singularly barren in the publication of new literary papyri. *P. Oxy.* XV has been reviewed by K. Fr. W. Schmidt (*G.G.A.* CLXXXVI, 1924, 1–17), who is as usual liberal in conjectures and supplements, some of them rather extensive, but I understand that the majority do not stand the test of submission to the MSS. The publication of literary papyri by Winter referred to last year (*Journal*, X, 147) is reviewed by A. R[ostagni] (*Riv. di Fil.*, N.S., II, 1924, 134–5). The only new publication I have noted is one by Fr. Bilabel of some Heidelberg fragments. These comprise the following: (1) Fragments, none large, most of them minute, of an obviously late lyric (or lyrics). In E+F a reference to the story of Tereus and Itys is certain, in C+D possible, and the whole may perhaps be on the same theme. The metre is an anapaestic dimeter with an iambus in the last foot. There are many curious compound words. P. Heid. Inv. No. 222, 2nd/3rd cent. (2) Questions and answer; an interesting addition to the class of literature, so popular in the Middle Ages, known as *erotapocryseis*. Inv. No. 1716 verso, 2nd cent. (3) A further fragment of Inv. No. 1701, previously edited by Bilabel in his ΟΨΑΡΤΥΤΙΚΑ (*Journal*, X, 147). This contains portions of cols. ϛ and ζ. *Fragmente aus der Heidelberger Papyrussammlung*, in *Philologus*, LXXX (N.F., LXXIV), 1925, 331–41.

A very useful volume has been published by C. H. Oldfather. This is a register of the literary texts on papyrus discovered up to date arranged under authors or (in the case of anonymous works) subjects. The similar list in Kenyon's *Palaeography of Greek Papyri* has long been out of date, and even the more recent one in Schubart's *Einführung* is already becoming antiquated, so that the new one, though not absolutely exhaustive (in such matters exhaustiveness is an ideal hardly to be realized), is a valuable addition to the literature of the subject. It does not however include Christian texts; and it may be suggested to the author of any future work of the kind that its utility (if also the labour involved) would be greatly increased by the inclusion of references to at least the more important discussions of the papyri concerned. Oldfather, very usefully, distinguishes texts on ostraca or tablets, school exercises, and those written on the verso of documents, and gives the provenance where known; but it would have been useful also to indicate whether the MSS. referred to are rolls or codices and to note specially vellum fragments. In two concluding chapters Oldfather discusses, first, "the literary texts in the schools," and then "the chronological distribution and provenience of the literary texts." *The Greek Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt: A Study in the History of Civilization.* (*University of Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences and History*, No. 9.) Madison, 1923. Pp. viii+104. The volume has been reviewed by G. D[e] S[anctis] (*Riv. di Fil.*, N.S., II, 1924, 565–6) and A. Boulenger (*Rev. ét. anc.*, XXVI, 1924, 370–1).

In the recent number of the *Archiv* A. Körte continues his review of recently published literary texts. This instalment contains the remainder of the prose authors with an appendix of other texts published since the first part of the article appeared. *Literarische Texte mit Ausschluss der christlichen*, in *Archiv*, VII, 225–58. I have not thought it necessary to note Körte's comments specially in connexion with single texts; those interested in literary papyri may be trusted to turn to his article.

Epic Poetry. V. BÉRARD in his introduction to the Budé *Odyssey* has a valuable section on the papyri, in which he sketches the history of papyrological discovery, and discusses the evidence of papyri, etc. He gives (pp. 62–4) a list of the known papyri of the *Odyssey*, including a new one (7 fragments) containing portions of ι and κ, now at Paris, and dating from the 3rd cent. B.C., and also a small fragment at Geneva, of the 2nd or 3rd cent. of our era, containing a few lines of β. *Introduction à l'Odyssée.* (*Coll. des Univ. de France.*) Paris, Belles Lettres, 1924. Vol. I. Pp. 459. List of MSS. used pp. 10–14; section on papyri pp. 51–70.

In certain fragments of the British Museum *Dionysiaca* edited by Milne, WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF recognized an account of the return of the Achaeans from Troy (see *Journal*, X, 148). HILLER VON GAERTRINGEN now points out that the subject seems rather to be the return of Heracles from the earlier expedition against Troy. His view is almost certainly right. *Herakles Rückkehr von Ilion*, in *G.G.N.*, 1923, 24–6.

I have been unable to see D. MEULI, *Untersuchungen über einige Papyrusfragmente einer griechischen Dichtung* (Zürich, 1920. 8°. Pp. 43. Diss.), which deals with the hymns edited by POWELL in *Journ. Phil.*, XXXIV. I may mention here, rather than below, U. v. WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF's *Hellenistische Dichtung in der Zeit des Kallimachos* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1924. 2 vols., viii + 244, 338).

Lyric Poetry. The second volume of J. M. EDMONDS's *Lyra Graeca* in the Loeb Library (London, Heinemann, 1924. Pp. viii + 470) does not concern the papyrologist so nearly as vol. I but contains two papyrological items, the new Ibycus fragments (P. Oxy. 1790) and the Simonides sayings in P. Hibeh 17. The only review of it I have noticed is by A. R[OSTAGNI] (*Riv. di Fil.*, N.S., II, 1924, 569–70). A work by G. BONNEAU (?), *Les chansons de Mytilène traduites de l'Éolien d'après un papyrus* (Montpellier, Firmin et Montane (?), 1922), is inaccessible to me. A dissertation (lithographed from the author's autograph) by J. GIESSLER on *Prosodische Zeichen in den antiken Handschriften griechischer Lyriker* (Diss. Giessen, 1923. Pp. 40) reached me, by the kindness of Prof. KALBFLEISCH, just as this is going to press.

J. M. EDMONDS, in a paper read at a meeting of the Cambridge Philological Society, suggests, à propos of LOBEL's new reading of a fragment of the Alcaeus papyrus P. Oxy. 1233 (see *Journal*, X, 148), the restoration Μυτιλά]ννην. This involves supposing a short α, and he adduces evidence which, he holds, suggests the possibility of this. *A Sidelight on the Aeolic Declension*, in *Camb. Univ. Reporter*, 11 March, 1924. P. MAAS cites parallels to the idea expressed in l. 11 of fragm. 1+2 of the Sappho papyrus P. Oxy. 1787. *Aehrenlese*, in *Jahresber. Philol. Vereins zu Berlin*, XLVIII (1922), 179.

Elegiacs, Epigrams, Satire. R. PFEIFFER has brought out a new edition of his Callimachus. It is the same as the former one up to p. 92, after which he adds P. Oxy. 1793. There is an index verborum. *Callimachi Fragmenta nuper reperta*, editio maior. Bonnae, Marcus and Weber, 1923. Pp. 122. It has been reviewed by D. BASSI (*Boll. Fil. Class.*, XXXI, 6), W. E. J. KUIPER (*Museum*, Leyden, XXXI, 1924, 198–9), É. CAHEN (*Rec. ét. anc.*, XXVI, 1924, 174), and A. R[OSTAGNI] (*Riv. di Fil.*, N.S., II, 1924, 136).

A. D. KNOX's *First Greek Anthologist* (see *Journal*, X, 149) has been reviewed by J. M. EDMONDS (*Camb. Review*, XLV (1924), 317) and G. D[E] S[ANCTIS] (*Riv. di Fil.*, N.S., II, 566); and KNOX has himself published an important article on the Cercidas papyrus, giving the result of recent work on it, in the course of which, with the collaboration of Messrs. LAMACRAFT and MILNE, he succeeded in placing a number of fragments and so in determining, very plausibly, the order of columns and poems. He gives several new readings, acknowledging help from MILNE. *The Kerkidas Papyrus*, in *Class. Rev.*, XXXVIII (1924), 101–4. O. KRÜGER points out (*Aegyptus*, V, 1924, 247) that a Strassburg fragment published by CRÖNERT in *Rhein. Mus.*, LXVIII (1913), p. 596, as Ionic prose is really in elegiac metre.

Drama and Mime. G. ITALIE's *Euripidis Hypsipyla* (see *Journal*, X, 149) has been reviewed by W. MOREL (*Museum*, Leyden, XXXI, 1924, 225–7; in German).

In vol. XLIX (1923) of *Bursians Jahresbericht* is a valuable *Bericht über die Literatur zur griechischen Komödie von 1914–1921* by E. WÜST (pp. 95–192).

In the ostracon text published by J. G. MILNE which I mentioned last year (*Journal*, X, 165), E. FRAENKEL recognizes two comic fragments, of which he attempts a reconstruction, and on which he comments. He points out that they clearly come, like so many similar quotations, from an anthology, probably of the class ψόγοι γυναικῶν. *Fragmente der neuen Komödie*, in *Hermes*, LIX (1924), 362–8.

I know only from DE RICCI's *Bulletin* a monograph by C. LANGER on slaves as characters in Menander's plays. *De servi persona apud Menandrum.* Diss. Bonn, Georg, 1919. Pp. 130. G. COPPOLA discusses the relations between Menander and Terence in an article studying specially the *Epitrepontes*,

the *Samia*, and the *Heros*. *Nota su Terenzio interprete di Menandro*, in *Atene e Roma*, N.S., v (1924), 110–19. In the Hypothesis of the *Heros* TH. STIFLER suggests in place of the obscure επιτροφω of the text, which Sudhaus corrected to ἐπιτρόπῳ, the reading ἑνὶ τροφῷ. *Zu Menander*, in *Philologus*, LXXX (1924), 206–7. H. SAUER has published a monograph on the plot of the *Perikeiromene*. *De Circumtonsae Menandreae argumento*. (*Klassisch-Philologische Studien*, Heft 2.) Berlin, E. Ebering, 1922. Pp. 53. A large volume by G. CAPOVILLA on Menander reaches me unfortunately too late for detailed study, but it seems best, in view of its obvious importance, to refer to it here. *Menandro*. (*Pubbl. di "Aegyptus,"* Serie Scientifica, II.) Milano, "Aegyptus," 1924. Pp. viii + 352.

HEADLAM-KNOX's *Herodas* has been reviewed by L. E. LORD (*Class. Journ.*, XIX, 1923–4, 118–9) and anonymously (*J.H.S.*, XLIV, 1924, 123), and FANUCCI's translation (see *Journal*, X, 150) is reviewed by O. TESCARI (*Boll. Fil. Class.*, XXX, 163–5). R. HERZOG has edited a posthumous article by CRUSIUS on the last mime (the Dream), making a few corrections to bring it into accord with KNOX's new text, and adds an article of his own on the mime as now reconstructed. CRUSIUS's article brings out the evidence for Herodas's connexion with Cos and then discusses the mime in detail. *Der Traum des Herondas*, in *Philologus*, LXXIX (1924), 370–433. For a note on mime III, 10, see below, § 2, *Pagan cults*.

In connexion with Herodas I may refer to a note by LUMBROSO on the 15th Idyll of Theocritus (the *Adoniazusae*), in which, after quoting some parallels, he elects for the vulgate punctuation, μορμώ, δάκνει ἵππος. Letter XXII to Calderini, in *Aegyptus*, V (1924), 32–3.

W. CRONERT discusses, first, the Demades papyrus (Berl. Pap. 13045 in KUNST's *Rhetorische Papyri*), and then WILCKEN's *Gymnosophisten* (see *Journal*, X, 151). À propos of the first he sketches the relation of this class of literature to the "Heidnische Märtyrerakten." Its model was, he holds, the "urkundliche mazedonische Verhandlungsberichte." Originally the accused was a criminal; then he was transformed to a hero put to death by tyranny. The well-known "Macedonian Dialogue" is another example of the *genre*. CRÖNERT gives new supplements for certain passages. *Literaturgeschichtliches zur Alexandrinerzeit*, in *Anz. Wiener Ak.*, Phil.-hist. Kl., 12 March, 1924, no. VIII. The Demades papyrus is also the subject of an article, inaccessible to me, by H. VON ARNIM, *Zum Demadespapyrus*, in *Wiener Studien*, XLIII (1922–3). (For reviews of KUNST's volume as a whole, see below, *Orators*.)

Music. The Christian hymn with musical notation published as P. Oxy. 1786 continues to attract attention. TH. REINACH gives a musical restoration, suggests new readings and supplements, and discusses the papyrus from the point of view of its musical interest. *Un ancêtre de la musique d'église*, in *Rev. musicale*, III (1922), no. 9, 8–25. C. DEL GRANDE deals with both the music (which he too gives in modern notation) and the metre. The latter he explains as "monometri anapestici," and he quotes analogies to the text from classical (pagan) writers. *Inno cristiano antico*, in *Riv. Indo-Greco-Ital.*, VII (1923), 11–17. K. MUNSCHER discusses the metre, and thinks, as against R. WAGNER, who believed the middle portion to be dactylic, that the whole hymn was purely anapaestic. *Zum christlichen Dreifaltigkeitshymnos aus Oxyrhynchos*, in *Philologus*, LXXX (1924), 209–13. W. N. STEARNS has also published a note on the papyrus. *A Church Hymn 1700 Years Old*, in *Class. Journ.*, XIX (1923–4), 563–4.

Historical Writers. BILABEL's *Historikerfragmente* (see *Journal*, X, 151) has been well reviewed by G. DE SANCTIS (*Riv. Fil. Class.*, N.S., I, 1923, 487–90; detailed remarks and suggestions), C. O. ZURETTI (*Boll. Fil. Class.*, XXX, 145–6), and P. ROUSSEL (*Rev. ét. anc.*, XXVI, 1924, 265–6).

G. MATHIEU and B. HAUSSOULLIER have collaborated in an edition of Aristotle's *Athenaion Politeia* in the Budé series of texts. *Aristote, Constitution d'Athènes*. Paris, Belles Lettres, 1922. Pp. xxxii + 102. This edition has been reviewed by A. WILLEM (*Bull. bibl. et péd. du Musée belge*, XXVIII, 1924, 141–3) and anonymously (*J.H.S.*, XLIV, 1924, 301); and HAUSSOULLIER himself has published a note on the volume in which he corrects some misprints and errors (*Rev. de Phil.*, XLVIII, 1924, 77–9). KENYON's edition has been reviewed by W. A. G[OLIGHER] (*Hermathena*, 1922, 341). F. E. ADCOCK discusses the difficulty of the dates indicated by Aristotle for the exiles of Peisistratus. After rejecting various attempts to solve the problem, he suggests that they are an interpolation of *alternative* datings to account for the required period, *viz.* 5 + 11 *or* 6 + 10. *The Exiles of Peisistratus*, in *Class. Quart.*, XVIII (1924), 174–81. R. J. BONNER holds that in the disputed passage xxxix, 5 there is no question of *restoring* to the Areopagus its jurisdiction in murder cases, since this was never taken away; Aristotle's meaning is that the amnesty was not to include murderers, for murder involved religious pollution. *Note on Aristotle* Constitution of Athens *xxxix. 5*, in *Class. Phil.*, XIX (1924), 175–6.

In an article on the trial of Epaminondas, in which he elects for Plutarch's account (in a modified form)

as against Diodorus's, M. CARY uses the evidence of the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* for the existence of a federal tribunal in Boeotia, which he believes still existed, and that Epaminondas was tried before it. *The Trial of Epaminondas*, in *Class. Quart.*, XVIII (1924), 182–4.

W. R. HALLIDAY, in a note on Herodotus's story of Cleisthenes and the Sicyonian tribes, refers in passing to the Ephorus (?) fragments, P. Oxy. 1365. *Orthagoriscus*, in *Class. Rev.*, XXXVIII (1924), 15.

E. L[OBEL] points out that P. Oxy. 865 is a fragment, not of a Sicilian history, as the editors took it, but of an account of Philoctetes (reading *ὑπὸ ὕδρου τὸ σκέλ*[*ος*]). *Bod. Quart. Rec.*, IV, 172.

I have referred above (under *Drama*) to CRÖNERT's discussion of WILCKEN's *Alexander der Grosse und die indischen Gymnosophisten.*

Orators. In some notes on the text of Aeschines U. VON WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF uses P. Oxy. 1625. *Lesefrüchte*, CLXXXVII, in *Hermes*, LIX (1924), 265–7.

Besides the articles on the Demades papyrus noticed above under *Drama*, KUNST's *Rhetorische Papyri* (see *Journal*, X, 151) has been reviewed by G. AMMON (*Phil. Woch.*, XLIV, 1924, 1249–52), G. D[E] S[ANCTIS] (*Riv. Fil. Class.*, N.S., II, 1924, 421–2), and K. FR. W. SCHMIDT (*O.L.Z.*, XXVII, 1924, 455–6). An article on the volume (review?), *Neue literarische Papyri der Berliner Sammlung*, in *Wiener Blatter* (1923–4, 5) is not accessible to me.

Philosophy. K. KUIPER has published an article on the Antiphon papyrus, P. Oxy. 1364, which he discusses chiefly from the philosophical point of view. *Over de Jongst-Ontdekte Fragmente van den Sophist Antiphon*, in *Mededeelingen Ak. Amsterdam*, Afd. Letterkunde, Deel 53, Serie A. Amsterdam, J. Müller, 1920. Pp. 19–52. G. COPPOLA contributes to the new number of *Aegyptus* (V, 1924, 213–30) an article on the papyri of Plato, which I have not yet had time to read. *Appunti intorno ai papiri di Platone.*

In a review of P. Oxy. XV already referred to SCHMIDT (p. 11) mentions a re-edition of Oxy. 1797 by DIELS in the *Nachtrage* to the 2nd volume of his *Vorsokratiker*, p. XXXV ff. and by himself in the 1st Heft of *Human. Gymnasium*, 1924, 11 ff., but I have been unable to see either work.

A. ROSTAGNI is publishing a long and detailed article on JENSEN's *Philodemos uber die Gedichte* (see *Journal*, X, 152). *Filodemo contro l' estetica classica*, in *Riv. Fil. Class.*, N.S., I (1923), 401–23 (I. *Composizione e nesso logico del V libro* Περὶ ποιημάτων), II (1924), 1–28 (to be continued). The volume has also been reviewed by R. PHILIPPSON (*Phil. Woch.*, XLIV, 1924, 417–21; laudatory; important), F. DORNSEIFF (*D. Lit.-Z.*, N.F., I, 1924, 415–20), and V. S[CHOLDERER] (*J.H.S.*, XLIV, 1924, 299).

An edition of the papyrus MSS. of Demetrius Laco by V. DE FALCO (*L'Epicureo Demetrio Lacone*, Napoli, Cimmaruta, 1923), which is inaccessible to me, is reviewed by E. BIGNONE. It shows, according to the reviewer, "una conoscenza per la sua età veramente rara della letteratura epicurea, assai notevole e ricco acume di congettura, giudizio personale, bella coltura filologica." BIGNONE makes some criticisms and corrections. *A proposito di una edizione dei papiri di Demetrio Lacone*, in *Riv. Indo-Greco-Ital.*, VII (1923), 181–6.

Science, medicine. In one of his letters to Calderini (the 23rd) G. LUMBROSO deals with the confusion which converted the geographer Ptolemy into a king. *Aegyptus*, V (1924), 33–4.

W. R. DAWSON has published a brief but interesting account of Coptic medicine with special reference to a Cairo papyrus published by CHASSINAT (*Mém. Inst. Fr. Arch. Or.*, XXXII, 1921). He quotes from this various prescriptions, with some notes on them, and concludes with an account and pictures of a Coptic surgical instrument case at Cairo (from *Ann. Serv.*, X). *Egyptian Medicine under the Copts in the early centuries of the Christian Era*, in *Proc. Roy. Soc. Med.* (*Hist. Section*), XVII (1924), 51–7. (See also § 5 below, on mummification.)

In the recent edition by C. GIARRATANO and FR. VOLLMER of Apicius, *De re coquinaria* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1922. Pp. 96) the editors include (pp. 87–91) the papyri published by BILABEL in ΟΨΑΡΤΥΤΙΚΑ (see *Journal*, X, 152). I have referred above to BILABEL's recent publication of further fragments of one of these papyri.

Romances. LAVAGNINI's *Origini* has been reviewed by É. CAHEN (*Rev. ét. gr.*, XXXVI, 1923, 558–61; critical but appreciative).

ZIMMERMANN's *De Charitonis Codice Thebano* (see *Journal*, X, 153) has been reviewed by O. STAHLIN (*Phil. Woch.*, XLIV, 1924, 344; "der fleissigen Arbeit, die auf genauer Kenntnis des Sprachgebrauchs Charitons steht, wird man fast in allen Einzelheiten und in dem Gesamtergebnis zustimmen können"), D. C. HESSELING (*Museum*, Leyden, XXXI, 1924, 227–8), and B. A. MÜLLER (*Lit. Zentralbl.*, LXXV, 1924, 626).

As this goes to press I am able to add a reference to a short article by ZIMMERMANN, *Supplementa Charitonea*, in *Aegyptus*, V (1924), 202–4.

Miscellaneous. À propos of the second part of P. Oxy. 1241, which contains a list of inventors, LUMBROSO, in his 25th letter to Calderini, recalls a humorous passage in *Don Quixote*. *Aegyptus*, V (1924), 36–7.

2. RELIGION, MAGIC, ASTROLOGY.

(*Including Texts.*)

Pagan cults. TH. HOPFNER has published two further parts of his most valuable *Fontes Historiae Religionis Aegyptiacae* (*Pars III auctores a Clemente Romano usque ad Porphyrium continens*, Bonnae in aedibus A. Marci et E. Weberi, 1923. Pp. 275–476; *Pars IV auctores ab Eusebio usque ad Procopium Caesareensem continens*, 1924. Pp. 477–708). The next part will complete the collection and contain indexes. Part I has been reviewed by K. PREISENDANZ (*Lit. Zentralbl.*, LXXIV, 1923, 209–10), Parts I and II together by A. S. HUNT (*Journal*, X, 1924, 180–1), II alone by W. v. BISSING (*Phil. Woch.*, XLIV, 1924, 152–3), and III by the same (*Phil. Woch.*, XLIV, 984–5) and G. RADET (*Rev. ét. anc.*, XXVI, 1924, 259–60).

KERN'S *Orphicorum fragmenta* has been reviewed by J. GEFFCKEN (*D. Lit.-Z.*, XLIV, 1923, 273–6; laudatory) and E. BIGNONE (*Ric. Fil. Class.*, N.S., II, 1924, 417–8). A. R[OSTAGNI] calls attention to an article, inaccessible to me, by OLIVIERI on the fragment of an Orphic ritual published by Smyly as P. Gurob 1. OLIVIERI propounds some new supplements. *Rituale di Misteri recentemente scoperto*, in *Atti R. Ac. Napoli*, N.S., VIII, 273–305. ROSTAGNI'S note in *Ric. Fil. Class.*, LI (1923), 390–2.

HOPFNER'S *Geheimlehren von Iamblichus* has been reviewed by J. JUTHNER (*D. Lit.-Z.*, N.F., I, 1924, 582–8) and H. LEISEGANG (*O.L.Z.*, 1924, 203–5). HOPFNER replies to the criticisms of the latter in a specially published broad-sheet entitled *Entgegnung*.

A reference must be made to an important publication, the first volume of W. SCOTT'S *Hermetica*. This has a sub-title which sufficiently explains its character: *The ancient Greek and Latin writings which contain religious or philosophic teachings ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus, edited with English translation and notes.* Volume I: *Introduction, Texts and Translation.* Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1924. Pp. 549 with frontispiece. 30*s*. For matter of interest to papyrologists see pp. 130 (P. Berol. 9764) and 394 ff. (Mimaut Pap.). (I owe this information to Mr. A. D. NOCK.)

I know only from a review by F. MAROI (*Aegyptus*, V, 1924, 95–7) a work by M. MODICA on the priests and ecclesiastical organization of Graeco-Roman Egypt. It is apparently a useful summary sketch of the subject, intended rather to state existing knowledge than to present the results of original research. *L' ordinamento sacerdotale e la proprietà ecclesiastica nell' Egitto greco-romano.* Palermo, 1921. Pp. 64. In an interesting article on PREISIGKE'S edition of the Prince Joachim Ostraca H. SOTTAS points out that some words taken by PREISIGKE as names are really priestly titles. πουερνπβῆκις is really "le grand du faucon," πορθώτης "prêtre de Thot." In a postscript he recognizes these titles in SPIEGELBERG'S report on excavations in the Theban necropolis in 1908. *Le thuase d'Ombos*, in *Rec. arch.*, XIII (1921), AVR.-JUIN, 24–36. W. SPIEGELBERG gives what seems likely to be the true explanation of the puzzling ψαρν (so read by SCHUBART) of the Gnomon papyrus. He reads the words as ψαον and explains as ḥ‹·w="procession" (Copt. *ϣⲁϣ). *Die Bedeutung von ψαον in dem Gnomon des Idios Logos*, in *Archiv*, VII, 185–6.

In an article on pagan cult-associations, written with special reference to the Basilica of the Porta Maggiore, A. D. NOCK has some references to papyri. *The Historical Importance of Cult-Associations*, in *Class. Rev.*, XXXVIII (1924), 105–9.

I may just refer in passing to an article by P. SCHNABEL on the royal cults of Hellenistic times. *Die Begründung des hellenistischen Königskultes durch Alexander*, in *Klio*, XIX (1924), 113–27.

À propos of a passage in P. Berol. 7927 ridiculing the popular conception of Eros as a child A. D. NOCK discusses this idea. He concludes as follows: "Both Eros, then, and the Cabiric ΠΑΙΣ or Kadmilos may be considered as the expression in terms of deity of the sacral function of boyhood." *Eros the Child*, in *Class. Rev.*, XXXVIII (1924), 152–5.

The controversy as to the nature of the κατοχή of the Serapeum (see *Journal*, X, 154) continues vigorously, having been given new life by VON WOESS'S *Asylwesen*, which I noticed last year. The main subject of that book properly belongs to § 6 below, but since most of the reviews deal largely with the question of the κατοχή I must mention them here also. WOESS'S theory that the κάτοχοι were refugees in asylum in the Serapeum is adopted by H. LIETZMANN (*Z. Neut. Wiss.*, XXII, 1923, 313) and by C. F. LEHMANN-HAUPT, who in the course of a long and important review traverses WILCKEN'S counter-arguments

(*Friedrich v. Woess' Asylwesen Ägyptens in der Ptolemaerzeit*, in *Klio*, XIX, 1924, 217–31). WILCKEN in a notice of his own *U.P.Z.*, I, 2 (see *Journal*, X, 157) replies to LEHMANN-HAUPT in what seems to me a convincing manner as regards the arguments in question (*Archiv*, VII, 299–301). H. LEWALD rejects WOESS's theory (*Z. Sav.-St.*, XLIV, 1924, 563–8); P. KOSCHAKER, in a laudatory review of the book, adopts an attitude of reserve but mentions some considerations which make against the asylum theory (*O.L.Z.*, XXVII, 1924, 195–9); and L. WENGER agrees in the main with WILCKEN but points out certain difficulties as regards the beginning and the end of the κατοχή. He suggests that the would-be κάτοχος offered an oath which the priests could accept or reject (*D. Lit.-Z.*, N.F., I, 1924, 297–306; this is a review of *U.P.Z.*, I, 1 and 2). Lastly, I must refer to a very elaborate article by P. GOBILLOT (written before the appearance of WOESS's book) on the whole subject of the supposed connexion between Christian monasticism and the pagan cults, particularly the κατοχή of the Serapeum, in which, after a careful and well-documented survey of the available evidence and the literature which it has evoked, he decisively rejects the theory of a connexion. He discusses the various theories as to the nature of the κατοχή, rejecting them in turn but without definitely propounding a theory of his own. *Les origines du monachisme chrétien et l'ancienne religion de l'Égypte*, in *Rech. de science rel.*, XI (1920), 303–54, XII (1921), 29–86, 168–213, 328–61, XIII (1922), 46–68.

G. P. WETTER has published what seems an important article, though, being in Swedish, it is unintelligible to me, on the Isis liturgy and the Imouthes papyrus, P. Oxy. 1380 and 1381. *Två nyfunna dokument från den religiösa synkretismen i Egypten under romerska kejsartiden*, in *Eranos*, XVIII (1918), 114–59. EV. BRECCIA, among some epigraphical notes which fall outside my scope, publishes an inscription of A.D. 162–3 mentioning Συνγενικῆς Θεᾶς Ἴσιδος Σασόφεως. *Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alex.*, N.S., V, 273, no. 16.

In a note on the interesting papyrus B.G.U. 1216. W. SPIEGELBERG points out that the name Ἀθερνεβθφνῆι means "Hathor, Lady of Aphroditopolis" (Dem. *Ḥ·t-Ḥr-nb·t)-tpj-ḥ·w·*). The papyrus, as he remarks, clearly comes from the Aphroditopolite nome; it is a "Steuerauseinandersetzung zwischen dem Tempelland...von Aphroditopolis und dem Firkus," which had reproached the temple authorities with too small tax-payments. This is their answer. Ἀθερνεβθφνῆι="*Hathor, Herrin von Aphroditopolis*, in *Archiv*, VII, 183–5.

SPIEGELBERG also deals with the falcon-cult on the island of Philae, illustrating from a passage in BUDGE's *Misc. Coptic Texts* (1915) its survival to the 4th cent. and its end. The narrative confirms the authenticity of the signature Μάρκος Φιλῶν in the subscription to St. Athanasius's letter to the Antiochenes. *Der Falkenkultus auf der Insel Philae in christlicher Zeit*, in *Archiv*, VII, 186–9.

In an important article, showing a wide range of reading, G. CAPOVILLA discusses the cult of the rider-god Heron. His main conclusions are as follows:—The rider-god Ἥρων to whom temples were dedicated at Magdola and Theadelphia, and who was represented on the coins of Diospolis, was the Thracian god, a hypostasis of Rhesus with characteristics proper to Sabazios. The cult was brought by Thracian mercenaries from Thrace in the early years of Philadelphus. He traces the factors which helped the diffusion and the popularity of the god, who later became a Christian rider-saint. *Il dio Heron in Tracia e in Egitto*, in *Riv. Fil. Class.*, N.S., I (1923), 424–67.

O. KERN adduces fresh evidence, from PREMERSTEIN's work on the Alexandrian anti-Jewish literature (see *Journal*, X, 162 f.), for the connexion of the cult of Aion in the Koreion at Alexandria with Eleusis. *Plutos in Alexandreia*, in *Arch. f. Religionsw.*, XXII (1923–4), 199–200.

In an article on the "tears of Nannakos" (Herodas, III, 10) W. M. CALDER calls attention to a Lycaonian inscription mentioning the village of Νοκοκώμη, which shows that the form was Nannakos, not Annakos, and that Nannakos was not a "hypostasis" of Enoch. H. J. ROSE suggests that in the oldest version of the legend the deluge was perhaps caused by the tears of Nannakos. *The Tears of Nannakos (Herodas, III, 10)*, in *Class. Rec.*, XXXVIII (1924), 113.

Christianity. Biblical and theological texts. I referred last year (*Journal*, X, 154) to a publication by G. RUDBERG which I had been unable to see. The author has since been kind enough to send me a copy, enabling me to supply further particulars. The fragments he publishes contain: *Is.* 42. 3, 4; 52. 15; 53. 1, 2; 53. 6, 7; *Genes.* 26. 13, 14. The date is the 4th or 5th cent. (4th is perhaps, from the facsimile, the more likely); the MS. (P. Christ. 22 *a* and *b*; bought by EITREM in Egypt in 1920) is a codex. The combination of Isaiah and Genesis in one volume suggests that it was a "Textbuch für kultischen Zweck." Most of RUDBERG's commentary is devoted to the question of format, *viz.* the writing in narrow columns. He gives a list of similar theological and Biblical MSS. in the Oxyrhynchus volumes. *Septuaginta-Frag-*

mente unter den Papyri Osloenses. (*Videnskapsselskapets Forhandlinger for 1923.* No. 2.) Kristiania, Jacob Dybwad, 1923. Pp. 8. 1 plate.

R. KILGOUR has published a short note on the new Coptic codex of St. John, the discovery of which by BRUNTON (not PETRIE, as I incorrectly stated) I mentioned last year (*Journal*, x, 155). *The Oldest Manuscript of St. John's Gospel in Coptic*, in *Expositor*, 9 S., 1924, 303–5. Since this was written I have seen the actual text of the MS., which has now appeared, edited by THOMPSON, with an introduction (including an account by PETRIE of the discovery), a collation with the Greek text, an English translation, and a Coptic glossary. *The Gospel of St. John according to the earliest Coptic manuscript.* (Brit. School of Archaeology in Egypt and Egyptian Research Account, XXIX year, 1923.) London, 1924. Pp. xxxix+70. 43 plates.

P. Oxy. XVI (below, § 3), which consists mainly of documents, contains three papyri of theological interest. These are: 1926, an oracular prayer to St. Philoxenus of a type already represented by several examples (6th cent.); 1927, a liturgical fragment (5th or 6th cent.); and 1928, Psalm xc, used as an amulet (5th or early 6th cent.).

G. KRÜGER calls attention to MILNE's publication of the new fragment of Aristides, *Apology* (see *Journal*, x, 155), and reproduces the text, with some notes. *Aristides, Apologie 15, 6–16, 1 im Urtext*, in *Theol. Lit.-Z.*, XLIX (1924), 47–8. Another article on the same subject has been published by A. D'ALÈS. He recounts briefly the history of the text and then gives a French translation of Milne's text with that of *Barlaam and Josaphat* in parallel columns. He makes the curious blunder of supposing (1) that the new fragment was found at Oxyrhynchus, for which there is no warrant, the provenance being unknown, and (2), apparently, that Oxyrhynchus was situated in the Fayum. *L'Apologie d'Aristide et le roman de Barlaam et Josaphat*, in *Rev. d. Quest. Hist.*, LII (1924), 354–9.

G. HORNER has now published the important Coptic fragment of the *Didache* (B.M. Or. MS. 9271) to which I referred last year (*Journal*, x, 155). *A New Papyrus Fragment of the Didaché in Coptic*, in *Journ. Theol. Stud.*, XXV, 225–31. Attention is called to the discovery by E. HENNECKE (*Theol. Lit.-Z.*, XLIX, 1924, 408) and C. SCHMIDT (*Ein neuer Didache-Fund*, in *D. Lit.-Z.*, N.F., I, 1924, 95). The previously found (Greek) fragments, P. Oxy. 1782, are the subject of an article by R. H. CONNOLLY, who reprints the fragments and discusses their significance for the text. *New Fragments of the Didache*, in *Journ. Theol. Stud.*, XXV, 151–3.

I must refer here to a translation of the *Shepherd* of Hermas by M. DIBELIUS, a translation which, in a laudatory review (*Phil. Woch.*, XLIV, 1924, 1269–71), P. THOMSEN describes as "gewissermassen der Ersatz einer neuen Ausgabe." In an elaborate introduction DIBELIUS uses the papyrus evidence. *Der Hirt des Hermas* (*Handbuch zum Neuen Testament, Erganzungsband*, IV. Theil). Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr, 1923. Pp. v+415–644. Geh. 5 M., geb. 7 M.

P. JERNSTEDT publishes a fragment of a Christian hymn, formerly in the possession of B. Turaiev. *Ein kirchenpoetisches Papyrusfragment*, in *Aegyptus*, V (1924), 183–4.

A. E[HRHARD] rejects Schermann's explanation of the prayers edited by C. Schmidt (see *Journal*, IX, 102). *Byz. Z.*, XXIV, 202–3.

The 3rd Heft of the new series of Baden papyri is devoted to an edition by FR. BILABEL of a Coptic fragment relating to the founders of the Manichaean heresy, apparently from a work *contra Manichaeos* or something similar. It contains an account of Scythianus and Terebinthus, and stands nearest to the version given by Cyril of Jerusalem. *Veröff. a. d. bad. Pap.-Samml.*, Heft 3. *Ein koptisches Fragment über die Begründer des Manichäismus.* Heidelberg, C. Winter, 1924. Pp. 16.

I must just refer to the appearance of C. SCHMIDT's eagerly expected edition of the Coptic text of the *Pistis Sophia*. There is an interesting introduction. *Coptica*, II, *Pistis Sophia*. Hauniae, Gyldendal, 1925. Pp. xxxix+456.

Documents and history. H. DELEHAYE has published an important work on the Egyptian martyrs, in which, after an account of the various persecutions, and an examination of Eusebius's evidence, he deals in detail with the later authorities (synaxaria, etc.). In an appendix he gives (1) a Greek Passion of Paphnutius from the unique MS., Vatican Greek 1660; (2) a revised text of the Latin Passion of Psotius published by Wilhelm from two MSS.; (3) a collection of variants from MS. Bodl. Fell 3 to the Passion of Dioscorus. There is an Index of Saints. *Les Martyrs d'Égypte.* Bruxelles, Soc. des Bollandistes, 1923. Pp. 221.

N. H. BAYNES discusses two vexed questions in connexion with the Great Persecution. I. *The Fourth Edict.—A Suggestion.* He thinks the edict was due to Galerius. Maximian hesitated to enforce it till

Galerius threatened war, when he gave way. Then Galerius confronted Diocletian with a *fait accompli*; he, broken in health, yielded, but soon afterwards abdicated. The theory seems likely on the whole evidence, though it may be pointed out, as regards the dates of martyrdoms, that the fact that they cannot be proved before a certain date does not make it certain that they did not occur. II. *The Chronology of the Ninth Book of the* Historia Ecclesiastica *of Eusebius.* Against LAWLOR (in his *Eusebiana*) he attempts to establish the correct sequence of events. He concludes: "Provided that we do not identify the message of Constantine of the autumn of 312 with the 'Edict of Milan,' the chronology of the ninth book...is consistent with itself and with our other authorities." *Two Notes on the Great Persecution*, in *Class. Quart.*, XVIII (1924), 189–94.

KNIPFING'S *Libelli* (see *Journal*, X, 156) has been reviewed by H. GOETZ (*Dokumente aus der Decischen Christenverfolgung*, in *Theol. Lit.-Z.*, XLIX, 1924, 204–6) and WILCKEN (*Archiv*, VII, 307–8).

For some important documents bearing on Church history in the 4th cent. and a possible early reference to Christianity see below, § 3, BELL'S *Jews and Christians.*

I have referred above, under *Pagan cults*, to GOBILLOT'S *Les origines du monachisme chrétien.*

One of the most important events of the period reviewed is the posthumous publication of J. MASPERO'S history of the Patriarchs of Alexandria, prepared for press by the late A. FORTESCUE and, after his death, by G. WIET. It is in a sense only a fragment, for none of it was revised by the author, some chapters were unfinished, and in particular the later portion was so imperfect that nothing could be done with it, and it was necessary to end the volume with the year 616 instead of with the Arab conquest; but the devoted labours of the editors have made it appear far less like a fragment than might have been expected. MASPERO'S work was always of high quality, showing, despite his youth, wide knowledge and critical judgement, and this volume, though it has of course shortcomings (doubtless more than it would have shown had the author lived to complete it), is a masterly work, which will be of immense value to all students of Byzantine Egypt. The narrative is clear and readable, in itself no small achievement when we remember how confused and confusing are the petty squabbles and endless ramifications of schism with which the author had to deal, and the volume is a mine of information. *Histoire des Patriarches d'Alexandrie depuis la mort de l'Empereur Anastase jusqu'à la réconciliation des églises jacobites* (518–616). (*Bibl. de l'École des Hautes Études*, CCXXXVII[e] fasc.) Paris, Champion, 1923. Pp. XV + 429. It has been reviewed by W. E. CRUM (*Journ. Theol. Stud.*, XXV, 1924, 425–32; important) and H. I. BELL (*Journal*, X, 1924, 209–12).

H. D[ELEHAYE] has published an interesting article on the Oxyrhynchus calendar (P. Oxy. 1357). He gives the text in full and follows it with a detailed discussion. He holds that the πάπας was the local Bishop, for whose temporary absence at Alexandria arrangements had been made. *Le Calendrier d'Oxyrhynque pour l'année 535–536*, in *Anal. Bolland.*, XLII, 83–99.

H. J. M. MILNE has edited a British Museum papyrus (P. Lond. 455 + 1849) containing a table of Psalms and lections for Lent. The papyrus, which is probably of the 6th cent., makes an interesting addition to our knowledge of the history of the liturgy. *Early Psalms and Lections for Lent*, in *Journal*, X (1924), 278–82.

I have referred above (§ 1, *Music*) to reviews of the Christian hymn from Oxyrhynchus.

GHEDINI'S *Lettere cristiane* (see *Journal*, X, 155) has been reviewed by C. DEL GRANDE (*Riv. Indo-greco-ital.*, VIII, 1924, 172–3), H. D[ELEHAYE] (*Anal. Bolland.*, XLII, 1924, 173–4), and W. SCHUBART (*O.L.Z.*, XXVI, 1923, 561). References to some further reviews will be found in *Aegyptus*, V (1924), 114, no. 3978.

P. Oxy. XVI (below, § 3) contains many documents which are of interest to the student of Christian antiquities.

I may refer briefly to the publication of vols. II and III of F. J. DÖLGER'S ΙΧΘΥΣ. II Band. *Der Heilige Fisch.* Pp. XVI + 656. Index. III Band. Same sub-title. Pp. XVIII + 104 plates. Münster in Westf., Aschendorff, 1922. The work has been reviewed by C. CLEMEN (*Theol. Lit.-Z.*, XLVIII, 1923, 511–3; favourable; disagrees on certain points) and H. L[IETZMANN] (*Z. neut. Wiss.*, XXIII, 1924, 157–8).

H. MUNIER shows that the Sibylla often mentioned in Coptic literature is really the pagan Sibyl. First associated in the apocryphal scriptures with Enoch, she became a Christian saint, the object of a cult. *La Sibylle Alexandrine chez les Coptes*, in *Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alex.*, N.S., V, 196–201.

Magic and astrology. TH. HOPFNER has published the second part of his monumental work on Graeco-Egyptian magic. This part, which, like the first, has been written out, with admirable industry and care, by WESSELY and reproduced from his autograph, deals with the methods employed. Though HOPFNER treats only of one department of magic his work is a storehouse of information on many aspects of the

subject and, with PREISENDANZ's Corpus of magical papyri (which, it is good news to hear, is now actually being printed), will furnish students of magic with an amount of material which should satisfy the most voracious appetite for some time to come. *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber. Seine Methoden.* (*Stud. zur Pal. u. Pap.*, XXIII.) Leipzig, Haessel, 1924. Pp. 172. 15 illustrations.

FR. DORNSEIFF has published an important work, in which he uses papyri, on the magical use of the alphabet. *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie.* (*Στοιχεῖα, Studien zur Gesch. des antiken Weltbildes u. der griech. Wissenschaft*, hrg. v. F. BOLL, Heft VII.) Leipzig, Teubner, 1922. Pp. vi+177. Reviewed by O. WEINREICH (*D. Lit.-Z.*, N.F., I, 1924, 181–90; favourable) and F. LL. GRIFFITH (*Journal*, X, 181).

I have referred above (*Pagan cults*) to W. SCOTT's *Hermetica*.

E. PETERSON has reviewed PERDRIZET's *Negotium Perambulans in Tenebris* (*Byz.-Neugr. Jahrb.*, IV, 1924, 409–10).

EITREM's *Papyrus magiques grecs de Paris* has been reviewed by A. C[ALDERINI] (*Aegyptus*, V, 1924, 109–10), K. PREISENDANZ (*D. Lit.-Z.*, N.F., I, 1924, 1505–7), and H. J. ROSE (see below), his article on the London magical papyri by PREISENDANZ (*D. Lit.-Z.*, N.F., I, 1643), and that on the Berlin papyri by the same (*Lit. Zentralbl.*, LXXV, 1924, 999), H. J. ROSE (*Class. Rev.*, XXXVIII, 1924, 213, along with the article on the Paris papyri), and P. THOMSEN (*Phil. Woch.*, XLIV, 1924, 1152).

C. PREISENDANZ has published some notes on P. Berol. 5025, with new readings. This papyrus, with 5026, is to begin his Corpus of magical papyri. *Spicilegium criticum ad pap. Berol. 5025*, in *Aegyptus*, V (1924), 21–6.

I have already referred above to a copy of Psalm XC used as an amulet, which appears in P. Oxy. XVI (no. 1928). The volume also contains a horoscope for the year 498 (2060) and three Gnostic charms against scorpions, of a not uncommon type (a similar document was last year acquired by the University of Michigan) —2061–3.

CH. GUIGNEBERT has reviewed EITREM and FRIDRICHSEN's *Christliches Amulett* (*Rev. de l'Hist. des Rel.*, LXXXVII, 1923, 128–9). EITREM has himself published some further interesting articles. One deals with the magical device of slandering the beloved with a view to obtain power over her (or an enemy with the same object). The article has special reference to a passage in the great Paris papyrus. *Die rituelle διαβολή*, in *Symbolae Osloenses*, 1924, fasc. 2, May, 43–58. This is followed by an extremely interesting Appendix (*Der διάβολος und die magischen Elemente im N.T.*, pp. 59–61), in which EITREM calls attention to the need of further investigation into the magical element in the New Testament. Another, miscellaneous, article contains one note which comes within the sphere of this bibliography, on the papyrus published by CAMPBELL BONNER (see *Journal*, X, 156), making some suggestions. *Varia, op. cit.*, 71–4; see p. 71 f., note 44. A third, dealing with a Scandinavian inscription, contains references to ancient analogies, including the evidence of magical papyri, for phallic symbolism. *Lina Laukar*, in *Festskrift til Bibliothekar A. Kjær*, 1924, 1–10 of off-print.

There is just time to refer to an article by G. MÉAUTIS, *Notes sur quelques papyrus magiques*, in *Aegyptus*, V (1924), 141–52, which arrives as this is going to press.

W. SPIEGELBERG illustrates by quotations from Hieroglyphic, Demotic, and Coptic texts the belief in the evil eye. He suggests that it came into Egypt from the Libyans, perhaps with Dyn. XXII, which was of Libyan stock. *Der böse Blick im altägyptischen Glauben*, in *Zeitschr. f. ag. Spr.*, LIX (1924), 149–54. In an article on a small bell used as a charm against the evil eye K. KALBFLEISCH gives an account of the practice and of the belief in the evil eye, with some references to papyri. *Das Glockchen im Oberhessischen Museum zu Giessen*, in *Heimat im Bild* (*Beilage zum Giessener Anzeiger*), 1924, 18 Dec.

3. PUBLICATIONS OF NON-LITERARY TEXTS.

(*N.B. Miscellaneous notes on and corrections of documents previously published are placed in* § 9 *below.*)

U. WILCKEN has published a further instalment of his *U.P.Z.*, containing nos. 59–105 (pp. 297–452). The part is divided into subjects as follows: II. Serapeum letters, nos. 59–76. III. Dreams, 77–81. IV. Accounts, 82–105. At the end is a note on WESTERMANN's Zeno papyrus noticed below. *Urkunden der Ptolemaerzeit* (*ältere Funde*). I Band, 3. Lieferung. Berlin and Leipzig, Walter de Gruyter, 1924. The previous two parts have been reviewed by W. SCHUBART (*O.L.Z.*, XXVII, 1924, 194–6) and L. WENGER (*D. Lit.-Z.*, N.F., I, 1924, 297–306), and all three by A. CALDERINI (*Aegyptus*, V, 1924, 279–80).

C. C. EDGAR continues his series of selected texts from the amazing Zeno archive, the wealth of which seems almost inexhaustible, for there is as yet not the slightest falling-off in the interest of the papyri

published. During the year under review three instalments have appeared. The first (*Selected Papyri from the Archives of Zenon*, in *Ann. Serv.*, XXIII, 73–98) contains the following documents: 73. A valuation for customs purposes, very important for our knowledge of the customs tariff, of a consignment of goods to Pelusium destined for Apollonius and others. May—June, 259 B.C.; 74. An account for payment of porterage on the same goods. 259 B.C.; 75. An account relating to a consignment of oil, also valuable for the customs, as well as for oil prices; 76. Drafts of letters from Zeno to friends in Palestine concerning some escaped slaves; an interesting and valuable addition to our evidence on the slave trade. Probably 259 B.C. (On this papyrus see below, § 4, *Topography.*) The second (*op. cit.*, pp. 187–209) contains the following: 77. Account of linen garments and napkins supplied during a journey in Palestine. 257 B.C.; 78. Satyra, a female harp-player, to Zeno, on an unpaid allowance of clothing, *n.d.*; 79. Nicias to Apollonius, on fruit trees; interesting. 19 Jan., 257 B.C.; 80. Amyntas to Zeno, on the arrest of Demetrius and the recovery of some plate. Received 1 March, 257 B.C.; 81. The same to the same, same subject. 27 March, 257 B.C.; 82. The same to the same, introducing Zopyrus. 27 March, 257 B.C.; 83. Zoilus to Alexander. 26 Apr., 257 B.C.; 84. Toubias (the Palestinian sheikh) to Apollonius, with a eunuch and four young slaves. 17 June, 257 B.C.; 85. Apollonius to Panacestor. 15 Nov., 257 B.C.; 86. Petition to Zeno from Dionysius, a *sitometres*, *n.d.*; 87. Phaneisis, another *sitometres*, to Zeno, *n.d.*; 88. Mys to Zeno. 23 Apr., 256 B.C. The third (*Ann. Serv.*, XXIV, 17–52) contains, besides some corrections to no. 75, the following further texts: 89. Dromon to Zeno, *n.d.*, very interesting for its mention of a prescription by "the god" (doubtless Sarapis) of Attic honey for the eyes; 90. — to Zeno, enclosing a copy of a letter of Apollonius. 16 Apr., 256 B.C.; 91. Apollonius to Zeno on the building of temples at Philadelphia. 27 Apr., 256 or 255 B.C.; 92. Apollonius to Zeno, *n.d.*, instructing him to show a distinguished visitor round the town; 93. Apollonius to Zeno, referring to the Feast of Isis. 17 Dec., 256 B.C.; 94. The same to the same, on the planting of fruit trees. 27 Dec., 256 B.C.; 95. The same to the same, on the planting of pines. 27 Dec., 256 B.C.; 96. The same to the same, on the planting of vines and olives. 7 Jan., 255 B.C.; 97. The same to the same, on the purchase of cattle. Spring of 255 B.C.; 98. The same to the same, on the hay harvest. 24 July, 255 B.C.; 99. The same to the same, on a dispute about vineyards. 24 July, 255 B.C.; 100. The same to the same, on the taking of shoots from olives. 8 Oct., 255 B.C.; 101. The same to the same, to secure contractors for work on a canal. 7 Dec., 254 B.C.; 102. Plato to Zeno, an interesting letter of introduction. 16 Dec., 255 B.C.; 103. Thrasymedes to Zeno, on a business transaction. 20 Dec., 254 B.C.; 104. Artemidorus to Zeno, to buy a horse which was perhaps going cheap. 26 Jan., 253 B.C.; 105. Account relating to the purchase of beeswax and honey, *n.d.*; 106. Petition to Zeno from the bee-keepers, important for our knowledge of bee-keeping in Egypt, *n.d.*; 107. Account of Hermon relating to sheep, *n.d.*; 108. Zeno to Crotus to have a mattress made with wool to be obtained from a Jew; interesting as one of the few letters from, not to, Zeno. 18 Sept., 253 B.C.; 109. Phanias to Zeno, on the administration of oaths to cadets (*νεανίσκοι*). 13 July, 252 B.C.; 110. Philiscus to Zeno, on the repair of a canal. 252–251 B.C.; 111. Memorandum to Zeno, concerning the lease of a boat, *n.d.* Besides the documents published in full there are many references to, or excerpts from, other interesting texts in the Cairo collection. Nos. 67–88 have been reviewed by WILCKEN (*Archiv*, VII, 292–5) and nos. 73–88 by SCHUBART (*O.L.Z.*, XXVII, 1924, 402–3).

W. L. WESTERMANN has published a long and well-preserved roll (P. Cornell 1) from the Zeno archive. It is an extremely interesting day-book of lamp-oil (*κίκι*) issued during Apellaeus and Audnaeus of the 28th year. WESTERMANN follows up the text with notes, a list of the persons mentioned, with identifications wherever possible, a translation, and a lengthy commentary. He is probably mistaken in thinking that the account proves Zeno to have been already in charge of the estate at Philadelphia (he was more probably in attendance on Apollonius, who was on a visit of inspection to his estates both there and at Memphis) and in locating the Serapeum which is mentioned at Philadelphia (it was almost certainly the famous one at Memphis), but editing and commentary alike show the high standard of competence which distinguishes WESTERMANN's work, and scholars can but rejoice that papyri of the Zeno group, if separated from the rest, should fall into such capable hands. *Account of Lamp Oil from the Estate of Apollonius*, in *Class. Phil.*, XIX (1924), 229–60. On pp. 451–2 of his *U.P.Z.* (see above) WILCKEN notices this publication (*Nachtrage aus P. Cornell* 1). He thinks the first part of the account refers to Memphis, and that the Berenices Hormos mentioned was perhaps in that neighbourhood, though in a footnote he weighs the possibility that EDGAR's original placing on the Red Sea may be correct. Thus the Serapeum is, as pointed out above, that near Memphis.

P. Gurob has been reviewed by SCHUBART (*O.L.Z.*, XXVII, 1924, 401–2); P. Lille I, iii by WILCKEN

(*Archiv*, VII, 296–8), A. MERLIN (*Journ. des Sav.*, N.S., XXII, 1924, 33–4), and H. I. BELL (*Journal*, X, 1924,183–4); and *B.G.U.*, VI by WILCKEN (*Archiv*, VII, 290–2).

P. M. MEYER has now published, after a long delay due to the war and the economic difficulties which have followed it, the third part, completing the volume, of his edition of the Hamburg papyri. The difficulties referred to have led to changes in the format. There are no facsimiles, the type is smaller, the texts are printed continuously, not in the lines of the original, the translations are omitted, and the commentary is briefer; but the editorial work is of the same fine quality as before. Several of the most interesting documents had already appeared separately, but it is convenient to have them collected in a volume, and among the new texts are several which are worthy of note, particularly 60, a census return, which refers to the census as a *κατ' οἰκίαν ἐπίκρισις*; 61, two fragments of *libelli libellaticorum*; 62, an *ἀπογραφή* of a *παραχώρησις* of catoecic land; 68, an interesting lease of land at Aphrodito, no doubt from the Dioscorus archive; 74, a receipt for a mummy; some good letters; and a number of fragmentary Zeno papyri (105–17). *Griechische Papyrusurkunden der Hamburger Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek*. Band I, Heft 3. Pp. 211–69. Leipzig and Berlin, Teubner, 1924. Hamburg, C. Boysen. This part has been reviewed by WILCKEN (*Archiv*, VII, 301–2) and H. I. BELL (*Journal*, X, 1924, 348–9); and an unsigned review of the whole volume appears in *J.H.S.*, XLIV (1924), 286.

P. M. MEYER's *Juristische Papyri* has been reviewed by F. PRINGSHEIM (*Vierteljahrsschr. f. Soz. u. Wirtschaftsgesch.*, XVII, 1923, 109–11; laudatory; some valuable suggestions). BILABEL's P. Baden, Heft 2, is reviewed by WILCKEN (*Archiv*, VII, 302–5), SCHUBART (*O.L.Z.*, XXVII, 1924, 21–2), and E. KIESSLING (*Phil. Woch.*, XLIV, 1924, 346–7); Heft 1 (SPIEGELBERG's Demotic papyri) by A. WIEDEMANN (*O.L.Z.*, XXVII, 20); VIERECK's edition of the Strassburg ostraca by SCHUBART (*O.L.Z.*, XXVII, 20–1), E. KIESSLING (*Phil. Woch.*, XLIV, 347–8), and H. I. BELL (*Class. Rev.*, XXXVIII, 1924, 136); WESSELY's *Studien*, XX, XXII (the Rainer papyri) by K. F. W. SCHMIDT (*Phil. Woch.*, XLIV, 697–702; many suggestions) and XXII by A. STEIN (*Lit. Zentralbl.*, LXXIV, 1923, 514–5); and P.S.I. III–VI by F. ZUCKER (*Byz. Z.*, XXIV, 426–7).

P. COLLART and P. JOUGUET publish a contract of lease in the year 151 B.C. *Bail de verger datant de la 28e année du règne de Philométor*, in *Aegyptus*, V (1924), 129–39.

K. THUNELL has published what seems to be[1] a very useful edition of four long rolls from Theadelphia. All are in the Berlin collection, of the 2nd cent., and all except the second are the work of the sitologi. THUNELL edits them with a translation and an elaborate commentary, which should be extremely useful. There are full indexes. *Sitologen-Papyri aus dem Berliner Museum*, Akad. Abhandlung. Uppsala, Almqvist and Wiksells, 1924. Pp. iv+120. The volume is reviewed by WILCKEN (*Archiv*, VII, 306).

F. W. KELSEY has published an unusually fine specimen of a waxed diptych containing a Latin declaration of birth. The child concerned was Herenria Gemella. The tablet, which is in a perfect state of preservation, is P. Mich. 766; complete facsimiles are given. *A Waxed Tablet of the year 128 A.D.*, in *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.*, LIV (1923), 187–95.

W. L. WESTERMANN has published, with a most interesting commentary (see below, § 5) a contract with some castanet dancers, dated in 206 A.D. (P. Cornell Inv. No. 26, second series). *The Castanet Dancers of Arsinoe*, in *Journal*, X (1924), 134–44. H. I. BELL follows it up with an edition of a flageolet player's contract in the British Museum (P. Lond. Inv. No. 1917), perhaps of the year 194 A.D. *A Musician's Contract*, *op. cit.*, 145–6[2].

In his *Papyrusbericht* (see below, § 9) P. M. MEYER publishes (p. 593) an extract from Ostr. Bodl. 2297 (reign of Tiberius) recording a payment *ὑπ(ὲρ) ἰσκρίσεως παστο(φόρων)*, another (p. 598) from Ostr. Cambridge 17 (*ἐμβαδικόν*) and Ostr. Bodl. 1169 (late 2nd cent. B.C.), an extract from a *διάγραμμα* concerning cases tried before the king or an official of his, which provides that anybody bringing before any other court a case so settled should be fined 10,000 drachmae, in addition to which the case was not to be heard.

The British Museum has published a special volume, not forming part of the ordinary Catalogue, which contains the text of some specially notable papyri acquired in recent years. The volume, edited by H. I. BELL, is divided into three parts, the first containing a long letter of Claudius to the Alexandrines in reply to an embassy sent him on his accession, in almost perfect preservation and preceded by an order of the prefect for its publication, the second a collection of letters, with one contract, from a Meletian settlement in the Upper Cynopolite nome, two of which are of historical importance as throwing light on the Synod

[1] Having had some difficulty in getting the volume, I have not yet had time to study it.

[2] In l. 20 read *αὐλ[ητικῆς]* (Westermann).

of Caesarea in 334 and the antecedents of that of Tyre in 335 respectively, and the third a collection of letters addressed to an anchorite named Paphnutius. One of these last is from an Athanasius, who, the editor suggests, may possibly be St. Athanasius himself. The papyri are edited on a much more elaborate scale than is usual in the Museum Catalogue, with translations, lengthy introductions, and full commentary. Some facsimiles are given. Three of the Meletian letters are in Coptic and were edited by W. E. Crum. *Jews and Christians in Egypt.* London, British Museum, 1924. Pp. xii+140. 5 plates. 10*s.* nett. The volume has attracted much attention. Before it appeared a brief account of the Meletian letters, particularly as they bear on the history of St. Athanasius, was published by H. I. Bell (*New Lights on Saint Athanasius*, in *Adelphi*, I, 1006–9); and since its appearance reviews or notices have been published by the following scholars: A. Deissmann (*Kampfe im Urchristentum*, in *Vossische Zeitung*, 27 June, 1924, morning ed.; *Athanasiana*, in *Expos. Times*, xxxvi, 1924, 8–11), J. Bidez (*Juifs et Chrétiens en Égypte, d'après H.-I. Bell*, in *Bull. Ac. Roy. de Belgique, Cl. Lettres et Sc. mor. et pol.*, 1924, 5–9, pp. 270–2), Wilcken (*Archiv*, vii, 308–11), A. Puech (*Rev. ét. anc.*, xxvi, 1924, 384–6), W. Schubart (*O.L.Z.*, xxvii, 1924, 712–4), S. Gaselee (*Class. Rev.*, xxxviii, 1924, 212), E. Schwartz (*D. Lit.-Z.*, N.F., I. 1924, 2093–101), A. v. Harnack (*Litteris*, I, 1924, 115–22), G. De Sanctis (*Claudio e i Giudei d'Alessandria*, in *Riv. Fil. Class.*, N.S., II, 1924, 473–513), N. H. B[aynes] (*J.H.S.*, xliv, 1924, 311–3), and an anonymous writer (*Juifs, Païens et Chrétiens dans l'Égypte romaine*, in *Le Flambeau*, vii, 1924, 378–84). Jouguet read a communication on the volume to the Académie des Inscriptions (see *C.-R. Ac. Inscr.*, 1924, 222; *Journ. des Sav.*, N.S., xxii (1924), 190); and subsequently S. Reinach has propounded a theory[1] that a reference in ll. 99–100 of Claudius's letter to the Jews as *καθάπερ κοινήν τινα τῆς οἰκουμένης νόσον ἐξεγείροντας* is really directed at the Christians, who, he thinks, were already in Rome and had attracted the attention of the authorities as a sort of "Bolshevik" organization working for the subversion of society. A. Jülicher has published an article on this theory, which he decidedly rejects. *Zum Briefe des Kaisers Claudius*, in *Die Christliche Welt*, xxxviii (1924), 1001–4[2].

[1] In a communication to the Académie; I have not seen the actual note but have had the advantage of an oral discussion with M. Reinach himself. The announcement of his theory was noted by several papers, e.g. *Il Mondo*, 9 Nov., 1924.

[2] I take this opportunity of noting some corrections and suggestions which have been made on the volume. In l. 21 both Puech and (in a private letter) Schubart propose to retain *ἡμᾶς* (which I corrected to *ὑμᾶς*), and Puech also *μοι*. This seems to me acceptable. Puech renders: "m'insinuant, en considération de votre attachement envers nous, (de vous témoigner) celui que..."; cf. Schubart: "Die Gesandten haben, wie es naturlich ist, die Loyalität (*εὔνοια*) der Alexandriner betont, die sie gleichsam als Guthaben bei Claudius besitzen (*τεταμιευμένην.. εἴχετε*)." Schubart further wonders whether *δῆλον* should not be corrected to *ζῆλον* (in that case no doubt retaining *μοι*). This is a little daring but seems not improbable; the spelling is careless, and confusion of *ζ* and *δ* is not uncommon in papyri, at least at a later period.—In l. 37 both Wilcken and (in a letter) Rostovtzeff interpret *ἐπί* (MS. *επει*) as "*at* Rome," as in a passage of the Monumentum Ancyranum. Thus Claudius *accepts* the statue of Pax Augusta Claudiana. This is almost certainly right. *ὡσεί*, suggested by De Sanctis, is palaeographically possible but much less likely, and archaeological and other considerations urged by Rostovtzeff and Wilcken, which support the theory of acceptance, rule it out.—De Sanctis wishes to correct in l. 30 f. to *προήρησθε* and in l. 43 to *ἤ δὲ βούλεσθε*. Both are possible, but neither seems to me necessary.—De Sanctis in l. 42 reads *κατὰ νόμον*, i.e. "*secondo l' uso egiziano.*" This removes the difficulty of interpretation commented on in my note but seems to me to raise still greater difficulties, both philological (this sense would surely have been differently expressed) and of substance (had the Egyptians a special custom in regard to sacred groves? It seems unlikely in a country so poor of trees).—In l. 92 E. Schwartz suggests *ἐπισπαίειν=ἐπεισπαίειν*, which is almost certainly the correct reading.—In l. 95 *ἀπθόνων* (=*ἀφθ.*) is to be read for *ἀπάντων* (Schubart); *θ* is corrected from *ο*, and *ων* from *ου*.—Wilcken, in view of Claudius's refusal of divine honours, would correct *θεοῦ* to *θείου* in l. 9; "Cäsar wäre dann mehr appellativisch gebraucht." I confess *ὁ θεῖος ἡμῶν Καῖσαρ* does not seem to me a likely expression; is it not easier to suppose that the prefect has made a concession to popular sentiment, even in opposition to the Imperial decision?—De Sanctis thinks, surprisingly, that the letter does not disprove the Jewish citizenship but actually strengthens the case for it. He argues his thesis well, but I do not find it convincing. In particular, his attempt to explain away l. 92 f. goes by the board now that *ἐπεισπαίειν* takes the place of *ἐπισπαίρειν*.—Lastly, I must confess myself unconvinced by Reinach's arguments for a Christian reference in ll. 96–100, even though De Sanctis independently (but less definitely) comes to a somewhat similar conclusion. Some such view as that hinted at by De Sanctis, that already the ferment of Christianity was causing disturbances in those cities which had Jewish quarters, and that the government was in consequence coming to regard the Jews as turbulent people, is not at all

Part XVI of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* consists, with the exception of the few theological and magical texts already referred to, entirely of non-literary documents, and these are all of the Byzantine age. It is in fact one of the most important additions ever made in a single volume to our materials for that period. It begins with an excellent series of letters. The first (1829), to Flavius Strategius and his wife, is not only interesting in itself but affords an opportunity for a long note on the Apion family, whose history the new material made it possible to trace much more fully than could previously be done. 1830 is a valuable letter on the rise of the Nile, which it is useful to compare with the much earlier example in P.S.I. 488. There is a good series of letters (1844 ff.) from the correspondence of a certain Victor, probably an agent of the Apion family. Special interest attaches to 1873, a quite amazingly turgid account of a riot at Lycopolis, and 1874, a letter of condolence in semi-modern Greek, which it is instructive to compare with the famous pagan example of the *genre* in P. Oxy. 115; the Byzantine writer comes very badly out of the comparison. The "legal documents" include some extremely interesting texts, in particular 1876–9, which, though all very imperfect, are valuable, because hitherto unique, examples of legal reports exemplifying the procedure *per libellum*. Curiously enough, another example of the same class, even more fragmentary, was last summer acquired by the British Museum. 1880, a novel case of abandonment of legal proceedings, 1881, an interesting specimen of *ἀντίρρησις*, 1882, an *ἐκσφράγισμα*, one or two of the petitions, and 1887, an application for an alteration in the taxing-lists, are all noteworthy texts. The "agreements" are of a more conventional kind, but offer many points of interest; special reference may be made to a lease of a *μυλοκριβάνιον* (1890), an agreement between boat-builders (1893), and a somewhat curious alienation of a daughter (1895). A long but very imperfect will (1901) is a useful addition to the known documents of that class. The accounts are of exceptional interest and value, as many of them concern the domains of noble houses (chiefly the Apion family) and give a vivid picture of the administration of the great feudal estates. On the verso of 1928 is a fully legible protocol of "Byzantine" type, which at last solves the vexed problem of decipherment. There is of course no Latin in the text; thus Karabacek's theory receives its *coup de grâce*. The "minor documents" at the end are of not much inferior interest to the earlier ones; most of them are published in full. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part XVI. Edited by B. P. GRENFELL, A. S. HUNT, and H. I. BELL. London, Egypt Exploration Society, 1924. Pp. xvi+343. 3 plates. The volume has been reviewed by WILCKEN (*Archiv*, VII, 311–3) and anonymously (*Times Lit. Suppl.*, July 24, 1924, 462); and a notice of it, picking out some points in which it may be of use to historians, has been published by H. I. BELL (*Journal*, X, 1924, 214–6).

CRUM and BELL's *Wadi Sarga* has been reviewed by H. H[ALL] (*J.H.S.*, XLIV, 1924, 131–2), WILCKEN (*Archiv*, VII, 314), C. SCHMIDT (*O.L.Z.*, XXVII, 1924, 199–200), and P. P[EETERS] (*Anal. Bolland.*, XLII, 1924, 158–60).

H. S. NYBERG has, Mr. MINNS informs me (the periodical is not yet accessible to me), translated the Avroman Pehlevi document, and has deciphered some of the Pehlevi endorsement of the first Greek contract. *Monde Oriental*, XVII (1923), 182–230.

There have been found at Sâlihîyah some further vellum documents (see *Journal*, X, 161, where the name was wrongly given). FR. CUMONT gives an account of them in *C.-R. Ac. Inscr.*, 1924, 21–2, and a fuller account, with text, of the oldest in *Rev. de Phil.*, XLVIII (1924), 97–111, *Le plus ancien parchemin grec*. It was found in 1923, and is a sale of land dated, if the restoration is right, in 195 B.C. In any case it is the earliest parchment yet found. It is apparently a register, including various deeds. CUMONT adds an interesting commentary.

Besides the reviews already mentioned above, WILCKEN's survey of recent publications in vol. VII, parts 3–4, of the *Archiv* includes the following (the figures refer to pages): P. Mich. 45, 295; P. Wis. 1, 295–6; JOUGUET's Zeno papyri, 296; COLLART's article in the *Recueil Champollion*, 298; P. Freib. 36–7 (in

unlikely, and would excellently explain the generalization in l. 99 f., *κοινήν τινα τῆς οἰκουμένης νόσον*, but I see no need to go further.—In Pap. 1913 WILCKEN would identify Pageus with Paiêous; this is rather likely. In l. 7 SCHWARTZ's [*ἀ*]*ριθμοῦ* is very tempting but extremely difficult to reconcile with the traces; I do not feel that the true reading has yet been found. In 1917, 12 both PUECH and SCHUBART make the very good suggestion *ἐργ*]*αζόμαι-νος*.—Various conjectures made in Pap. 1929 are for the filling up of lacunae rather than actual reading, and the MS. does not help. The general attitude of scholars towards the question of Athanasian authorship is either reserved or sceptical. I should like to emphasize again the fact that I never regarded the conjecture as more than moderately probable; but I cannot agree with PUECH that the letter "n'est pas supérieure, ni comme fond *ni comme forme*, au niveau très médiocre des autres morceaux de la collection."

PARTSCH's *Publizität der Grundstückscertrage*: see *Journal*, X, 167), 298–9 (W. has placed a fragment which completely alters the problem and changes the character of the text. The new text is to appear in an edition of the Freiburg papyri which PARTSCH is preparing); P. Mich. 622, 99+98, 305–6; KAMPSTRA's edition of P. Berl. 11886, 306–7; HUNT's *Tachygraphical Curiosity*, 307 (I may mention here that the British Museum has just acquired two papyrus codices of the same or a closely similar work, of the same period, and one of them perhaps in the same hand); BELL's *Epoch in the Agrarian History of Egypt*, 313; HOMBERT's publication of the Ghent Aphrodito papyrus, 313; C.P.R. III, 1, 3, 314; and a papyrus published by P. JERNSTEDT in a Russian periodical which I am unable to see: *Brief des Scholastikios an seine Mutter Philostorgia* (this is W.'s translation of the Russian title), in *Journal des Ministeriums für Volksaufklärung*, 1917, Sept., Abt. f. Klass. Phil., 287 ff.

1. POLITICAL AND MILITARY HISTORY, ADMINISTRATION, TOPOGRAPHY, CHRONOLOGY.

General. SCHUBART's *Ägypten* has been reviewed by W. WEBER (*O.L.Z.*, XXVII, 1924, 1–8), FR. ZUCKER (*D. Lit.-Z.*, N.F., I, 1924, 434–8), and anonymously (*Klio*, XIX, 231–2).

A very interesting joint volume on the Hellenistic period has been published by the Cambridge University Press. BURY contributes a chapter on *The Hellenistic Age and the History of Civilization*, BARBER one on *Alexandrian Literature*, BEVAN one on *Hellenistic Popular Philosophy*, TARN one on *The Social Question in the Third Century*; and in an appendix the curator of the Lewis Collection gives an account of its contents. All the chapters are useful and instructive, but perhaps TARN's is the most noteworthy. *The Hellenistic Age*. Cambridge Univ. Press, 1923. Pp. ix+151. The volume has been reviewed by A. W. GOMME (*Class. Rev.*, XXXVIII, 1924, 181–3; rather unfavourable; regrets that the authors did not enlarge the scope of their work) and anonymously (*J.H.S.*, XLIV, 1924, 128).

In connexion with two passages in *Don Quixote* LUMBROSO discusses the lumping of the Ptolemies together as "the Ptolemies." Letter LVII to Breccia, *Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alex.*, XX (N.S., V), 208–9.

I referred last year to an article by M. ROSTOVTZEFF, which I had been unable to see. Owing to the author's kindness I have since been able to do so. He discusses the crisis through which the Roman Empire passed in the 3rd cent. He holds that the real conflict was not between the Emperor and the Senate but between the army, representing the peasantry, who aimed at a "nivellement politique, social, économique et intellectuel," and the bourgeoisie. His sketch is extremely interesting and suggestive but strikes me as a little one-sided. History is rarely simple, and to express a great and complex process under a single formula is apt to be misleading. *La Crise sociale et politique de l'Empire Romain au IIIe siècle après J.-C.*, in *Musée belge*, XXVII (1923), 233–42.

H. I. BELL has published, in the form of a review of some recent publications (one of them WENGER's *Volk und Staat*; the other reviews are referred to in their places), a summary sketch of the decay and disintegration which characterize the history of Byzantine Egypt. *The Decay of a Civilization*, in *Journal*, X (1924), 207–16.

Political history and position of nationalities. I have referred above (§ 2) to SCHNABEL's work on the establishment of the dynastic cults.

A. G. ROOS has published an interesting article on the papyrus (WILCKEN, *Chrest.* 1) containing a report on the "Laodicean" war. He holds that the writer is Lysimachus, the brother of Berenice and Ptolemy Euergetes, and that the report refers to the opening stages of the war, before Ptolemy's arrival at Antioch. Λαοδίκειος πόλεμος, in *Mnemosyne*, LI (1923), 262–78.

À propos of the nickname ὁ τῆς Ἀγαθοκλείας applied to Philopator from his attachment to his mistress LUMBROSO cites some ancient and modern instances of similar appellations. Letter LIV to Breccia, in *Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alex.*, XX (N.S., V), 205–6.

H. GAUTHIER has published a rather important inscription found at Tell el-Makhutah (Pithom), which contains a decree of the priests in the 6th year of Philopator (217–216 B.C.). It is a duplicate of a fragment previously known, which it helps to complete. The decree was the result of the battle of Raphia, of which it gives but a vague account. Its importance is that it completely confirms our literary sources as to Philopator's triumphal progress through the liberated regions: he was absent from Egypt for four months.

A work by M. MODICA on the Greek cities is known to me only from a review by F. MAROI (*Aegyptus*, V, 1924, 97–9). *Le città greche dell' antico Egitto*. Palermo, 1922. Pp. 28.

J. PARTSCH reviews E. STEIN's *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Verwaltung Ägyptens in der romischen Herrschaft*, Stuttgart, 1915 (*Archiv*, VII, 263–4).

M. A. LEVI discusses the reasons for Augustus's measure excluding Roman Senators from Egypt. *L' esclusione dei senatori romani dall' Egitto Augusteo*, in *Aegyptus*, V (1924), 231–5.

J. G. MILNE, discussing the vexed question as to Aemilianus, the prefect of 258–9 A.D., thinks it doubtful whether he ever laid claim to Imperial power. He was loyal to Gallienus against the Syrian "tyrants," who never got as far south as Thebes. Aemilianus perhaps held out in the Thebaid, and finally recovered the whole of Egypt for Gallienus. But the *Historia Augusta* makes it clear that Gallienus had him superseded and arrested in the end. *Aemilianus the "Tyrant,"* in *Journal*, X (1924), 80–2.

I have referred above (§ 2) to BAYNES's *Two Notes on the Great Persecution*, as also to J. MASPERO's *History of the Patriarchs*.

J. BIDEZ has edited the letters and fragments of JULIAN for the Budé series of classical texts with translations, thus adding yet further to the debt which students of JULIAN owe him for his labours. *L'Empereur Julien, Œuvres Complètes*, Tome 1, 2e Partie. *Lettres et Fragments.* (Coll. des Univ. de France.) Paris, "Les Belles Lettres," 1924. Pp. xxiv+258. The previous edition, without translation, by BIDEZ and CUMONT has been reviewed by F. BOULENGER (*Rev. de Phil.*, XLVIII, 1924, 85–8; some criticisms and suggestions; "au total, cette édition est un modèle de méthode, de conscience scientifique et de sage critique"), W. KOCH (*Museum*, Leyden, XXXII, 1924–5, 39–46), WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF (*Lesefrüchte*, CLXXXVIII, in *Hermes*, LIX, 1924, 267–70: high praise; some critical and other notes); and the new one by A. R[OSTAGNI] (*Riv. Fil. Class.*, N.S., II, 1924, 568–9).

Prince OMAR TOUSSOUN translates such parts of the history of Ibn 'Abd el-Ḥakam as relate to Alexandria. *La Conquête de l'Égypte par Ibn Abd-el-Hakam*, in *Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alex.*, XX (N.S., V), 213–38.

A work by M. MODICA on the nationalities in Graeco-Roman Egypt is known to me only from a review by F. MAROI (*Aegyptus*, V, 1924, 100–2). *Egiziani, Greci, Romani ed Ebrei nell' antico Egitto e loro rapporti politici.* Palermo, 1922. Pp. 26.

The question of the Persians of the Epigone still continues to attract attention. A. SEGRÈ brings forward fresh arguments from Demotic texts in favour of his theory that they were simply "una categoria di persone alle quali era stata accordata la qualità di Persiani dell' epigone per sollevarli dalla condizione di Aegypti." He abandons his theory of "un legame fra la qualità di cleruco e la epigone" (in the sense that the descendant of a cleruch or a catoecus, without having a cleros, belonged *ipso facto* to the Epigone). *Ancora sui Persiani dell' Epigone*, in *Riv. Fil. Class.*, N.S., II (1924), 86–91. Meantime the problem has been placed on an entirely new footing by two articles published independently by F. PRINGSHEIM and J. G. TAIT. The former scholar in a lengthy examination of the question collects all the references to Persians, tabulates the documents by classes, and thus endeavours to furnish material towards a settlement of the various doubtful points. The result is a contribution to the subject of quite exceptional value. The evidence shows clearly that, occasional exceptions apart, the nationality of a Persian of the Epigone was, in later times, mentioned only when the Persian was in a position involving financial responsibility ("um damit irgendeine Einwirkung auf seine Haftung zu erreichen"). That this *Einwirkung* was unfavourable, that is, that execution was easier and more expeditious against Persians of the Epigone, seems all but certain from the evidence. PRINGSHEIM holds that the word *ἀγώγιμος* does not, as VON WOESS thought, refer merely to asylum, and he dismisses VON WOESS's theory that the Persians suffered this differentiation on religious grounds. He thinks it due to the fact that they were foreigners, *ξένοι*, and suggests, very plausibly, that the *ξενικῶν πράκτωρ* was so called because he was the official concerned with execution against members of the Epigone. Finally, he discusses, but prefers to regard as unproven, the idea, set forth more fully by TAIT, that in later times the phrase *Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς* was often a legal fiction. *Die Rechtsstellung der Πέρσαι τῆς ἐπιγονῆς*, in *Z. Sav.-St.*, XLIV, 396–526.

The other article, by J. G. TAIT, is an attempt, to my mind convincing, to prove that the phrase in question was in the Roman period "merely a legal fiction." As I have said, PRINGSHEIM, who had seen TAIT's article in MS., takes the other view; and he replies briefly to TAIT's arguments in a footnote. I do not find his case convincing; in particular, while it must be granted that the Roman administration was very careful as to such points as race and descent, that does not prove that for the protection of creditors the Romans may not have officially sanctioned the use of a fiction in this case. TAIT's arguments are very strong and are for the most part not seriously shaken by PRINGSHEIM's replies. Moreover PRINGSHEIM admits a legal fiction in the case of the Persians of the Epigone who occur in the Alexandrian *συγχωρήσεις*. ΠΕΡΣΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΠΙΓΟΝΗΣ, in *Archiv*, VII, 175–82.

I have seen, but have not yet had time to read, what seems to be an important work on the Jews in Egypt. L. FUCHS, *Die Juden Aegyptens in ptolemaischer und romischer Zeit.* (*Veroffentl. d. Dr. A. S. Bettelheim Memorial Foundation.*) Wien, M. Rath, 1924. Pp. xx+157. I have referred above (§ 3) to BELL's *Jews and Christians* and some important reviews on it. For another reference to the Jews see below, under *Administration.*

Administration. J. PARTSCH reviews STEINER's *Fiskus der Ptolemaer* (*Archiv*, VII, 262–3).

I know only from a reference in DE RICCI's bibliography a communication by W. SCHUBART on *Romische Regierungsgrundsatze in der Provinz Aegypten*, in *Verh. der* LIII *Vers. deutscher Philologen*, 1922, 14–15.

N. HOHLWEIN in a useful article deals with the strategus. His main conclusions are: (1) that the nomarch whom we find at the beginning of the Ptolemaic period really was the descendant of the old Egyptian officer, whose more important functions were absorbed by the strategus; (2) that the Ptolemaic strategus was a professional official, receiving a salary, and so too at first under the Romans, but at length the office became an obligatory ἀρχή: (3) that by rule the office was held for three years, but in practice the tenure varied considerably, on both sides of that figure. *Le Stratège du Nome*, in *Musée Belge*, XXVIII (1924), 125–54.

J. PARTSCH reviews OERTEL's *Liturgie* (*Archiv*, VII, 264–8).

A very important work, marked by all the qualities of illuminating conjecture and wide research which we have learned to expect from the author, has been published by F. VON WOESS on the βιβλιοθῆκαι and the arrangements adopted by the Romans for securing the publicity of contracts and safeguarding the interests of the state on the one side and the parties to contracts on the other. It is safe to prophesy that this very thorough and comprehensive treatment of the subject will be a standard work for many years to come. *Untersuchungen uber das Urkundenwesen und den Publizitatsschutz im romischen Ägypten.* (*Münchener Beitrage zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte*, 6. Heft.) München, C. H. Beck, 1924. Pp. xxi+389.

Just in time to include it in this bibliography, though too late to characterize it in detail, I have received a monograph by A. CALDERINI on the *Thesauroi*, which scholars will no doubt find a valuable collection and discussion of the material available on this important subject. ΘΗΣΑΥΡΟΙ: *Ricerche di topografia e di storia della pubblica amministrazione nell' Egitto greco-romano*, being *Studî della Scuola Papirologica*, vol. IV, Parte III. Milano, "Aegyptus," 1924. Pp. 133.

A work by M. MODICA on the magistrates and senates of the metropoleis is known to me only from a review by F. MAROI (*Aegyptus*, V, 1924, 99–100). *Funzionari amministrativi e Senato nelle metropoli dell' Egitto romano.* Palermo, 1922. Pp. 21.

Reference may be made to a review by J. PARTSCH of the late M. PLAUMANN's article *Idios Logos* (founded on the monograph published in the *Abhandlungen* of the Berlin Academy) in PAULY-WISSOWA-KROLL, IX (*Archiv*, VII, 263).

H. I. BELL publishes, as an addendum to WILCKEN's *Zu den Kaiserreskripten*, an extract from an unpublished London papyrus which supports WILCKEN's view of the procedure in one detail. *Zu den Kaiserreskripten: An Addendum*, in *Archiv*, VII, 223–4. This article of WILCKEN's and his *Zu den Edikten* are reviewed by J. PARTSCH (*Archiv*, VII, 286–7).

G. LUMBROSO, in an interesting discussion of Josephus, *c. Ap.*, II, 5, points out (1) that *custodia* may represent three words: φυλακή, φυλακία, φυλακίς, suggesting that the original may have run ποταμοῦ φυλακία καὶ πάσης φυλακῆς; (2) that πίστις (*fides*) was a *terminus technicus* in Hellenistic usage; and (3) he suggests that the Lagids took over from the Persians, and the Romans from the Lagids, a bureaucratic tradition by which the Jews enjoyed the "maxima fides" in financial matters. Letter LXX to Wilcken, in *Archiv*, VII, 221–2.

G. ROUILLARD's *Administration civile* (see *Journal*, X, 163 f.) has been reviewed by L. BRÉHIER (*Rev. ét. anc.*, XXVI, 1924, 187–90; favourable; "un travail d'une réelle importance"; it will render "de grands services en ouvrant des horizons nouveaux sur l'histoire politique et administrative de Byzance") and H. I. BELL (*Journal*, X, 1924, 212–4).

A fragmentary inscription from Mariut published by E. BRECCIA in facsimile (not otherwise transcribed) mentions a δοῦξ καὶ αὐγο[υστάλιος called -ανός. It is only a small portion of the whole; the date is probably in the reign of Justinian, according to BRECCIA. It may be suggested, from what remains, that it is a series of ordinances. *Note Epigrafiche*, p. 277, no. 25, in *Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alex.*, XX (N.S., V).

N. H. BAYNES, in an article on BURY's *Later Roman Empire*, adduces evidence which suggests that the title *Patricius* in the 5th cent. was not merely a title of honour but represented a definite office, carrying with it the control of the military forces of the Empire in Western Europe: perhaps *magister peditum praesentalis*. *The Patriciate*, pp. 224–9 of *A Note on Prof. Bury's "History of the Later Roman Empire,"* in *Journ. of Rom. Stud.*, XII, 1922, 207–9.

Military and naval history. I may refer here, rather belatedly, to an article by G. VESCOVINI on the military and naval organization of Ptolemaic Egypt (it does not deal with the Roman period) which was brought to my notice by DE RICCI's bibliography. *Notizie sull' ordinamento militare e marinaro dell' Egitto*, in *Riv. marittima*, Rome, 1918, 28–38.

J. PARTSCH reviews an article by OERTEL on *Katoikoi* in PAULY-WISSOWA-KROLL (*Archiv*, VII, 261–2).

Topography. I owe to Mr. BAYNES a reference to an article, inaccessible to me, by L. PIOTROWICZ on the division of the Arsinoite nome. *De nomi Arsinoitae tertio a. Chr. n. saeculo partitione*, in *Symbolae philologorum Posnaniensium*, Posnaniae, Gebethner and Wolff, 1920, pp. 56–61.

J. PARTSCH reviews KÜHN's *Antinoopolis* (*Archiv*, VII, 268).

U. MONNERET DE VILLARD discusses the history of the Roman fortress at Babylon in Egypt so far as our very scanty evidence enables it to be traced. He inclines to think that the archaeological evidence is on the whole favourable to the statement in the "prophecy" of Shenoute that the fortress was restored by the Patriarch Cyrus before the Arab invasion. *Sul castrum romano di Babilonia d' Egitto*, in *Aegyptus*, V (1924), 174–82.

F. M. ABEL devotes an interesting article to the place-name Marisa which occurs in P. Edgar 76. He deals not only with the form of the name but, in connexion with the document, with the slave trade, the state of Palestine, etc. *Marisa dans le Papyrus 76 de Zénon et la Traite des Esclaves en Idumée*, in *Rev. Bibl.*, XXXIII (1924), 566–74.

Chronology. K. J. BELOCH in an article on the chronology of the early Ptolemies, written with special reference to EDGAR's investigations, carries his results further. He holds (with great probability) that the Macedonian calendar was lunar. Thus, by the dates of the new moon, we can now reckon with greater certainty. He gives tables. He deals with the reigns of Philadelphus, Euergetes, and Philopator, but leaves the problem of Philopator's early years unsolved. *Zur Chronologie der ersten Ptolemaer*, in *Archiv*, VII, 161–74.

To the same number of the *Archiv* (p. 224) J. G. TAIT contributes some notes on the chronology of the third century (Decius to Diocletian) with reference to STEIN's article, which I noticed last year (*Journal*, X, 164 f.). *Note on the chronology.*

5. SOCIAL LIFE, EDUCATION, ART, ECONOMIC HISTORY, NUMISMATICS AND METROLOGY.

Social life. I referred last year to a work by H. SCHMITZ, then inaccessible to me, on the laying-out of towns in Graeco-Roman Egypt. The kindness of Mr. BAYNES has now enabled me to see the work. It is part only of the complete thesis, dealing with Hermopolis. It contains some acute remarks and gives a useful analysis of C. P. Herm. 127 verso, but on the whole is rather disappointing. It deals chiefly with points of detail, and is rather scrappy, giving very little in the way of general principles. *Die hellenistisch-romischen Stadtanlagen in Aegypten.* Diss. Freiburg i. Br., 1921. Pp. 21.

H. RINK has published a useful dissertation on the names of streets and quarters at Oxyrhynchus. After a discussion of the terms used, *ἄμφοδον*, *ἀγυία*, etc., he collects and analyzes the names which occur, dealing also, incidentally, with the public buildings mentioned. The volume will be a very handy work of reference. *Strassen- und Viertelnamen von Oxyrhynchus.* Diss. Giessen, 1924. Pp. 53.

CALDERINI's *Composizione della famiglia* (see *Journal*, X, 165) is reviewed by D. BASSI (*Boll. di Fil. Class.*, XXX, 154–5).

E. KORNEMANN has published a valuable article on the marriage of brother and sister in the ancient world. He traces the origin of the custom in the Hellenistic monarchies to the influence of the Achaemenid dynasty, but shows that it was ultimately pre-Persian and pre-Hellenic. *Die Geschwisterehe im Altertum*, in *Mitt. d. Schlesischen Gesellschaft fur Volkskunde*, XXIV (1923), 17–45. In a note in *Klio*, XIX, 355–61 (*Zur Geschwisterehe im Altertum*) he summarizes his main conclusions and refers to an article on the same subject by F. CUMONT. The latter article, *Les unions entre proches à Doura et chez les Perses* (*C.-R. Ac. Inscr.*, 1924, 53–62), is concerned with some inscriptions at Doura which show marriage of brother and

sister. CUMONT also traces the custom to Oriental influence; he holds that the reason was the desire to preserve the purity of the blood.

À propos of a passage in Heliodorus, *Aethiopica*, G. LUMBROSO gives quotations from modern works to illustrate the attraction which white men have for black women. Letter XX to CALDERINI, in *Aegyptus*, V (1924), 30–1.

In connexion with the edition of a castanet dancer's contract referred to in § 3 above W. L. WESTERMANN publishes a very interesting discussion of such contracts in general, the wages paid, terms of contract, position of the artists, etc. *The Castanet Dancers of Arsinoe*, in *Journal*, X (1924), 134–44.

LUMBROSO collects references illustrating the musical enthusiasm of the Alexandrines. Letter XVIII to CALDERINI, in *Aegyptus*, V (1924), 27–8.

An article by A. CALDERINI on the public baths of Graeco-Roman Egypt reaches me just in time to be included in this year's Bibliography. *Ancora dei bagni pubblici nell' Egitto greco-romano*, in *Rend. R. Ist. Lombardo*, LVII (1924), fasc. XV–XX. Pp. 12.

LUMBROSO illustrates by various quotations, with some modern parallels, the necessity of conciliating the Alexandrines by the wearing of Greek costume. Letter LVIII to BRECCIA, in *Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alex.*, XX (N.S., V), 210 f.

He also quotes, with ancient and modern analogies, instances of ceremonial meetings (*ἀπαντήσεις*) of distinguished people. Letter LI, *op. cit.*, 202–3. In another letter (no. LVI, *op. cit.*, 208) he writes on the disinclination of the Alexandrines for military work, quoting parallels.

I may just refer here, since it uses the evidence of Greek papyri, to an important work by G. ELLIOT SMITH and W. R. DAWSON on mummification. *Egyptian Mummies*. London, George Allen and Unwin, 1924. Pp. 190. 71 illustrations. In a review of this book H. I. BELL corrects an error of his own in a translation of a Greek papyrus supplied to the authors and refers to a rather noteworthy Demotic papyrus relating to mummification recently acquired by the British Museum. *Asiatic Review*, XXI (1925), 162–3.

Education, Science, and Art. V. GARDTHAUSEN has published an important article on the Alexandrian library, containing much valuable material, and with many illustrations. He attempts to prove a connexion between Nineveh and Alexandria as regards the practice of the library, the connecting link being the "libraries" (that is, the archives) of the Egyptian officials. *Die alexandrinische Bibliothek, ihr Vorbild, Katalog und Betrieb*, in *Z. des Deutschen Vereins fur Buchwesen und Schrifttum*, V (1922), 73–104. In a review in the *Zentralblatt fur Bibliothekswesen* (XL, 1923, 258–9) C. WENDEL accepts and reinforces GARDTHAUSEN's theory of a connexion between Nineveh and Alexandria but doubts whether the administrative archives had anything to do with it. GARDTHAUSEN's article is also reviewed by A. VON PREMERSTEIN (*Byz.-Neugr. Jahrb.*, IV, 1924, 414–5; favourable). G. FURLANI in an article on the alleged burning of the library by the Arabs summarizes the arguments of CASANOVA (see *Journal*, X, 162) and GRIFFINI on the subject. He still inclines to retain belief in the story. *Sull' incendio della biblioteca di Alessandria*, in *Aegyptus*, V (1924), 205–12.

In a volume by A. CALDERINI entitled *Saggi e studi di antichita* (*Pubbl. d. Univ. Catt. del Sacro Cuore*, S. V, vol. VI. Milano, "Vita e Pensiero." Pp. xviii + 301), in which he collects a number of recent articles, is included one on *Scuole e scolari di venti secoli fa* (pp. 1–26).

C. H. MOORE has published an article on the study of Latin in Greek schools. After pointing out how small was the acquaintance of Greeks with Latin he quotes in full and discusses P. Oxy. 1099 (made by a "poorly trained and careless teacher" for pupils or his own private study); Ryl. 61 (perhaps "for students of maturer age"); P.S.I. 21 (the marking of accents betrays the school-book; they support the theory of an accentuation by pitch); and P.S.I. 142. *Latin Exercises from a Greek Schoolroom*, in *Class. Phil.*, XIX (1924), 317–28.

I have referred above, in § 1, to an article by W. R. DAWSON on medicine under the Copts.

R. W. SLOLEY, writing on ancient water-clocks, deals with the Egyptian evidence, with P. Oxy. 470, with clocks of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, and also with Arab and mediaeval European clocks. *Ancient Clepsydrae*, in *Ancient Egypt*, 1924, 43–50.

Art. In letter LV to BRECCIA G. LUMBROSO discusses the architectural term *opus Alexandrinum* (*Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alex.*, XX, N.S., V, 206–7). In letter LII (*op. cit.*, 203–4) he cites two letters of Napoleon III with reference to the sale of a cameo of Augustus found by Napoleon I in Egypt. The attempt to sell it failed; LUMBROSO asks where it is at present.

S. GASELEE discusses the practice of indicating on figured textiles the names of personages, etc. He

gives a list of textiles which contain lettering, with notes and references. There are 7 illustrations. *Lettered Egyptian Textiles in the Victoria and Albert Museum*, in *Archaeologia*, XXIII, 73–84.

Economic history, industry. Prince OMAR TOUSSOUN has published a work (which grew out of his researches for his previous volume on the branches of the Nile) on the finances of Egypt. It is mainly a compilation and shows little trace of original work. He uses the evidence of the papyri (so far as it is used at all) at second-hand, and he relies for the early Arab period not on the contemporary papyri but on the later Arab authors. But the work will be of utility as a collection of authorities, though it must be added that ancient, mediaeval and modern writers are somewhat uncritically lumped together as if of equal authority. *Mémoire sur les Finances de l'Égypte depuis les Pharaons jusqu'à nos jours.* (Soc. Arch. d'Alex., II.) Le Caire, Impr. de l'Inst. Fr. d'Arch. Or., 1924. Pp. viii+187.

E. STEIN has reviewed CICCOTTI's *Lineamenti* (*Vierteljahrsschr. f. Soz. u. Wirt.-Gesch.*, XVII, 1924, 370–2; favourable; some criticisms).

WILCKEN's article on the economic influence of Alexander the Great (see *Journal*, VIII, 95) is reviewed by J. PARTSCH (*Archiv*, VII, 260–1), whose review of STEINER's *Fiskus* I have already referred to in § 4. He also reviews ROSTOVTZEFF's *Foundations of social and economic life* (*op. cit.*, 259–60).

LUMBROSO illustrates the preservation of the wealth of the Ptolemies (*διοίκησις τῶν χρημάτων*) down to the time of Auletes. Letter XXI to CALDERINI, in *Aegyptus*, V (1924), 31–2. In letter XXIV (pp. 34–6) he deals with the Red Sea trade, quoting an article published by PARIBENI in 1912.

A. SEGRÈ has published an interesting article on loans and rates of interest in Graeco-Roman Egypt. He deals with both loans of money and loans in kind, and treats the subject historically. *Il mutuo e il tasso d' interesse nell' Egitto greco-romano*, in *Atene e Roma*, N.S., V (1924), 119–38.

CALDERINI's *Saggi e studî* referred to above includes (pp. 221–32) a reprint of his article *La politica dei consumi secondo i papiri Greco-Egizi*; an article (pp. 27–61) *Fra lavoranti ed artigiani del mondo antico*; and another (pp. 62–80) on weaving: *Al ritmo del telaio di Penelope*.

I referred last year to the efforts being made to raise funds for the printing of M. SCHNEBEL's work on agriculture. Happily these efforts proved successful, and vol. I of the work has now appeared as the seventh Heft of the admirable series of *Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte*. It reaches me only just in time for inclusion in this Bibliography, but a cursory glance through it shows that it is not likely to disappoint the expectations which have been aroused. It embodies material collected by OTTO and the late F. PLUHATSCH. *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten*. I. Band. *Der Betrieb der Landwirtschaft*. Pp. xvii+379.

Also too late for detailed study comes a work by C. RICCI on viticulture in Graeco-Roman Egypt, which with its rich collections of material and discussions of the various processes seems likely to be a very useful work of reference. *La coltura della Vite e la fabbricazione del vino nell' Egitto greco-romano*, being *Studî della Scuola Papirologica*, vol. IV, Parte I. Milano, "Aegyptus," 1924. Pp. vii+86.

In a letter (XXVI) to CALDERINI, LUMBROSO discusses the popularity of pigeons in Egypt. *Aegyptus*, V (1924), 37–8.

Numismatics and metrology. W. KUBITSCHEK, à propos of a find of siliquae, returns to a former article of his own published in 1913 on a papyrus of the Theresianisches Gymnasium at Vienna edited by WESSELY, in which was a misprint, which has caused some misconception. He now corrects this and adds further remarks on the document. *Gold und Silber gegen Ende des IV. Jahrhunderts*, in *Numism. Z.*, N.F., XVI (1923), 29–32.

C. MONNERET DE VILLARD writes on the various values of the Byzantine solidus. He gives the actual weights of a number of pieces, and concludes that the solidus of 22 carats often referred to was actually coined at this value, not a deteriorated 24-carat solidus. He also postulates a series of solidi at 21 and 20 carats side by side with that of 24 carats. *Sui diversi valori del Soldo Bizantino*, in *Riv. ital. di numism.*, 2 S., VI (1923), 33–40.

G. F. H[ILL] reviews O. VIEDEBANTT, *Antike Gewichtsnormen und Munzfusse* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1923), a work which I have been unable to see. In *J.H.S.*, XLIV, 128.

6. LAW.

General works and miscellanies. I may refer here, though dealing separately with such of the individual notices as come within my sphere, to J. PARTSCH's *Juristische Literaturübersicht* (1912–23), in *Archiv*, VII, 258–87 (to be continued).

I know only from a review by V. ARANGIO-RUIZ (*Aegyptus*, V, 1924, 104-9; laudatory; an important article, with comments on legal points) a volume of collected essays by G. CASTELLI. *Scritti giuridici*, a cura di E. ALBERTARIO, con prefazione di P. BONFANTE. (*Fondazione Guglielmo Castelli*, I.) Milano, Hoepli, 1923. Pp. xii+265.

E. WEISS has published an important work, which will be of immense service not only to jurists but to all students of papyri, who must often have felt the want of some such comprehensive survey, on Greek Private Law, not confining himself to the Attic law but covering the whole field, and with special reference to the papyri and the law of Graeco-Roman Egypt. *Griechisches Privatrecht auf rechtsvergleichender Grundlage*. I. *Allgemeine Lehren*. Leipzig, Felix Meiner, 1923. Pp. xii+556. It is reviewed by PARTSCH (*Archiv*, VII, 269–74).

M. SAN NICOLÒ is responsible for the 18th edition of CZYHLARZ's standard work *Lehrbuch der Institutionen des romischen Rechtes*, brought up to date and corrected and modified to accord with the results of recent research. Wien, Leipzig, Holder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1924. Pp. xii+504.

R. TAUBENSCHLAG has published a useful monograph on the Roman private law at the time of Diocletian, emphasizing the contacts and mutual reactions of Imperial and popular law; as he remarks, Diocletian closes an epoch and begins a new one; "er setzt den Schlussstein in der Entwickelung des röm. Rechts, um den Grundstein für diejenige des byzantinischen Rechts zu legen," and therefore the period deserves special treatment. *Das romische Privatrecht zur Zeit Diokletians* (*Extrait du Bull. de l'Ac. Pol. des Sc. et des Lettres*. Cracovie, 1919–20). Cracovie, Impr. de l'Univ., 1923. Pp. 141–281. It is reviewed by E. WEISS (*Lit. Zentralbl.*, LXXV, 1924, 710; laudatory).

PARTSCH reviews WEISS's *Studien zu den rom. Rechtsquellen* (*Archiv*, VII, 285–6).

I know only from a review by O. GRADENWITZ (*Z. Sac.-St.*, XLIV, 1924, 568–73) a work by R. MAYR, the long expected and much desiderated *Vocabularium codicis Justiniani*, *Pars prior* (*pars Latina*). Ceska grafficka unie A. S. Pragae, 1923. 2572 cols.

PARTSCH reviews COLLINET's *Études historiques sur le droit de Justinien*, 1912 (*Archiv*, VII, 274-9) and WENGER's *Über Papyri und Gesetzesrecht* (*op. cit.*, 284–5).

E. COSTA publishes some miscellaneous legal notes: *Postille Papirologiche*, in *Mem. R. Acc. Bologna*, S. II, vol. V–VII (1920–3), 167–73. They are as follows: I (167–8). *I rapporti di vicinanza fra edifizi nel diritto greco-egizio*. Concerns P. Stud. Pap. XXII, 131. C. points out the significance of the text for the law on this subject; it shows a difference from Roman law, but on the other hand resembles the modern usage. II (168–70). *Potestà paterna e potestà padronale nei documenti greco-egizi attinenti il tirocinio industriale*. With special reference to P. Oxy. XIV, 1647, P. Stud. Pap. XXII, 40; refers briefly to P. Stud. Pap. XX, 119. III (171–3). *Mutui senza termine nei papiri greco-egizi*. On the relation between these loans and deposits. Also alludes to leases at pleasure.

I may just allude here, owing to the importance to students of Graeco-Roman law in Egypt of the pre-Hellenic codes of the Orient, to an extremely interesting article by E. CUQ on the laws of the Hittites as gathered from the Hittite records found at Boghaz-Keui. That decipherment of these texts is still in a very experimental stage hardly needs emphasizing, but different attempts have many points of contact, and in the case of law analogy helps greatly. Hence CUQ's treatment of the subject does not seem premature. *Les lois hittites*, in *Rec. hist. de droit fr. et étr.*, 1924. 5–67.

I have dealt under § 2 (*Pagan cults*) with the literature which has gathered round VON WOESS's *Asylwesen*, but the work was primarily legal in character, and a reference must be added here. I may mention that LEWALD in the review there referred to does not accept the interpretation of *ἀγώγιμος* as "auch ohne Asylschutz"; he thinks it was more general in sense—that "der *ἀγώγιμος*...dem eigenmächtigen Zugriff des Glaubigers unterworfen ist." PRINGSHEIM, in his discussion of the *Πέρσαι τῆς ἐπιγονῆς* (above, § 4), also deals with this question.

I have referred above (§ 4) to VON WOESS's important volume *Urkundenwesen*. F. BILABEL in an article which I have not yet had time to read deals with the so-called "double deed." *Zur Doppelausfertigung ägyptischer Urkunden*, in *Aegyptus*, V (1924), 153–73 (to be continued).

A. SEGRÈ in an elaborate article discusses the institution of *ἀλληλεγγύη*. In the first part of this article, which alone I have yet read, he points out that *ἀλληλεγγύη* was no part of classical Greek law; it is found only from the latter part of the 2nd cent. B.C. onwards. Curiously, neither Demotic nor Coptic contracts show it, not even the late Demotic deeds. It was regular in Babylonian law and in Graeco-Egyptian law after Euergetes II. It was probably taken from late Babylonian law. SEGRÈ traces its development in that

law. The institution was distributed over the whole of the Eastern Empire in the Byzantine Age but was unknown in the West. *L' ΑΔΑΗΑΕΓΓΥΗ*, in *Aegyptus*, v (1924), 45–64, 185–201.

P. M. MEYER writes to me, with regard to G. SEGRÈ's article on the *Constitutio Antoniana* referred to last year (*Journal*, x, 162), that he cannot at all accept SEGRÈ's view of the phrase *χωρὶς τῶν δεδειτικίων*, which he regards as "*sachlich* durchaus unmöglich."

P. KOSCHAKER reviews WLASSAK's *Judikationsbefehl* (*D. Lit.-Z.*, N.F., I, 1924, 378–80).

A work by A. ALBERTONI, *L' apokeryxis, contributo alla storia della famiglia* (Seminario giuridico R. Università di Bologna, VI, 1923. Pp. xii+120), is inaccessible to me. See *Aegyptus*, v, 123, no. 4129.

S. SOLAZZI discusses the limitation of the power of alienation, unknown to classical Roman law but found in that of Justinian, in the case of the *procurator bonorum*. Whence was it derived? His answer is that it was due to the influence of Greek law. He illustrates from papyri the limitation in Egypt. In answer to the question when the limitation was introduced he writes: "la facoltà di alienare fu perduta dal procuratore qualche tempo prima di Giustiniano." *Le facoltà del* procurator bonorum *nel diritto romano-ellenico*, in *Aegyptus*, V (1924), 3–19.

Prof. STEINWENTER sends me a reference to an essay in Magyar from the "Almanach der Miskolczer Rechtsakademie," 1923–4, by SZTEHLO under the title *A társas háztulajdon kérdéséhez*, which, he says, so far as he can judge from the references and Greek quotations, seems to concern "Stockwerkseigentum in den Papyri."

W. SPIEGELBERG deals with four Demotic documents of unusual form (given in translation only, with a philological commentary), which he holds to be in reality a sort of agreement with a woman to look after the contracting party in old age and after death to arrange for burial. *Ägyptische Verpfründungsverträge mit Vermögensabtretungen.* (*Stzgsber. Heidelb. Ak.*, 1923. 6. Abh.) Heidelberg, C. Winter, 1923. Pp. 13.

An article by M. SAN NICOLÒ, sent to the editor in 1914 and now at last printed without alteration, deals with WILCKEN, *Chrest.* 419, 29 f., *ποίησόν μου τὸ πρόσωπον*, which WENGER rightly explained as an "allgemeinen Auftrag des Briefschreibers...ihn in privatrechtlichen Angelegenheiten zu vertreten." SAN NICOLÒ quotes evidence from Coptic papyri, especially from Jême and Aphrodito, for this use of *πρόσωπον*. *Das* ⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲣⲟⲥⲱⲡⲟⲛ *als Stellvertretungsformel in den koptischen Papyri*, in *Byz. Z.*, XXIV, 336–45.

In his 27th letter to CALDERINI, LUMBROSO, à propos of the Theban tomb robberies, recalls the provisions of the Roman law against such offences. *Aegyptus*, V (1924), 140.

SAN NICOLÒ's *Schlussklauseln* is reviewed by W. SCHWENZNER (*O.L.Z.*, XXVII, 1924, 333–5).

7. PALAEOGRAPHY AND DIPLOMATIC.

In an important article on the stichometry of the Herculaneum rolls K. OHLY attacks BASSI's theory that the figures in question refer to the actual lines of those rolls, and endeavours to prove that it was the "normal line" (*i.e.* the equivalent of an epic hexameter) to which they had reference. He seems to make out a good case. The purpose of the practice was to reckon the scribe's remuneration. *Die Stichometrie der Herkulanischen Rollen*, in *Archiv*, VII, 190–220.

H. A. SANDERS publishes an article on the subscription to the Freer papyrus of the Minor Prophets, which he is editing. He reads it *προφ(ηται) ιβ̄ στει[χοι γ] | ε̄ ολοκο(τινων)*. He takes l. 2 as "5 (silver) holocotinoi," *i.e.* denarii, the price for writing the MS. He uses this to reinforce the evidence of the hand as to date ("before 270 and probably before 260 A.D."). I confess that the evidence for this use of *ὁλοκότινος* seems to me very dubious, and I doubt also the reading, though I have nothing better to suggest. *The Subscription of the Freer Papyrus of the Minor Prophets*, in *Philol. Quarterly*, III (1924), 161–7. For those who cannot see the article it may be useful to mention that a synopsis of it is given in the *Am. Journ. of Arch.*, XXVIII (1924), 75.

I have referred in § 3 to WILCKEN's review of HUNT's *Tachygraphical Curiosity* and to a legible protocol in P. Oxy. XVI, and in § 6 to BILABEL's article on the "double deed."

EXLER's *Form of the Ancient Greek Letter* is reviewed by A. JURET (*Rev. ét. anc.*, XXVI, 1924, 370), F. BILABEL (*Phil. Woch.*, XLIV, 1924, 243–4), and H. I. B[ELL] (*J.H.S.*, XLIV, 132).

I have just received what is clearly an important work by A. CALDARA on the personal descriptions of parties to contracts (*εἰκονισμός*). *I Connotati Personali nei documenti d'Egitto dell' età greca e romana.* (*Studî della Scuola Papirologica*, vol. IV, Parte II.) Milano, "Aegyptus," 1924. Pp. vii+131. The same subject is referred to in an article by G. MISENER on *Iconistic Portraits*, in *Class Phil.*, XIX (1924), 97–123.

8. Lexicography and Grammar.

Part V of the invaluable work by J. H. Moulton and G. Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*, is now published. It includes pp. 385–472 and embraces words from μαγεύω to ὀψώνιον. London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1924. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.

Preisigke's eagerly awaited glossarial index of words, to which I referred last year, has begun to appear. Parts I and II, bringing it down to ἔχω, have already appeared. The work is excellently arranged, and will, it is hardly necessary to say, be indispensable to papyrologists and all interested in Greek lexicography; and it adds yet further to the vast debt which scholars owe to its lamented author. It is being seen through the press by Kiessling. *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden mit Einschluss der griechischen Inschriften, Aufschriften, Ostraka, Mumienschilder usw. aus Ägypten.* 1. Lieferung (α–δίκη). Heidelberg, 1924, Selbstverlag des Herausgebers, jetzt dessen Erben. Cols. 1–384. 2. Lieferung (δίκη–ἔχω). Cols. 385–640. Same date, etc. Part I has been reviewed by H. I. Bell (*Journal*, x, 1924, 349).

Preisigke's *Namenbuch* has been reviewed by H. I. B[ell] (*J.H.S.*, xliv, 132–3) and anonymously (*Lit. Zentralbl.*, lxxiv, 1923, 483–4).

C. H. Dodd has published notes on some N.T. parallels in P. Oxy. xvi. *Notes from Papyri*, in *Journ. Theol. Stud.*, xxvi, 77–8.

Wilamowitz-Moellendorff shows that the word σοῦσον, which occurs in an ostracon published by him in the Berlin *Stzgsber.*, 1918, 740, is also found, in the form οὖσον, elsewhere. *Lesefrüchte*, cxcii, in *Hermes*, lix (1924), 273.

Lumbroso brings confirmation for a suggestion of Wilcken's that in P. Teb. i, 61 (*b*), 40, ἤδη ἤδη, the second ἤδη is perhaps not to be deleted. He quotes various examples of duplication in magical texts and refers to the Italian practice in the 16th cent., when letters were marked "cito," "cito, cito," or "cito, cito, cito." (One might add the similar English practice in the Tudor period and earlier, "Haste, haste, post haste.") Letter lxxi to Wilcken, in *Archiv*, vii, 222. He also writes on the use of ποιητής, ποιέω to indicate magic or alchemy. Letter lvii to Breccia, in *Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alex.*, xx (N.S., v), 208–9.

E. Heikel gives a very likely explanation of the puzzling πολλαπολλων in P. Oxy. 744. He thinks it = πολλὰ πολλῶν and goes with ἐάν, like ἐὰν πολλὰ πολλάκις in Sophocles and Euripides (= *si forte*). Πολλαπολλῶν, *etc.*, in *Eranos*, xvii (1917), 91–6.

P. Perdrizet has published an article on the name Coprias and similar forms. *Coprias*, in *Rec. ét. anc.*, xxiii (1921), 85–94.

Meecham's *Light from Ancient Letters* has been reviewed by G. Ghedini (*Aegyptus*, v, 1924, 102–4; laudatory; some criticisms), H. I. Bell (*Journal*, x, 1924, 182–3), and anonymously (*Rev. Bibl.*, xxxiii, 1924, 457–8; favourable on the whole).

K. F. W. Schmidt has reviewed Dottling's *Flexionsformen* (see *Journal*, viii, 99) in *Phil. Woch.*, xliv (1924), 673–6.

A. D. Nock discusses "the custom of stringing together a series of brief predications in or of the second person, for the most part not connected by conjunctions." He attributes it to Oriental influence and in particular to Egypt and Alexandria, though he admits the possibility of rhetorical influence. He traces the custom in both pagan and Christian liturgical use, employing also papyrus evidence. *A Traditional Form in Religious Language*, in *Class. Quart.*, xviii (1924), 185–8.

9. General Works, Bibliography, Miscellaneous Notes on Papyrus Texts.

A. Calderini's *Saggi e studi* (see above, § 5) includes (pp. 201–20) a general essay on *Papiri*.

The new edition of Deissmann's *Licht vom Osten* has been reviewed by M. Dibelius (*Theol. Lit.-Z.*, xlix, 1924, 35–7; laudatory), E. Lohmeyer (*D. Lit.-Z.*, N.F., i, 1924, 765–7), and K. Preisendanz (*Byz.-Neugr. Jahrb.*, iv, 1924, 405–7; some valuable suggestions on magical papyri).

Milligan's *Here and There among the Papyri* has been reviewed by W. Schubart (*O.L.Z.*, xxvii, 1924, 644–5) and F. B[ethune]-B[aker] (*Journ. Theol. Stud.*, xxv, 222).

Schubart's new edition of his *Jahrtausend am Nil* is reviewed by Wilcken (*O.L.Z.*, xxvii, 1924, 513–6; laudatory).

I am unable to see an article by G. K. Gardikas entitled Συμβολὴ τῶν παπύρων εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν φιλολογίαν (Ἀθηνᾶ, xxxiii, 1921, 61–102) and another by E. A. Pezopoulos entitled Παπυρολογικὰ καὶ ἐπιγραφικά (Athens, Leones, 1921. Pp. 15), which are referred to in the bibliography in the *Byz. Z.*, xxiv (pp. 149 and 163).

An article by W. SCHUBART entitled *Vom Werdegang der Papyruskunde* (*O.L.Z.*, XXVII, 1924, 564–8) is primarily a homage to ERMAN on his 70th birthday. SCHUBART stresses the importance of his work in furnishing a basis for the papyrological side of Egyptian studies. He emphasizes the need of rising in the future from the intensive study of details to something in the nature of a system "und die klare Einsicht in die Grundfragen." Another, by W. SPIEGELBERG, *Der gegenwartige Stand und die nachsten Aufgaben der demotischen Forschung*, in *Zeitschr. f. ag. Spr.*, LIX (1924), 131–40, is in essentials a lecture given at the Berlin Orientalist Congress in April, 1923. The author takes an optimistic view of the future of the study. On p. 139 he mentions two cases in which Greek translations of Demotic texts have been found to confirm the renderings of modern scholars.

In his 19th letter to CALDERINI, LUMBROSO mentions that at the University Library of Turin there is a book by GUILANDINO on *Papiro*. *Aegyptus*, V (1924), 29–30.

P. M. MEYER has published another instalment of his excellent *Juristischer Papyrusbericht* (III, *Mai 1922 bis Oktober 1923*), which now appears in the *Z. Sav.-St.* (XLIV, 581–618).

I may mention here that from last year (vol. LXXV) the *Lit. Zentralbl.* has again become mainly bibliographical. Its bibliographies will be very useful, though one regrets the consequent cutting down of reviews to a minimum. Reviews however there are, which are short notices, classified. Reference may also be made to the useful *Elenchus Bibliographicus* in *Biblica*. *Aegyptologica* will be found in IV (1923), 83*–7* (largely a selection from the bibliography in *Aegyptus*).

S. DE RICCI contributes to the *Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alex.*, XX (N.S., V), 281–3 some *Correzioni ed Aggiunte* to Part XIX.

F. BILABEL publishes some conjectures for reading or interpretation in P. Lond. 77 (Will of Abraham); *e.g.* ὕλη means the remains of the martyr. They are all ingenious but are not all quite convincing, and some proposed readings do not seem to find support in the papyrus. *Zu dem Testament des Bischofs Abraham von Hermonthis*, in *O.L.Z.*, XXVII (1924), 701–4. Some notes on papyrus readings will be found referred to in § 8 above.

Finally, I may mention that Part XVI of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* contains a table of papyri recently distributed, which will be useful to those wishing to trace the whereabouts of particular texts.

10. MISCELLANEOUS AND PERSONAL.

It is good news that the invaluable publications with which the name of FRIEDRICH PREISIGKE will always be specially associated are not to cease with his death. F. BILABEL is to carry on his *Sammelbuch*, his *Berichtigungslisten*, and the *Schriften* of the Heidelberg Papyrus Institute. He is now engaged on vol. III of the first, for which he has obtained a grant.

DE RICCI mentions in his *Bulletin* that M. COLLOMP and his pupils are studying the Strassburg papyri. It is to be hoped that they will in due course publish those which are still unpublished.

In an article previously referred to (§ 2) in *Heimat im Bild* K. KALBFLEISCH mentions that the Ianda Papyri will eventually become the property of the Giessen University Library.

I hear from Prof. KRUGER that Part I of texts from papyri in Russian collections, edited by ZERETELI and himself and containing literary texts, will appear before very long. Part II, edited by KRUGER alone, will contain documents of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods.

The Papyrus Seminar at Munich has been transformed into an Institute, and has taken over the publication of the series of *Münchener Beiträge*, under the general editorship of WENGER and OTTO.

The volume of the *Raccolta Lumbroso* in honour of LUMBROSO's 80th birthday will probably have been published before this appears. An account of it, with provisional list of contents, appears in *Aegyptus*, V (1924), 249–53.

B. KÜBLER reviews WENGER's and KOSCHAKER's notices of MITTEIS (*Phil. Woch.*, XLIV, 1924, 591–3).

S. EITREM publishes an obituary notice of DIELS. *Mindetale over prof. dr. Hermann Diels*, in *Oversigt over Videnskapsselskapets Møter*, 1923, 74–8.

Obituary notices of PREISIGKE have been published by WILCKEN (*Archiv*, VII, 315–6), O. GRADENWITZ (*Z. Sav.-St.*, XLIV, 1924, v–viii), A. CALDERINI (*Aegyptus*, V, 1924, 70–1), and H. I. BELL (*Journal*, X, 1924, 172–3).

The tragic death of EVELYN WHITE is a grievous loss to our studies and to classical scholarship as well as to all who knew him personally. His rare combination of gifts made him a worker in our field of quite peculiar value, and he is indeed irreplaceable. Obituary notices of him have been written by W. E. C[RUM] (*Journal*, X, 1924, 331–2) and W. R. R. (*Class. Rev.*, XXXVIII, 1924, 145).

NOTES AND NEWS

The Society's excavations at Tell el-'Amarnah have been brought to a sad and abrupt close by the death of the Director, Mr. F. G. Newton. Mr. Newton worked throughout November in his usual health. From the 1st of December onward he complained of a mysterious weakness, though there were no other symptoms, and a native doctor called from Dêr Mawâs diagnosed some form of influenza. As the weakness grew more marked Professor Whittemore arranged for Mr. Newton's removal to hospital in Asyûṭ on December 17th. Here his complaint was, though not at first with certainty, diagnosed as *Encephalitis lethargica*. Though everything possible was done for him he became weaker and weaker and died on the 25th of December.

We have elsewhere printed an account of his life and activities, which to those who did not know him personally may give some little idea of the heavy loss which the Society has sustained in his death.

It will be readily understood that not very much work has been accomplished during the season. Mr. Newton and his staff arrived at Tell el-'Amarnah on November 2nd. Work was begun in houses in square Q. 44 of the great general plan, and a number of small objects were found, including a complete alabaster vase and a bronze mirror. Attention was then transferred to the northern palace which, it will be remembered, was begun last season, and in which Mr. Newton was particularly interested. On December 3rd he wrote as follows:

"The plan is most interesting. We have found the throne room and the king's apartments with bath room, also apparently the dining room with wine cellars on each side. We also have a group of halls and apartments which would apparently be the men's quarters corresponding to the women's on the other side. All this part of the palace was occupied by squatters after the palace was left, and this accounts for the fact that we have so far found nothing in the way of objects. No mangers were found on this side of the palace and only very few traces of plaster."

After Mr. Newton's breakdown the work was continued under the leadership of Professor Whittemore, but no more was attempted than the rounding off of what had been already begun. It is satisfactory to learn that there will be no difficulty in completing the record of the northern palace, Mr. Newton's last piece of work.

Not much news has yet come to hand regarding other excavations in Egypt. The fate of the new Antiquities Law is still uncertain, and meantime excavators are naturally a little half-hearted and inclined to mark time. The Government work at Saḳḳarah has, however, entered on an important phase. The north face of the Step Pyramid has been completely cleared, and the central chamber, 77 feet high, is now comfortably accessible. In the debris from around the pyramid have been found numerous fragments of stone vessels bearing the names of kings of the first two dynasties. The granite blocks which form the sarcophagus are marked with directions in ink for assembling them. In a kind of *serdâb* attached to the north face of the pyramid was found a large statue of King Zoser in painted

limestone with the name and titles on the pedestal. Work is now mainly concentrated on the large mastabas in the neighbourhood of the pyramid. Battiscombe Gunn is again working on the inscriptional material from these excavations and we may therefore, if the material proves adequate, expect interesting developments in our knowledge of the language of the Archaic Period.

Jéquier, who is working at the Maṣṭabat el-Far'ûn, has found an inscription and part of a cartouche which make it certain that this was the tomb of King Shepseskaf.

The Society's series of winter lectures announced in our last number is being given in accordance with the programme and has attracted the same interest as in former years.

This year we revert to the custom of producing the *Journal* in two half-yearly sections, the first section containing Parts I and II and the second Parts III and IV. We hope to produce the first section on April 1st and the second on October 1st, and to keep to these dates in future. Should this not be possible we beg readers to remember that the *Journal* is in great part produced by men who are willingly doing a large amount of very dull work for the general good (witness the Bibliographies), but who, owing to the demands of other work upon them, cannot always work to a date.

A further consequence of this attempt to issue the sections on a fixed day will probably be that it will be difficult to make and keep an exact balance of quantity between the two sections. This year, for instance, the second section will be considerably larger than the first both in the matter of letterpress and still more markedly in the matter of plates. This second section will of course contain a preliminary report of our work at Tell el-'Amarnah. Among other articles promised or actually received are one by Dr. Murray of the Egyptian Survey Department on the ancient sites in the Eastern Desert and one by Dr. Westermann on the condition of Egypt in the reign of Hadrian. There is still some space available and the Editor will be pleased to consider any articles which may be sent to him.

We print in this number articles on Hittite Geography by Dr. Albright and Professor John Garstang. This subject has for some little time past found a home in our pages, and if we now announce that in future we must close our doors to it we feel sure that the scholars who pursue this fascinating subject will not misunderstand the reason. The *Journal* has endeavoured in the past to supply up to a certain point the lack in this country of a journal dealing with Babylonian and Hittite archaeology. The amount of Egyptian material which now comes in has made this increasingly difficult; indeed it is now virtually impossible for us to insert any article not dealing more or less directly with Egypt. We trust that our Babylonian and Hittite colleagues will realize that the lack is one not of hospitality but of space. Surely it cannot be long before a journal devoted to their studies is established. In the meantime we shall do our best to continue reviewing such books on these subjects as are sent to us, though even here the demands of Egyptology come first, reducing us in some cases to the barest notices of non-Egyptological works.

The Editor would like to call the attention of contributors whose articles need illustration to the necessity of providing drawings and photographs of a suitable nature and of the best possible quality. In the matter of illustration the standard set by the first few volumes of the *Journal* was very high. It can be kept up, but only if contributors will do their share by providing none but the best material.

Line drawings for lithographic reproduction should be firmly drawn in Indian ink of the deepest black. Any necessary figuring or lettering in the body of the drawing should, unless the author is particularly adept at this kind of work, be done by a professional hand. The scale of such figuring or lettering should be calculated to allow for the reduction, if any, which is eventually to be given.

Photographs, more particularly those of objects, should be fairly full of contrast and, above all things, sharply focussed. The best collotype is a little less sharp than the original from which it is taken, and if the original itself is not finely focussed a good result is impossible. Where the negative is not available an ordinary silver print on a smooth or glossy surface is the best thing. Special care should be taken to weed out faded or defective prints, above all those which bear a double impression of the original negative due to a slip in the printing frame, apparently a not uncommon accident in Egypt and elsewhere.

Contributors would greatly help the Editor by suggesting a suitable arrangement in plates of their illustrative material. Small line drawings should be marked as text-blocks. Photographs can only be reproduced in the form of plates. The extreme measurements for a single plate, lithograph or collotype, are $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height by 6 in breadth, and 8 inches by 5 is preferable. A folding plate should have the same maximum height but may have a width of 10 inches or even more.

Two half-plate prints slightly reduced make a good plate. The same is true of four quarter-plate prints; they may be placed either vertically or horizontally, the former being the better arrangement since it forms a plate which can be consulted without turning the book round. Prints should either be properly mounted on cardboard or merely loosely attached by the corners either to cardboard or stiff paper.

The Editor will be very grateful to those who will take the trouble to prepare their material in this way, and would remark that by so doing they stand a far better chance of having their articles illustrated in exact agreement with their own wishes.

Some of our members, particularly subscribing libraries, will be pleased to hear that the two numbers of the *Journal* which have been out of print for some years are now being re-issued, and by the time this number is in the hands of our readers copies of Volume I, Part 4 and Volume II, Part 3 will, we hope, be obtainable from our Secretary. This will enable members to complete their sets of the *Journal*, and it is hoped there will be a sufficient demand to justify the new issue. The Committee has for some time been anxious to reprint these parts, as requests for them are constantly being received, but the price of re-setting the type has always been considered prohibitive. Messrs. Percy Lund, Humphries and Co. have, however, invented a new process which we believe will be less expensive and equally good. Should any of our contributors wish for reprints of their articles in back numbers of the *Journal* we shall be pleased to obtain estimates for them. The price of these two parts of the *Journal* will be 7/6 each nett.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS

The Assyrian Herbal. By R. Campbell Thompson, M.A., F.S.A. A monograph on the Assyrian vegetable drugs, the matter of which was communicated in a paper to the Royal Society, March 20, 1924. Luzac & Co., London, 1924.

The task undertaken by Mr. Thompson in this volume is one of the most difficult, thankless and useful that any Assyriologist has attempted. An exhaustive examination of the lists of plants and drugs extant in cuneiform, combined with a tabular presentment of their uses in medical receipts, and of incidental notices in all the scattered cuneiform literature, has formed the laborious basis of this work, in which something like one hundred plants are certainly, probably or approximately identified. The careful study of the flora of the Tigris and Euphrates valley has here been combined with an examination of the early use of materia medica; the resources of the Semitic philologist are reinforced by apt comparisons with Indo-European and other languages. The book is a mine of information which no one interested in the early history of natural science can neglect.

To the linguistic difficulties which attend this kind of study in other languages, cuneiform writing adds difficulties peculiarly its own. A certain number of words in Akkadian are not Semitic, but Sumerian loan words; words which appear to be Sumerian are sometimes Semitic in root; others apparently Sumerian are simply ideograms of unknown pronunciation, so that the written signs may lead to false conclusions. For these reasons it is permissible to doubt much that has been written on philological lines concerning this subject. Thus Hrozný's identification of ZIZ.A.AN. with *ξιξάνιον* (accepted by Mr. Thompson) will only be proved when it is finally certain that this was not read ZIZ.AM or something quite different. On the other hand U.KI.DI is most probably to be read as Semitic (not, with Mr. Thompson, p. 35, as an ideogram), *šam kidi*, "plant of the plain," which fits the context. It may be judged, therefore, how difficult the task in the identification of plants and drugs is. That in a large number of cases the identification is certain can only the more increase our respect for the method adopted. A typical example of Mr. Thompson's success may be quoted, his identification of the pomegranate. After having shown from various texts that *nurmû*, not *armanu*, is the plant which corresponds in the medical receipts with the pomegranate, he is able to adduce the illustration on a tablet of a collarette of beads in the shape of *nurmû*, a decisive proof. Equally interesting is the argument which identifies *irru* as opium. It is shown conclusively that the Assyrian scribes connected the word with the root *araru* "to curse"; but the existence of the form *meru* (which Mr. Thompson dismisses a little cavalierly) may point to an original root *wararu*, which would show that the connection with *araru* "to curse" is due to superstition and philologizing.

This book is of the kind which will be continually used, and not infrequently abused, for many years; scholars will invariably turn to it for help, and mention it only when they disagree with its conclusions. It is right therefore to use this opportunity to thank the author very heartily for the painstaking labour and comprehensive scholarship the book shows, and to express the hope that his work may yet appear in some more fitting form than this. Not all the stencils have printed well, and it cannot be said that this standard book of reference will be easy to use.

Sidney Smith.

Oriental Forerunners of Byzantine Painting. By J. H. Breasted. Chicago, 1923.

This is the first of a series of volumes being brought out by the University of Chicago for the study of historical matters connected with oriental civilization. A good description is given of the plain of Khena-Mari and the valley of the Euphrates between Hit and Dêr ez-Zôr, with an excellent series of photographs. The main object of the book is the publication of some interesting frescoes which were laid bare at the time of the British occupation in 1920 at Ṣâliḥîyah, identified with the ancient Dura and also known by

the Greeks as Europos. The paintings were first discovered by Captain Murphy, R.A.V.C., and reported to headquarters. Fortunately Professor Breasted was in Baghdad at the time and was able to come up and measure and photograph them before the British army left the neighbourhood, though he had to accomplish it in one day. The pictures have since been damaged in parts by the Arabs, so we owe Professor Breasted a debt of gratitude for having made these records.

A good aeroplane view of the fortress is given on p. 93 and Professor Breasted is inclined to attribute the construction of the walls to the Parthians, though admitting that they were probably strengthened by the Romans at a later date, evidence being forthcoming that the place was occupied by a Roman garrison in the third century A.D. The frescoes were found in a temple to Zeus Baal which was built into a rectangular bastion of the fortress wall. M. Franz Cumont, who writes an introduction to the book and who has been excavating on the site since Professor Breasted's visit, has been able to show that the most important of these frescoes was painted about 80 A.D. and he has also found the name of the artist, Ilasamsos. This painting consists of a group of eleven figures which represent the family of Konon with priests. All these figures are well illustrated with colour plates at the end of the book.

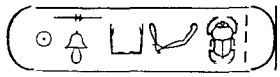
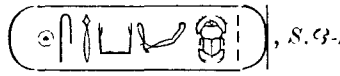
The figures are all full length and Professor Breasted compares the style and grouping with the sixth century mosaics in the basilica of St. Vitale at Ravenna, giving it as his opinion that we have here the origin and sources of Byzantine painting. We must await further discoveries in such places as Palmyra and the eastern frontier towns of the Roman Empire before we can entirely fall in with this view as, although the Romans originally borrowed most of their ideas in art and architecture from the east, they certainly developed them themselves, and during the first three centuries of our era they largely employed their own methods in rebuilding and decorating the towns on the eastern frontier of their Empire.

F. G. NEWTON.

Egyptian Mummies. By G. ELLIOT SMITH and WARREN R. DAWSON. London: Allen and Unwin, 1924.

Professor Elliot Smith and Mr. Dawson have collaborated in producing a very acceptable book on mummies which will, we do not doubt, have many readers. Its *format*, "attractive appearance," and short compass indicate it as a book intended for the general reader rather than for the archaeologist, but the latter will find in it much that is of value to him. Professor Elliot Smith has in the past contributed much to our knowledge of mummies, and, being a physician, has put us right on many points in which we were all wrong: in this book we find a summary of his general views on the development of mummification, which we think all would accept without demur. Thus when he tells us that the mummy in the Cairo Museum, hitherto supposed to be that of the king Merenrēʿ I of the Sixth Dynasty, is in reality of Eighteenth Dynasty date, we suppose we must accept his correction, though a pleasing belief is thereby destroyed. And when we are told that Diodorus was right in saying that the heart and kidneys were never taken out of the corpse, and that the usual statement that *all* the viscera were removed and placed in the Canopic jars, that of Duamutef receiving the heart, is totally erroneous, resting on a single case noted by Pettigrew which we can now see was aberrant, we can only bow to the best authority on the subject. But it is different when the authors in the interests of the "diffusionist" theory dogmatically assert (p. 164) that "from Egypt the custom [of mummification] spread up the Nile and along the Red Sea coast, across the continent to the Niger and Congo and to Uganda, and eventually even as far as Southern Rhodesia and Madagascar. It spread to Asia and was adopted for a time in India and Ceylon, but has persisted more widely in Further India, in Indo-China, in the Malay Archipelago, in Australia, Melanesia, and Polynesia, reached Peru, Central America and Mexico, and became widely diffused in both Continents of America." So we proceed from the possible to the improbable without a peradventure. *L'appétit croît en mangeant.* This is a very pretty theory, as pretty and plausible and probably as inaccurate as most theories that explain everything, but it *is* still a *theory*, it is *not* a proved fact, and our authors have really no right whatever to state it in their book as a *fact*. We *must* keep clear the distinction between theories, views, and hypotheses,—and known facts. Professor Elliot Smith and Mr. Perry may prove to be quite right with their diffusionist theory, but even if they appeared to be right (which, as yet, they do not), their view would still be a generally accepted theory, not a fact, and they would still only be entitled to say "*It is generally thought* that this custom spread to America," etc. This is the only scientific procedure, especially when, as in the present case, the theory is neither proved satisfactorily nor generally accepted yet.

Professor Elliot Smith's natural interest in the pathological side of mummy-study is of course illustrated in this book, in which he gives us some gruesome photographs which physicians will find interesting, but the more squeamish of lay-folk will pass over hurriedly. The photographic pictures in the book are well chosen, but it is a pity that ugly and clumsy woodcut reproductions of well-known photographs have also been introduced. Sometimes these woodcuts are positively misleading, especially in the rendering of the hair of mummies, *e.g.*, Figs. 12, 16 and 17; in the two latter the hair is rendered really absurdly as a few thin kinky white lines on a black background which, in the case of Fig. 16, hardly gives much idea of what is described in the text on p. 93 as a "wavy, lustrous tress," which in fact it is, as is admirably seen in the Cairo photograph copied in the woodcut, really a caricature of the original. The original photographs had much better have been reproduced.

The chapter on Canopic jars, amulets found on and in mummies, etc., is good, and the list in Appendix II of Egyptian kings whose tombs and mummies are known is very useful; but we notice that in this list Professor Elliot Smith is still, as in his little book on Tutʿankhamūn, unable to get the name of king Smenkhkerēʿ (or Sʿakerēʿ) right: in that book he called him "Smenkhara" (p. 69) and now the king appears as "Smenkerē" (p. 184)! The name is either  (var. ), *S.mnḫ-ḫ3-Rʿ Dsr-ḫprw*, or , *S.ʿ3-ḫ3-Rʿ*, etc. (with corresponding variant); we do not certainly know which: it is neither "*S.mn-ḫʿ-Rʿ*" nor "*S.mn-ḫ3-Rʿ*." We are surprised that Mr. Dawson did not note and correct the new error.

Though in this *Journal* such an Egyptological "howler" must of course be noted, to the general reader it will doubtless not appear to be a matter of great moment; and he in this book has before him a very acceptable and readable treatise on mummies, one of whose authors is an acknowledged authority on mummification and in succession to the late Sir Armand Ruffer our chief authority on its pathological side; while the archaeologist can also be grateful to the authors for their book, which is admirable from the archaeological point of view, though less so when it dogmatizes in anthropological matters.

H. R. Hall.

Index of Hittite Names, Sect. A, Geographical, Pt. I. By L. A. Mayer, Ph.D., with notes by John Garstang, D.Sc. British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem: Supplementary Papers, I, 1923.
Kleinasien zur Hethiterzeit. By Albrecht Götze. Heidelberg, 1924.

Several identifications of ancient Hittite place-names with classical and modern lands and sites, propounded in this work of Dr. Mayer and Professor Garstang, have already been criticized by Mr. Sidney Smith in the last number of this *Journal* (X, 104 ff.). It must be said that there seems to be justification for such criticism of many of Professor Garstang's identifications. Dr. Mayer's contribution on the cuneiform side has been thoroughly and well carried out; it is his colleague's notes that have aroused and will arouse discussion. Professor Garstang seems to us to try to prove too much: he tries to identify everything, naturally in many cases with but indifferent success. The time is not yet ripe for so far-reaching a work as this: let us discover more and learn more first before we try to settle everything. Professor Garstang might fairly object that the work must begin at some time and somewhere, and that others, *e.g.*, Professor Sayce, have also written essays in the same direction. That is true, and another writer, Dr. Albrecht Götze, whose work we also consider here, has followed. But the same consideration applies to him also; Professor Garstang and Dr. Götze do not merely suggest a few more possible identifications to be considered, but try to identify and settle everything, and for this the time is not yet ripe. Also not only cuneiform scholarship and knowledge of Hittite archaeology are necessary before so far-reaching a work is undertaken; classical scholarship must also be invoked directly. One of the workers must be a classical scholar with if possible a knowledge also of mediaeval and modern Greek. He should also be one whose ancient, inherited scepticism will act as a salutary check on the youthful enthusiasms of his orientalist colleagues. I can say this because I am not myself primarily a classical scholar; but I know how necessary the aid of such a scholar is upon work of this kind if one is to produce definite results. An instance in point is Professor Garstang's identification of the river Aštarpa of the Hittite

texts (p. 8) with the modern river Isbarta: "there can be no doubt as to the identity," he says. But then he goes on to observe "the name Isparta or Isbarta is derived, Professor Ramsay points out, from the town name Baris (εἰς Βάρταν): the old river name has thus been assimilated to the modern form." Has Professor Garstang any proof that this particular river was called Aštarpa in classical times and until post-Turkish days, when, according to him, the old name was confused with the modern εἰς Βάρταν? If not, how, if the modern Isbarta is "derived from" εἰς Βάρταν (or rather *is* εἰς Βάρταν), can it be identical with a Hittite name of the fourteenth century B.C.? Εἰς Βάρταν is *modern*, not ancient Greek: it is not even Byzantine: the use of the locution εἰς with a place-name, as in εἰς τὴν πόλιν (Stambūl) and in this εἰς Βάρταν, to signify that place occurs no earlier than mediaeval times, so I am informed by a scholar whose special knowledge of Anatolian Greek is unrivalled. Professor Ramsay obviously treats the name as a modern one. If so, what connection can there be between it and the ancient *Aštarpa* (not, be it noted, *Ašparta*)? The old town name being Baris, we cannot even allow "Barta" as the original form. Had Professor Garstang identified a Hittite town or river-name "Bari" with the modern Isbarta we could have given him reason, as the French say.

This instance of confused identification is, let me hasten to add, an extreme one; but there are many others which if less obviously improbable seem based on very slight grounds, other than apparent similarity of name which, when other evidence does not tally, is an unsafe guide. Professor Garstang thinks the other evidence does usually tally, but we have only to compare his map with that of Dr. Götze to see what different results the two writers get, and how differently they interpret the other evidence, how differently they fit in the elements of the geographical jigsaw puzzle. Some identifications are of course no doubt correct. We do not refer to such names as Halab or Karkamiš, which are obvious, but to such as Wiyananda, which Professor Garstang is no doubt perfectly correct in identifying with Oinoanda: not only are the words alike in form, but also in meaning, since Wiyananda probably meant "wine-town" in Hittite. There are several other identifications which are possibly correct enough, but of the majority it must be said that they are highly problematical, in both Professor Garstang's and Dr. Götze's texts. We think that more respect should have been paid by both authors to Mr. Sidney Smith's rejection of the current idea that Kizzuwadna was in Pontus. Professor Garstang does not seem to mention it, though Dr. Hogarth has come independently to the same conclusion as Mr. Smith, that Kizzuwadna was in reality probably in Eastern Cilicia. Professor Garstang's identification of the Hittite river-name Šēḫā with the modern Arab-Turkish Sayhān has already been criticized by Mr. Smith (*Journal*, x, 105). Dr. Albright's identification of the river-name Šiyanta with the Xanthos is accepted by Professor Garstang, but we should hardly have expected Greek Ξ to represent plain *š*; if the name had been Ḫšiyanta (*cf.* Ḫšayarša = Ξέρξης) it would have seemed a more probable identification, for, though it is true that the second ξ of Ξέρξης represents plain *š*, yet initial Ξ should be *Ḫš* or *Kš*. But perhaps the original Lycian name did begin with *Ḫ* or *K* and the Hittites reduced it to *š*. And the Greek name *Xanthos* may be a mere translation, not a hellenized form of the original Lycian name. It is nothing but perhapses and may-bes. And whereas Professor Garstang identifies Aḫḫiawa with Ingirā in Cilicia and that with Anchiale, Forrer makes Aḫḫiawa no less than Achaia, and its king Ataressiyaš no less than Atreus. So the doctors disagree. Until they agree a little more, we think their efforts in this particular direction cannot be regarded as compelling adhesion, though we must add, for fear of misunderstanding, that we do not in any way regard them as totally useless. Even at this early stage in our Hittite knowledge we may here and there hit upon the truth, and Messrs. Mayer and Garstang's collection of names alone will be most useful. We only think that the notes try to prove far too much, in the present insufficient state of our knowledge. And so does Dr. Götze's work.

H. R. HALL.

The Coptic Manuscripts in the Freer Collection. By W. H. WORRELL. (*University of Michigan Studies: Humanistic Series*, x.) New York, 1923. xxvi+396, 12 plates.

This book is beautifully printed, the Coptic portions with new type specially cut and of quite exceptional excellence. Sometimes the letters ϧ and ϩ seem liable to be confused at a first glance, but for the most part it is pleasant and easy to read. Twelve plates give a clear idea of the actual appearance of the manuscripts. The price moreover is not prohibitive as might be feared, the two parts being sold separately in paper covers at $2.00 and $2.50 respectively, which does not remove them from the reach of those to whom they are likely to be most useful.

Part I, originally published in 1916, contains the Psalter (incomplete) and two fragments of Job (24. 19–25. 3 and 27. 10–19). The Psalter contains no remarkable textual features, the variants are mostly orthographic or perhaps dialectal. The peculiar forms are noted on pp. xviii–xxii and indicate a Fayyûmic provenance (*cf.* esp. "A striking feature..." on p. xxii). The London Sahidic Psalter (B.M. Or. 5000) is dated by Dr. Budge ±700, the Berlin Sahidic Psalter by Rahlfs at ±400; the editor believes the present text to lie between these dates.

Part II, now first published, contains two homilies and a short magical text. The homilies prove to be portion of a volume of which B.M. Or. 7028 and Or. 6780 are other parts. The present text is the middle portion (quire 5) of B.M. Or. 6780 (quires 4, 6) which is itself the second part of B.M. Or. 7028 (quires 1, 2, 3). It shows proofs of Fayyûmic dialect similar to those in the Psalter. In describing these the editor shows evidence (pp. 119–120) to prove "it likely that ⲍ was still pronounced as a true palatal, as is Arabic ج in Upper Egypt to the present day, and not as English *j*." Ibn Yaish (fourteenth century) asserts that palatal *g* was in his day confined to Yemen and the lower classes of Baghdad. A rare instance of transliteration of A.D. 708–9 shows ج used for ϫ, and if it be true that ج corresponded to ⲍ and ⲍ was palatal in the seventh century this puts back the dialectal palatal in Egypt (not Upper Egypt only) very decisively. It is likely enough that Syrian influence introduced the palatalized *j* into Egypt and the older local palatal afterwards reasserted itself. The normal transliteration of *g* was غ.

One homily is on the Archangel Michael, probably for use on 22 Choiak or on 13 Bauneh. The editor notes this latter date (7 June) as an Abyssinian use, but it appears also in Coptic (*cf.* MALAN, *Calendar of the Coptic Church*, 1873). The second homily is on the Blessed Virgin and is definitely associated with the Feast of the Assumption (16 Mesore). These homilies are ascribed to Theophilus of Alexandria and Celestine of Rome, but the editor notes, "It is not improbable that further study will dissociate these homilies from Theophilus, who died in 413 A.D., and Celestinus, whose death occurred in 432 A.D. The only certain date is fixed by the colophon of 975 A.D., which shows that both homilies were composed before that date" (p. 125). But the editor's own notes sufficiently dissociate the homilies, at least as they now stand, from Alexandria and Rome. In the homily on the Blessed Virgin there are topographical errors about Alexandria, the workman went "a little eastward" to throw the eikon into the water (fo. 83), the storehouse from which he took it was south of the city (fo. 79), it was pulled down and a caravansery made in the place, which is the one now in the Caesareum (fo. 91); but the Caesareum was in the northern part of the middle of the city and the most likely water would be either the lake on the west or the sea on the north. The homily on Gabriel ascribed to Celestine of Rome shows Egyptian local colour in its reference to the inundation of the Nile (p. 15). Though cast in the form of homilies these discourses are substantially collections of anecdotes more or less miraculous in character and it might be that there has been a gradual accretion of anecdote attached to a nucleus to which the ascription alone properly applies. Much of this anecdote material represents folk-lore possibly quite early in date and independent of any Christian saint, and so the collection in each saint's encomium is parallel to the larger collection of stories in the *Alf laila wa-laila* and the "higher criticism" must proceed on similar lines. Certainly the vast collection of anecdotes associated with St. Theodore the General can be little less than that in the popular story book. We have yet hardly reached the stage when it will be possible to separate the several strata in the stories of the saints and refer them to their proper sources, but it does not seem to follow that indications of date or locus in any one anecdote justify us in pronouncing judgment on the whole. In its present form the homily on Gabriel is intended to be used at the Eucharist (*cf.* fo. 59), but this does not prevent the preacher from making his discourse a series of miracles due to the intercession of Gabriel or performed in his church, and to these are added some brief instructions in doctrine on anti-Nestorian lines (fo. 4) and wholesome advice about behaviour in church (fo. 57–8), though the anecdotes form the main substance.

The notes though for the most part brief are excellent, only two (note 74 on p. 354 and 42 on p. 368) could be regarded as discursive and both of these are interesting.

In note 64 (pp. 346–7) the editor says that "the Copts, unlike the Syrians, never cared for the Arabic which replaced their older language": one hopes that this may be slightly over-stated. A fair body of Christian Arabic material exists in Egypt, not all translation of Coptic texts though based upon them, and it seems reasonable to suppose that this has played its part in the religious life of the people. Perhaps it would be possible to obtain from it evidence of the formation of dialects in mediaeval Egyptian Arabic, a subject as yet hardly touched.

On p. 362 the editor notes that "Sabbath and Lord's Day of course were never confused in Egypt until the advent of Scotch Presbyterian influences." But are they ever confused?—if "Sabbath" is applied to the First Day, what is the term used for Saturday? It is perhaps captious to note that the Presbyterian missionaries in Egypt are American and not Scottish.

The magical text covers one folio. It is apparently Fayyûmic though nothing is known of its provenance beyond the fact that it was procured with the other manuscripts included here. It is in a very bad condition. The first part is against perils of the sea, the second against sickness. Coptic amulets of this type are rare, their use having died out in Egypt though flourishing in a derived Abyssinian off-shoot. The names invoked, "Adonai, Abrattona, Jaw," are common enough in Christian, Jewish, and Muslim magic. The letters and other characters which follow after line 15 of Part II "are intended to have magical efficacy and cannot be translated" (p. 325).

The volume is concluded by five indices which appear to be very complete. It is perhaps questionable to include such words as "ghûl" in the "Index of words in other languages," as the only reference (p. 354) is to the editor's own citation of Al-Masʿûdi in a foot-note.

DE LACY O'LEARY.

Two Royal Ladies of Meroë. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Communications to the Trustees, VII.) By DOWS DUNHAM. Boston, 1924.

This short report gives an account of the finding of two intact burials by the Harvard Expedition at Meroë. Since the expedition is under the command of Dr. Reisner it is unnecessary to state that the excavation, as revealed by the report, was of the highest possible quality. Unfortunately the same cannot be said for the illustrations, admirable photographs having been spoilt by reproduction on too small a scale on an unsuitable paper.

I am not quite clear as to the purpose of this publication. It is intelligible that the Trustees of the Museum should ask for a short interim report of the season's work or for a detailed account—with complete illustration—of some one or more points in that work. But this is neither one nor the other. If it is intended for the general public the long list of finds without pictures makes dismal reading, and if it is for the Egyptologist the illustrations and descriptions are totally inadequate.

T. ERIC PEET.

Lahun, II. By Sir FLINDERS PETRIE, GUY BRUNTON and M. A. MURRAY. British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1923.

Sedment, I, II. By Sir FLINDERS PETRIE and GUY BRUNTON. *Ibid.*, 1924.

Lahun, II, is the record of the field-work of Sir Flinders Petrie's organization in 1920–1921, the twenty-sixth year of its labours. It was not work of which very much could be made in description, thorough and painstaking though it was. A glance at the plates is enough to show that little of real outstanding interest was discovered except the golden uraeus, inlaid with lapis and garnet, of king Sesostris II, found in the rubbish in his pyramid (Pl. XXV) and the very fine inscribed alabaster jar of the princess Sat-Hathor-ant (*ibid.* and Pl. XXVI), with its magic inscription. These are both remarkable objects and, as Sir Flinders Petrie remarks, the uraeus is in all probability that actually worn by the king in life. It is at Cairo. Some bones, which are probably those of the king, are at University College. The burial had been violated long ago. Sir Flinders Petrie gives a good photograph of the remarkable wide-lipped granite sarcophagus, which he had already described in *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, thirty-three years ago.

Sir Flinders Petrie's work at Lahun is indeed a case of returning to one's first loves, and it has been a profitable return, as we know from the discovery of the royal jewellery in 1914, chronicled by Mr. Brunton in *Lahun*, I. It was hardly to be expected that such a find would be repeated immediately (the work of 1920 directly succeeded that of 1914); but the uraeus is something worth finding by itself!

We notice that Sir Flinders still retains the name "Kahun," though it has been hotly denied that such a name exists, and the theory has been advanced that it was a misunderstanding in 1889 of "il-Lahun," the Cairene hiatus or glottal stop having been heard by mistake after the article, so that it sounded like "il-ʾahun," which would be written El-Ḳahûn (SCHARFF, *Zeitschr. f. ag. Spr.*, LIX, 51). This is as it may be: evidently Sir Flinders does not believe it.

The book has full descriptions of a large number of tombs of all ages that were investigated, with very full plans and records of their contents, illustrated by the usual large number of plates, of which most are

drawn. Those of Twenty-second to Twenty-fifth Dynasty tomb-groups (Pls. LV, LV a) are specially useful. The photographs, though few, are good. They record chiefly the latest examination of the pyramid and its surroundings, and the fragmentary remains discovered of the sculptures of the pyramid-temple.

Sedment, I and II, are the publication of the work of the twenty-seventh year, 1920. An enormous number of graves and tombs were cleared in what had previously been regarded as a most unpromising site, the desert-marge at Sedment and Mayana, in the Herakleopolite nome and close to the entrance to the Fayyûm : in the same district, that is to say, as El-Lahûn and Gurob, which Professor Petrie knows and which knows him so well. There was the prospect of obtaining more information as to the misty Herakleopolite Ninth and Tenth Dynasties, some knowledge more detailed than that we possess with regard to Herakleopolite art of the earlier period, and possibly new light on the period of the quarrels of the Twenty-second and Twenty-third Dynasties, when the Libyan princes of Herakleopolis defied Thebes, the time when Tanis was one of the chief cities of Egypt. Information as to burials of the earlier period and especially with regard to its pottery has been obtained. The pottery of the Sixth to Eleventh Dynasties is now crystallizing out into a definite series, with characteristics as well marked as those of the ages that preceded and succeeded it. The tables of forms (Pls. XXIX–XXXV) are of great value. The reproductions of coffers, too, are of value, especially that of Khentekhtai, beautifully copied in colour by Mrs. Brunton from the original, which could not be moved on account of its fragility, and reproduced here in colour (Pl. XVIII). And the photographs of the model groups of servants, boats, etc., are excellent. The fine wooden figures of Meryrēʿ-ha-shetf, representing him at different periods of his life (*cf.* the statues of king Sesostris III from Dêr el-baḥrî, in the British Museum), are finely illustrated, with his remarkable alabaster head-rest and his servant-models, all now in the British Museum (Nos. 55722–55730), thanks to the generosity of the National Art Collections Fund. This group is of the Sixth Dynasty. Scarabs were found : a moot and debatable point. Although we do not deny that scarabs of the Ninth and Tenth Dynasties may have existed, it is hard to believe that those illustrated on Pl. LVII, Nos. 1–7, are really all of Ninth to Tenth Dynasty date. Of these Nos. 5 and 6 are unnecessarily repeated on Pl. LVIII (Nos. 3 and 4), and the drawings in the two plates differ in small details, as comparison will show. Here we have insufficient liaison between the authors of the two plates. Scarab Pl. LVII, 5 (= Pl. LVIII, 3), from Grave 2132, is very curious, being made up of parallel strips of slate and alabaster, with a head of pink limestone. The -pattern on its base and on that of the frog, Pl. LVII, 6 (= Pl. LVIII, 4), is generally referred to the early Eighteenth Dynasty, but the scarab has a Thirteenth Dynasty look, so far as can be judged from the two sketches. It is very puzzling that they should be dated here to the Ninth to Tenth Dynasties, and a second burial is probably to be suspected. Pl. LVIII, 1 and 2 (Graves 2102, 2137), are of course early amulets, having the labyrinthine base-designs characteristic of the Sixth Dynasty. But if we date Pl. LVII, 1, 3 and 4, to the Ninth Dynasty, we get the spiral coming in considerably before the time of Sesostris I, of the Twelfth Dynasty, when it is generally supposed to have appeared first on scarabs. Moreover Pl. LVII, 2, 3a, certainly would ordinarily be attributed to the Hyksos period.

At Mayana there were graves of the Hyksos period, of poor type, and both there and at Sedment interesting new material for the dating of Eighteenth Dynasty objects was derived from tombs of that period. Important specimens of Late Minoan II (137) and III (53, 59) pottery and of Syrian pottery of the same period and rather earlier were discovered (Pls. XLVIII, LIX, XLV). The Syrian vase with birds, of the Hyksos time, recalling the decoration of the Philistine pottery of later days, is also important (Pl. XLV, 71). The Late Minoan III stirrup-vase of the Nineteenth Dynasty (Pl. LXV, 97 c) is notable as giving the date for a certain modification of that type. A fine three-handled Late Minoan II vase from Gurob (*temp.* Tuthmosis III), now at Cairo, is also illustrated (Pl. XLVIII, 1). Many small Egyptian objects of the Eighteenth to Nineteenth Dynasties were found which are of artistic interest, and the fine coloured stele of Amanḥatpe, priest of Harshafi, and his ancestors, is a notable find, well reproduced in colour, Pl. L (frontispiece to Vol. II). The whole excavation was, indeed, distinctly fruitful.

We do not quite see the use of the elaborate and painstaking plans of cemeteries, Pls. LXXXVII–XC, especially Pl. LXXXIX. Is anything to be learnt from them that can compensate for the time spent in their preparation? One could surely say in print merely that in most of the cemeteries most of the graves were oriented in the same direction, but that in Cemetery G (Pl. LXXXIX) there were considerable variations, many of the graves being placed at haphazard.

H. R. Hall.

Babylonian Historical Texts relating to the capture and downfall of Babylon. Translated by SIDNEY SMITH. London, 1924.

The title of Mr. Smith's book is too modest, for the six texts here treated are not merely translated, but very carefully analysed both philologically and historically. Most of the texts contain some more or less direct reference to Egypt, but from this point of view the first, the new Esarhaddon Chronicle, is by far the most important.

The history of Egypt from the Twenty-second to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty is not very far removed from a complete blank, consisting as it does mainly in lists of kings and meagre references in the records of other lands. It is clear that there are possibilities of obtaining considerable information on this period from new discoveries in Babylonia and Assyria, indeed it is perhaps more probable that new light should come from this direction, where excavation is yet in its infancy—even the tablets already in existence have not all been examined,—than from Egypt itself, where the chance of really large fresh discoveries becomes yearly more unlikely. The Esarhaddon Chronicle covers the years 680 to 667 B.C., years of great moment for Egypt. It is true that we already knew something of Assyrian-Egyptian relations during this period from the Babylonian Chronicle B.M. 92502. In this latter document we read as follows, substituting dates for regnal years.

B.C. 675. The Assyrian went to Egypt.

B.C. 674. On the 5th of Adar the army of Assyria fought against Egypt.

B.C. 671. In Nisan the army of Assyria went to Egypt...three battles were fought...Memphis was captured, its king fled.

B.C. 669. The king of Assyria went to Egypt, fell sick on the way, and died on the 10th of Marcheswan.

Mr. Smith first tells us the form in which this information has been embodied in the various modern histories of Assyria, and the outsider can only make the comment that we have been remarkably badly served by our Assyriological authorities in this matter. The new chronicle gives us some valuable information with regard to the campaigns of 675 and 674 B.C. In 675 B.C the "troops of Assyria went to Egypt, they fled before a great storm," and in 674 B.C. "on the 8th of Adar they fought against the city *Sha amelie* (City of Men)." Obviously the first campaign was a failure. Now Mr. Smith points out that various Greek and Latin authors as well as the Biblical account allude to an unsuccessful Assyrian expedition to Egypt under Esarhaddon's predecessor Sennacherib. Herodotus indeed and Josephus, the latter quoting Berosus at secondhand, mention an attack on Pelusium. This cannot refer to the victorious campaign of 700 B.C., and Mr. Smith analyses the possibility that what was in the minds of these writers was Esarhaddon's unfortunate expedition of 675 B.C. Very wisely he comes to no definite conclusion on this point, though he is clearly strongly opposed to believing in an unsuccessful siege of Pelusium by Sennacherib, partly because there is no reference to it in Assyrian documents and partly because there is no trace in history of the rebellion of Palestine which would almost inevitably have followed such a disaster. The town of *Sha amelie* he is strongly inclined to identify with Pelusium itself, though he cannot account for the name "City of Men" given to it in the Chronicle. He may be right in this conjecture, but no suggestion as to the name can be made from the Egyptian side for we do not know the Egyptian name of Pelusium at this date. Gardiner has made out a very good case for the belief that the great Delta residence of the Ramessides, Pi Ramessu, lay on or near the site afterwards known as Pelusium, and that in still earlier times the Hyksos capital, Avaris or *Ht-wꜥrt*, was in the same place. Neither of these names suggests any connection with *Sha amelie* either etymologically, phonetically or historically. Mr. Smith would be well advised not to forget the possibility that the unknown town, if a frontier town at all, as is likely, may be identical with Zaru, the Roman Selle, some distance south of Pelusium and no less important than this latter as a key of Egypt to one entering it from the east.

It is disappointing to the Egyptologist not to be able to contribute something, however small, from the Egyptian side to Mr. Smith's discovery, but Egypt is silent on these events and, helplessly but hopefully, we look rather to the Assyriologist than to ourselves for light on the period.

T. ERIC PEET.

Relazione sui lavori della Missione Archeologica Italiana in Egitto (anni 1903-1920): volume primo, *Esplorazione della "Valle delle Regine" nella necropoli di Tebe.* Torino, no date.

The important excavations carried out in Egypt by the Italian expedition between 1903 and 1920 are almost a closed book to those who have not visited the Turin Museum, and even those of us who have can claim but a glimpse or two of half-opened pages, despite Professor Schiaparelli's generous readiness to

show us all that he has, for objects without printed records of their finding are not very instructive. It is therefore most encouraging that the publication of this long work has actually begun, even though the present volume only takes us down to 1905. At this rate we might expect the completion of the report in 1943. But this is not a fair deduction, since the delay in this case is mainly due to the war, the work on the plates having been begun in 1914 and finished only in 1923. It is sincerely to be hoped that Professor Schiaparelli will carry out his resolve of issuing the later volumes at the earliest possible date.

In one respect it is fortunate that this volume was planned and begun before the war, for it is conceived and executed, especially in the matter of illustration, on a scale which, with the cost of printing at its present height, would be impossible. The area dealt with is the Valley of the Tombs of the Queens, where the *Missione* found several previously unknown tombs. One of the most important historically is that of the Princess Aḥmose. This lady is described as Royal Daughter and Royal Sister, born of the Good God Seḳenenrēʿ, Son of Rēʿ Tȝ-ʿȝ and of the Royal Daughter, Royal Sister and Royal Wife, Sit-Dhout. This name, recovered on the bandages of the mummy, introduces a new problem into the already confused relationships of the family of the Late Seventeenth Dynasty kings. Whether this Princess Aḥmose is the same as that mentioned on the statue of Prince Aḥmose (*Journal*, x, 256) is uncertain but we at least have the name of a new queen Sit-Dhout and know that she was a wife of one of the various kings Seḳenenrēʿ Tȝ-ʿȝ.

Another tomb close by that of Aḥmose yielded little but fragments of the painted vases so common in the early Eighteenth Dynasty. These vases, with simple designs in dark brown or black, on a buff or brick-red background, are held by Professor Schiaparelli to be importations. In some cases this may be correct, though we cannot be sure of it until we find such vases outside Egypt and in conditions which show that they are in their native land. In the meantime it is worth while to remember that during the Later Intermediate Period, the pottery of which is very well known to us, there are signs of a growing tendency to use paint as a decoration on vases, and the shape of the tall-handled bottle may well have been suggested by the imports of vases approximating to this form from Cyprus or Syria during the Middle Kingdom and down into the Eighteenth Dynasty. In so far as the shapes and decoration of this pottery have any foreign affinities these are, as Professor Schiaparelli states, with Cyprus, and it is therefore surprising that he suggests that the vases come from the islands of the Aegaean: negative evidence is always dangerous, but the pottery of this period in the Aegaean is now fairly well known to us, and nothing which can seriously be compared with these Egyptian vases has been found there.

The finest tomb found was that of a queen Nefertiri Merenmut. Steindorff in *Baedeker's Guide to Egypt* takes this lady to be the wife of Ramesses III. Professor Schiaparelli, however, holds that this view is absolutely ruled out by the style of the tomb, and he takes the queen to be that of Ramesses II. The scenes with which the walls of this tomb are covered are reproduced for us in a long series of plates and text-figures, mostly very admirable. The author notes in the first two rooms a tendency to exalt the doctrines and deities of Heliopolis at the expense of those of Abydos. He regards this as symptomatic of a latent antagonism which on other grounds seems to him to underlie the whole of Egyptian religious history. He believes that on both sides considerable concessions had to be and were made, and he suggests that the priestly college of Hermopolis may have served as buffer and intermediary between these two schools of religious thought.

An important section deals with a number of ostraca found in the excavations and relating to the work in the tombs. Good photographs of these are given, but the absence of a hieroglyphic transcription makes it impossible for the philologist to make any real use of them. We hope that Professor Schiaparelli will give us such transcriptions elsewhere, for the ostraca are of the highest value for the history and customs of the necropolis in the Twentieth Dynasty.

The book gives rise to sad reflections, for we realize that never in the near future will it be possible to publish the reports of excavations on the same lavish and magnificent scale as before the war. This only makes us the more grateful to Professor Schiaparelli for the tenacity with which he has adhered to the original plans for the volume despite endless difficulties and delays.

T. Eric Peet.

Le gymnasiarque des métropoles de l'Égypte romaine. By B. A. van Groningen. Groningue: P. Noordhoff, 1924. Pp. viii+164. Fl. 4.50, bound Fl. 5.50.

The gymnasium stood at the very centre of Greek life in Egypt. It was to the Greek settlers in that country what the modern club is to English residents in India or in our eastern and tropical colonies, the

strongest bulwark and most characteristic expression of their national individuality. It was more even than that, for it was an essential part of their educational system, and the man who could boast himself one of *οἱ ἀπὸ γυμνασίου* was the ancient counterpart of our "'varsity man." Hence it is not surprising that the gymnasiarch, whose primary function was to superintend the activities of the gymnasium and to provide the materials required, was a personage of great importance in the provincial capitals. Originally unofficial in character, he acquired even under the Ptolemies a semi-official status; and by the Romans, probably, as the author of this valuable monograph shows, by Augustus, the gymnasiarchy was transformed into a regular magistracy. The gymnasiarch was henceforth one of the *ἄρχοντες* of the metropoleis, and indeed the head of the *κοινόν* of magistrates. As such he had to perform functions of a general kind, though his special work was always closely associated with the gymnasium; and thus a study of the gymnasiarchy is in some measure, at least indirectly, a study of the municipal magistracy in the nome capitals generally. And since the economic position of the magistracy was bound up with the fortunes of the Roman Empire, as the author points out in the brilliant *esquisse rétrospective* with which he concludes his volume, the progressive degradation of the office and the impoverishment of the classes from which its holders were drawn illustrate vividly, on a small scale, that economic disintegration which was threatening the Empire as a whole.

It will be seen that there was ample justification for the work which Dr. van Groningen has undertaken, and he has rendered a great service to students of Graeco-Roman Egypt by the thoroughness and ability with which he has performed it. Somewhat surprisingly, in view of the numerous references we have to the office, there are very many points on which the evidence is sadly incomplete and a definite conclusion almost impossible to arrive at. The author discusses such questions with the utmost thoroughness, displaying perhaps even too much ingenuity and too great a reluctance to acknowledge a problem insoluble, so that some of his theories strike one as more ingenious than cogent; but it must be added that he never confuses the probable with the proved, and states the evidence and the opposing arguments most fairly.

The book is well arranged, divided into sections, each of which is followed by notes containing references and arguments on points of smaller detail, and displays thorough mastery of the material and excellent judgment. Naturally there are questions on which one is inclined to challenge the author's conclusions, and occasionally he rather over-labours a point, as in the eighth chapter, where he spends a good deal of time in proving what nobody now would think of denying, that the gymnasiarchy was formally and in theory an *ἀρχή*, an *honor*, but in fact developed into a compulsory burden, hardly distinguishable from a liturgy; but on the whole the volume is an excellent piece of work, on which the author deserves hearty thanks and congratulations. Its value is increased by an alphabetical list of technical terms, but though there is an index of authorities there is no subject index.

H. I. Bell.

L'âge des papyrus égyptiens hiératiques d'après les graphies de certains mots. By Eugène Dévaud. Paris, 1924.

The palaeography of Ancient Egyptian is still in its infancy. Erman and Moller have given us examples of what is to be learnt by studying the forms of the various signs in hieratic, and now for the first time we have an examination into the writing—one might almost say spelling—of various words at different epochs in the papyri. The main result is to show that though over long periods of time there are changes yet at any one epoch the method of spelling words was almost completely fixed. Dévaud has taken no fewer than fifty-six words and followed them through thirty papyri, with references to twelve more, covering in all a period from the beginning of the Twelfth to the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

His first task was to place these papyri in order of date. Though the future may produce some small modifications of detail in his order, it is undoubtedly certain in its general lines. The chief novelty in it is the placing of the Prisse Papyrus after the great literary scripts of the Berlin Museum instead of before them, an arrangement to which Dévaud tells us that Moller agreed in a letter written shortly before his death. It is noticeable that Dévaud makes no allusion to nor allowance for local variations in the script. He does, however, note that there is greater uniformity in spelling in hieratic papyri than in the funerary papyri or the monumental inscriptions. He suggests that in the former, intended to be read and easily understood by man, a fixed orthography was more essential. I am inclined to question this. We might argue precisely in the opposite direction from the same data, for surely the funerary papyri, on which a man's happiness in the next world was thought to be partly or wholly dependent, would be the

last place where he would wish to have obscurity or unintelligibility due to variable spelling, and the monumental inscriptions, whether they recorded charters, festivals or victories, were meant for posterity and as such should show the most unequivocal writings. Surely the explanation of the greater fixity of the non-religious hieratic texts can be explained in quite a different way. We are apt to forget that for one inscription in hieroglyphic on stone there must at all periods have been written twenty or even fifty in hieratic on papyrus: consequently hieratic shows a more crystallized spelling. If the funerary papyri form an exception to this it may well be that, being required in large quantities, they were given out to inferior scribes to write, in accordance with the usual slipshod methods of the Egyptian undertakers.

A glance at Dévaud's tables will show that the great change in spelling took place, in the case of most of the words quoted, at or about the end of the Middle Kingdom, the new writings generally remaining constant through the Eighteenth Dynasty. Dévaud is content to demonstrate this fact and does not offer any explanation. The nature of the changes is highly interesting, and we must hope that when he completes his work he will analyse them for us. It will then perhaps be possible to perceive general tendencies and laws at work in these transformations. Some such are already apparent. Thus there is a tendency in the later spellings to add determinatives; the word , "name," for instance never has a determinative until just after the end of the Middle Kingdom, when it takes , which it retains throughout the Eighteenth Dynasty. Similarly *ḥḏi*, "to destroy," takes on the determinative  at about the same moment. These are simple cases, but when we find *ỉsi*, "tomb," in the Eighteenth Dynasty consistently inserting before its determinative the sign , which was absent in the Middle Kingdom, we are face to face with a totally different and much more interesting phenomenon. Here the sign has been wrongly taken over from some word of similar sound in which it was a correct word-sign or determinative, presumably *ỉsw*, "reed," and it would be an interesting point to enquire whether it was at the same moment that it began also to appear in *ỉsi*, "to be light," and in *ỉsw*, "old." This is an example of the hundreds of questions which await the palaeographer.

The most striking of the changes which Dévaud's material reveals, however, are those typified by the movement from Middle Kingdom  to Eighteenth Dynasty . This is well illustrated by such words as *sḫr*, *ḳnbt*, *ḳś*, *rśwt* and *śr*. Here the Middle Kingdom shows writings which consist of a word-sign preceded by the whole or part of its phonetic reading. In the Eighteenth Dynasty the word-sign is brought to the front, followed often by part of its reading, and always by generic determinatives. Here Dévaud asks the very pertinent question, Does the word-sign when so used remain a word-sign? In the writing  he points out that  is "without doubt essentially an ideogram (*signe-idée*). Is it still so in ?" Surely it must be so. The alternative is that it should be purely phonetic, but since it is essentially a picture of "a guard," and, by extension, of "guarding," it must be considered as an ideogram so long as it is used to write those words, just as much as  is an ideogram in , "to hear." Here, however, I am perhaps deserving the appellation of those who rush in where angels fear to tread. Our classification of signs is a subject on which there is still much work to be done. Genetically the division word-sign, phonetic and generic determinative may be sound, but it is also possible that it is logically inadequate to deal with the complicated writings of later periods. In any case Dévaud's admirable work will give an immense stimulus to further research in this direction.

The author promises to continue the history of these same fifty-six words down into later times. It will be interesting to see how far the tendency to uniform spelling is maintained in these periods. Will M. Dévaud experience any difficulty in transcribing into hieroglyphs when he comes to the very fluid and cursive script of the Twentieth Dynasty with its often equivocal ligatures? Indeed, I find myself asking why he did not use hieratic forms instead of hieroglyphic throughout, for our transcriptions are, even in the Middle Kingdom, slightly conventional and in the New Empire become very highly so. The reply to this question is of course that the author must have considered so obvious an alternative and decided against it for reasons of a practical nature which do not jump at once to the eyes of a mere theoriser.

T. Eric Peet.

Antiques, their Restoration and Preservation. By A. Lucas, O.B.E., F.I.C. London: Edward Arnold and Co. 1924. pp. viii+136.

Mr. Lucas is a chemist, and the chemist is not usually expected to take a professional interest in Egyptology. Mr. Lucas, however, has already hinted in this *Journal*[1] that in one branch of Egyptology he must play the part of *doctor*, and one has only to read the first 20 pages of this book to realize—if one did not already know it—that the writer must be bracketed with Dr. Alexander Scott as one of the two leading experts in that branch of Egyptian archaeology which is concerned with the recovery and preservation of the objects. Moreover, although the title of the book is general, and there is no explicit declaration that he is mainly interested in Egyptian antiques, we need not wait for the specialized discussion of "Egyptian alabaster" or for the reference to his work in connection with Tutʿankhamūn's Tomb to be convinced of the author's obvious bias; which is precisely what we should expect from a man who has for many years had such unique opportunity for the study of those objects. Mr. Lucas's book is therefore far more Egyptological than its title would suggest.

In form it is essentially a book of reference, and in the opinion of the present writer almost completely comprehensive in its range as regards Egypt. Only 32 pages are allotted to a short introduction and a general description of aims and methods in "Restoration and Preservation." "Restoration" appears to mean more for Mr. Lucas than for most archaeologists, who probably understand by the term the addition of new parts to an antique object (or *mutatis mutandis* to a plan or drawing) in order to restore it to its original form. In his introduction Mr. Lucas refers to this side of his work by a marginal heading, "Renewing." He only allows it a page and appears to be more than a little nervous of dogmatizing on the subject, and would rather see a complete new model than a restored antiquity in which there is more of the restoration than the original. That must obviously be largely a matter of personal judgment. For Mr. Lucas the danger to be avoided at all costs is the too perfect restoration with the possible result that people are deceived into accepting it as original. But surely if so much labour and care have been spent on the renewing of an antiquity, at least as much might be expected in the accurate cataloguing and labelling of it, and this should be sufficient safeguard against deception. Mr. Lucas has very little more to say on the detail of renewing, which after all is not the business of the archaeologist in the field, or indeed of anyone but a select body of experts. The preparatory processes, which are necessary whether renewal is contemplated or not, make up the essential part of his chapter entitled "Restoration"; these he gives in order of their application—"Cleaning," Repairing" and "Strengthening."

"Preservation" follows "Restoration," and deals almost exclusively with the dangers which beset objects when they have reached their final resting-place in museums. As before all details of practical instruction are left to the next chapter, where "damp," "insects," "fungi," "light," etc. are treated in relation to the various materials which they attack.

In the chapter on the Application of Methods to specific materials, which forms the bulk and the most valuable part of the book, we are given whenever it is necessary ample directions for temporarily preserving objects in the field until they can be properly treated in the laboratory, besides remedies for the evils mentioned above which are the problem of museum officials and collectors. Mr. Lucas has arranged all the materials commonly found in archaeological excavations in alphabetical order. In each case he examines the nature of the material—except where that is common knowledge, and even then he is careful, *e.g.*, in the case of silver, to remind us of the probability of impurity or alloy—and then proceeds to deal in detail with methods of cleaning, repairing, preservation, etc. This thoroughness has its disadvantage for anyone reading the book through, for it necessitates frequent repetition, and we very soon learn to look out for such phrases as "Excess of wax may be removed in the manner already described" (the phrase or a variant occurs eight times) when we reach the part dealing with the preservation of the material under discussion. But this is a trifling discomfort compared with the value obtained by being able to turn up any material with the certain knowledge that it will be fully treated from all aspects, at one place in the book. Once more, it is essentially a book of reference, and all the more useful for being so.

There is only one omission from this list of materials which seems to the present writer to be important. Mr. Lucas has carefully distinguished two headings, "Gesso" and "Plaster" (he rather unfortunately groups them together, with the result that the margin reads "Gesso"—"Plaster"—"Glass," and one looks in vain between "Pictures" and "Pottery" for "Plaster." A similar confusion occurs elsewhere), but the

[1] x, 128–132. Cf. also his *Preservative materials used by the Ancient Egyptians in Embalming.* Cairo, 1902.

latter is confined to the "various qualities of lime ranging from crude gypsum to fine plaster of Paris." He does not mention the very important *mud plaster* (often mixed with chopped straw) which was almost invariably laid on the sun-dried mud-brick walls of houses of all sizes and even of palaces, and which was sometimes left unpainted, or at least only white-washed, but which was very frequently covered for the greater part with fine decorative painting. The omission is surprising because Mr. Lucas is not one to pass over the experiments (and therefore the needs that give rise to them) of archaeologists in the field, as witness his references to Sir Flinders Petrie's device when faced with such a problem as the preservation of the El-'Amarnah pavement (p. 108). The omission is disappointing, because the problem of removing finely painted mud plaster has by no means been solved in spite of Petrie's success, so far back as the season 1891–2, with the Two Princesses[1], daughters of Akhenaten. The problem is really one of preservation, the difficulty being to apply the preservative to the *background* of mud, without spoiling the paint; this of course can only be done if the piece of fresco which it is desired to save has first been detached from its surroundings. Furthermore, although paraffin wax is colourless, as Mr. Lucas points out, yet it has disastrous effects on the colour of the paint, if it soaks through the mud at the back and reaches the surface, producing a general drab effect in which originally bright blues and reds and greens are scarcely any longer distinguishable. Nor is it a simple matter to judge the exact quantity of wax which will be sufficient to make all the plaster adhere, and at the same time not actually to touch the paint.

The book ends with a very short chapter on Physical and Chemical Tests, one of which, a Table of Hardness, should be of great value to anyone handling antiquities of any description. Testing the specific gravity of objects is, however, more for the expert in the laboratory than the archaeologist; and it is to the latter that the book will be of greatest service. We may safely say that in future no excavation expedition will be properly equipped without—failing a chemical expert—Mr. Lucas's book.

S. R. K. GLANVILLE.

Introduction à l'étude des hiéroglyphes. By H. SOTTAS and E. DRIOTON. Paris, 1922.

This is the best book on the subject which has yet appeared, and, while it may be most strongly recommended to beginners, it has also many points of interest for the more advanced scholar of ancient Egyptian. A complete scientific account of the nature of hieroglyphic writing has yet to be written, and it is a singular testimony to the elementary stage at which our knowledge still is that the best discussions on this subject are to be found not in the grammars but in articles in various journals.

The chapter on the nature of Egyptian writing shows considerable thought and assimilation of previous work on the subject. The fact that a word-sign, or root-sign as the authors prefer to call it, represents a sound as well as an idea is constantly ignored by writers on Egyptian grammar. Obviously a picture writing does not merit the name of writing at all until its pictures each call up a definite word, and the hieroglyphs have undoubtedly reached this stage at the moment of our earliest acquaintance with them.

The authors make a short attempt to deal with the difficult problem of the distinction between word-sign (*signe-racine*) and determinative (p. 12), but we should have been grateful to them had they developed this interesting topic more fully, and made clearer than they have the essence of the problem, namely that each sign may be regarded from the point of view either of its genesis or of its function in a particular case. Needless to say the authors are themselves fully aware of this, but seeing that the subject is one which gives considerable trouble to beginners it might have been treated at greater length in a book of this type.

The list of hieroglyphic signs at the end of the book will be found useful by students. At the same time our science has now reached a stage where it should be possible to draw up a list which should have much more regard than this for the historical development of the signs and the writings, in other words a list which should be a real contribution to the palaeography of Ancient Egypt. The present list telescopes nearly two thousand years into a single point of time and thus gives a purely artificial view of Egyptian writing.

Despite these defects the book is a most useful one, and for the beginner, whom the authors have principally had in mind, it is indispensable. Its second part, on the study of the hieroglyphs from antiquity down to the decipherment by Champollion, is written in that clear and flowing style which comes so naturally to our colleagues across the Channel.

T. ERIC PEET.

[1] *Tell el Amarna*, 14, 15. PETRIE, *Methods and Aims in Archaeology*, is also quoted, in the Bibliography.

The New York Historical Society. Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities, Numbers 1–160. Gold and silver jewelry and related objects. By CAROLINE RANSOM WILLIAMS, Ph.D., Litt.D. New York, 1924.

The New York Historical Society is fortunate in three respects, firstly in possessing a valuable if small collection of Egyptian jewelry, secondly in having persuaded its Honorary Curator, Mrs. Williams, to catalogue it, and thirdly in having funds which enable her work to be adequately published. In appearance the book is an admirable specimen of the almost lost art of making beautiful books: the paper is excellent and the type extremely attractive, more especially that used in the footnotes, where elegant founts are too often employed; the plates are collotypes made from good photographs of objects often none too easy to reproduce.

It is obvious that the cataloguer might, if she had wished, have made very short work of describing these 160 objects, some of them of only mediocre interest and value. She has, however, taken her task in a very different spirit. The actual descriptions of the objects occupy a comparatively small place in the volume. What takes up more space and is of far greater value is the discussion of more general topics arising out of the subject of Egyptian jewelry. Thus the Introduction begins with an account of the nature and uses of Egyptian jewelry. On this follows an excellent discussion of the sources of the various precious metals and semi-precious stones. The section on gold is particularly good, and is the best *résumé* of our present knowledge with respect to the Egyptian sources for the metal that we have yet seen. A later section deals with the quality of the gold used and with its various alloys. Then follows a section which forms perhaps the most novel feature of the book, namely an excursus on the technique of the Egyptian goldworker. Here Mrs. Williams has called all the resources of modern science and art to her aid. For example it has often been asked whether in the well-known granulated jewelry of Egypt the separate grains were soldered on to the main body of the object or fused. Here the authoress first has recourse to the microscope and micro-photography, and when these fail to decide the problem she enlists the sympathy of a modern craftsman to find out by practical experiment whether both these processes are feasible and, if so, whether it is possible by careful and minute examination of the finished product to determine which was used. Similar thoroughness is shown in the treatment of the much debated question as to whether the Egyptians could draw wire or not.

It will readily be understood that working on such patient and sound methods and helped by an obvious gift for bibliography—well illustrated by the footnotes and never allowed to run riot—Mrs. Williams has produced in the humble guise of a catalogue a valuable addition to our knowledge of Egyptian and indeed of all ancient jewelry. The index is a marvel of patience, and, so far as I have tested it, of usefulness and accuracy.

I suspect that in the contact with men of science into which this piece of work has led her Mrs. Williams has caught unwittingly a little of the obscurity of their style. Her phraseology tends to be unnecessarily indirect—for example she writes that a certain chemical test "resulted adversely to the presence of copper"—and more than one of her sentences sent me back to the beginning to try again. If I ever go to New York I shall beg Mrs. Williams to be my guide through the Egyptian collection of the Historical Society. I shall also have a sneaking hope that she will show me a real live "preparator" "preparating" on his native soil.

T. ERIC PEET.

Die Vokalisation des Ägyptischen. By KURT SETHE. Extracted from *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Bd. 77, pp. 145–207. Leipzig, 1923.

In this brilliant essay of only sixty pages, Professor Sethe, the recognized authority on the subject, probes more deeply than has ever before been done into the recondite question of the vocalization of the old Egyptian language. The first and shorter of the two sections into which the essay is divided is a formal demonstration of the fact that hieroglyphic writing was purely consonantal throughout almost the entire course of its history; only in the Greek and Roman proper names are the old alphabetic signs employed to indicate vowels. The proof of this long since recognized fact, now denied only by a dwindling minority of older scholars, is here for the first time completely set forth; nevertheless, this portion of the essay contains little that is positively new, and we do not need to dwell upon it. The second section, on the other hand, teems with new combinations and far-reaching conclusions as to the value of Coptic for the reconstruction of the vocalization of old Egyptian. After a preliminary survey of the Coptic dialects and

of the vowels which they display, Sethe proceeds to discuss the chief stages through which the Egyptian vowels can be shown to have passed, the main sources of our knowledge being (1) the El-'Amarnah letters and the Boghaz-Keui archives, both written in Babylonian cuneiform (1400–1200 B.C.), (2) the Assyrian tablets of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty (700–650 B.C.), (3) the Greek transcriptions of Egyptian proper names, from Herodotus onwards, and lastly (4) Coptic. The following is the barest possible summary of the results attained:

ā > *ō* > *ŏ*. Ex., old Babyl. *Ḫūra*, Assyr. *Ḫūru*, old Gk. *υρ*, Copt. Hōr, for the god Horus.

ī > *ē*. Ex., old Babyl. *Rīa*, old Gk. *ρι*, Copt. *Rē*, for the sun-god Rēʿ.

ă > *ŏ*. Ex., old Babyl. *Amanḫatpi*, Copt. Amenhōtep. While old Gk. still retains the *a*-vowel (ex. Ἀμασις), later Greek curiously writes *ŏ* as *ω* (ex. Ἀμωσις), a fact which Sethe inclines to explain (p. 165, n. 1), on the one hand, by the non-existence of a long *ō* in Egyptian during the earlier periods of Graeco-Egyptian contact, and on the other hand, by the *u*-like quality of Gk. *omikron* as evidenced in such renderings as Ἁροηρις for Eg. Harwēr.

ĕ (*i*) > *ă*. Ex., Assyr. *Puṭubišti*, *Puṭubēšti*, Gk. Πετουβαστις.

u > *ĕ* (sometimes at least). Ex., Bab. *-mua* for Copt. *mĕ* "truth."

In the following section (p. 174) Sethe points to the curious fact that the oldest forms of the Coptic vowels thus ascertained really appear to have been the original Egyptian vowels (*die Urvokale des Ägyptischen*), since they agree with the vocalization of related Semitic words; two examples are Coptic *ešmūn* "eight" (older **eḫmān*), Arabic *ṯamāni*(*n*), Coptic *lăs* "tongue" (Akhmimic *lĕs*, older no doubt **lĭs*), Arabic *lisān*. Sethe then proceeds to deal successively with the reduction of the vowels in the secondary syllables (*Nebensilben*) to *ĕ*, which he concludes to have been of ancient date, and with the vocalic abbreviation of words forming syntactic complexes (noun and genitive, noun and adjective), where the older abbreviations appear to have been less radical than the later (contrast Χνομωνεβιηβ = *Ḫnmw-ʿȝ-nb-ȝbw* with Αθερνεβενταιγις). It is next suggested that the curious compounds like *hŏnet* "priest," *Menfe* "Memphis," which place the accent on the first of the two elements, instead of placing it on the second, as usual in the Greek and Coptic compounds, may well represent the earlier habit of the language. Sethe then turns to the quantity of the Egyptian vowels, and shows that while Coptic, in and for itself, displays the utmost anarchy as regards this matter, a consideration of Coptic words in the light of their etymology, *i.e.*, before certain consonants and endings had fallen away, reveals a rigorous system of very ancient date, open syllables invariably having long vowels and closed syllables having short vowels. Developing this topic, he then deduces the fact that the vocalization of the oldest Egyptian known to us was completely dominated by the system just alluded to, but that behind it lay an older, prehistoric stage, in which the vowels were much more open, more equal in quantity and less strongly accented, the relation of this prehistoric stage to old Egyptian being roughly that of classical Arabic to the modern spoken dialect or to Hebrew. The last pages of the essay contain a wealth of observations and deductions to which a review can do no sort of justice; as an example of the neatness with which the theory works out we may allude to the derivation of Coptic *nūte* "god," through **nā́ter*, from a prehistoric **nátara*; to this corresponds exactly the prehistoric feminine **natárata* "goddess," which ultimately gave rise, through **entā́ret*, to the Coptic *entōre*.

ALAN H. GARDINER.



Relief from the tomb of Ramōse at Thebes.

A RELIEF FROM THE TOMB OF RAMOSE AT THEBES

By W. B. EMERY

With Plate X

The accompanying plate is from a photograph taken by Mr. Burton of the Metropolitan Museum of New York from a scene on the north-east wall of the hypostyle hall of the Tomb of Ramōse, at Ḳurnah. This wall was discovered by Mr. Robert Mond[1] during his excavations in the tomb in 1924 in connection with the University of Liverpool Institute of Archaeology.

The head forms part of a scene depicting a statue of Ramōse, vizier under King Akhenaten, undergoing ceremonial purification. On the right of the statue is a *sem*-priest and on the left a *smer*-priest, each of whom is pouring a libation over it.

The reliefs of this wall are among the finest examples of the sculptor's art in the Eighteenth Dynasty, and they rival, if they do not surpass, those of the temple of Sethos I at Abydos.

An interesting point is that the eye has not been sculptured like the rest of the scene, but has merely been painted in, in black. This may have been done to give an added effect, but I am inclined to believe that the scene is unfinished and that this detail, owing to its difficulty and importance, was left to be completed by some more experienced craftsman.

[1] The thanks of the Egypt Exploration Society are due to Mr. Mond for his permission to publish this, one of the most valuable of his discoveries.

A NEW EDITION OF THE HERMETIC WRITINGS

By A. D. NOCK

§ 1. *Mr. Scott's edition.*

A critical text of the *Corpus Hermeticum* has long been among the most pressing needs of those concerned with the history of religion and thought under the Empire. Reitzenstein in his *Poimandres* gave the world a beginning of this, but did not complete what he had begun. Mr. Scott has now prepared an edition which includes the Corpus, the Latin *Asclepius*, and the fragments quoted by Stobaeus, S. Cyril and other writers while excluding the astrological, magical and alchemical writings ascribed to Hermes[1]. In this first volume we have an introduction and the texts, with an English translation facing them.

On the question of the manuscripts of the *Corpus* Mr. Scott follows Reitzenstein for the most part. In so doing he is quite likely to be right. But he has not given us what a logical following of Reitzenstein requires, that is, a record of the readings of C (Vaticanus gr. 237) and M (Vaticanus gr. 951) in II–XIV. To make such a record does not require a journey to Italy; photographs would render it possible[2], and it would put the text on a surer basis, though we should still desire to see the problem of the tradition further studied and brought as near solution as such things can be. So much may be said concerning *recensio*. In *emendatio* Mr. Scott has been very active, emending, bracketing, and transposing with great freedom and sometimes with a considerable degree of plausibility[3]. The general result, however, is of the nature of a rewriting. The original texts *may* have been quite unlike what the MSS. give, but there is no reason to suppose that they were very like what Mr. Scott prints. Much that he has altered seems obviously sound. It may be suggested that the translation ought to give to readers unfamiliar with Greek some indication of how much is restored *exempli gratia*.

The limitation of the *Hermetica* to those here printed is reasonable, but has perhaps in no small measure vitiated his discussion of this literature in his *Introduction*. The truth is that the earliest instances we know of treatises couched in the form of revelations by Hermes are astrological[4]. Any kind of information might be conveyed in this way[5]. A

[1] *Hermetica: The ancient Greek and Latin writings which contain religious or philosophic teachings attributed to Hermes Trismegistus*; edited with English translation and notes by Walter Scott. Volume I: Introduction, Texts, and Translation. Pp. 549 with frontispiece. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press. 30/- n. [Misprints are few, p. 238, 9 θειότητος for θεότητος, 300, 25 *quae* for *qui*, 456 ad l. 19 μυστηρίους for μυστηρίοις, 464, 32 ἐπάνθουν for ἐπανθοῦν.]

[2] Could it be made and published as an appendix in the fourth volume of this edition?

[3] As Excerpt V (*ap.* Stob. I, 41. 8), 408, 30 ὕπνον, ⟨φάρμακ⟩ον μέγιστον τοῦ καμάτου τῆς κινήσεως.

[4] *Cf.* W. Kroll, *Neue Jahrb.*, VII, 572 ff., *Pauly-Wissowa*, VIII, 821: such a text, in excerpts made by Rhetorios, has been published in *Cod. Cat. Astrol. Graec.*, VIII, 4 (1922), *cf.* W. Kroll, *Klio*, XVIII, 213 ff. (he shows that it belongs to Ptolemaic and not to Roman Egypt). Kroll says in *Studien zur Verständniss der römischen Litteratur*, 324, "Was nur irgendwie mit Ägypten zusammenhing taufte man gern auf den Namen Hermes Trismegistos." It is, thus, probably in error that Mr. Scott brackets ῥιζοτόμοι γνήσιοι in *Kore Kosmou*, 42, 480. 6; they, like the philosophers, draw their inspiration from a divine source.

[5] Thus *Excerpt* XXII, Scott, 454. 7 ff. (from Stob. I, 42. 7, 295 Wachsmuth) gives the ordinary ancient

special kind of philosophic thought came to use it as its favourite vehicle of expression, and the teaching of this school is what we know as Hermetism. As Mr. Scott says (p. 8), "There was no one system of Hermetic philosophy or theology, no one body of fixed dogma[1]."

With his general view that the doctrines of this school of thought are for the most part to be explained from Greek sources, and in particular Platonic and Stoic sources, most scholars would now agree. Jewish influence in certain points he recognises (p. 11 f.): here we miss a reference to a valuable paper by the Rev. J. M. CREED, *Journ. Theol. Stud.*, XV, 513 ff. (esp. 525 ff.). Egyptian influence he discounts, and in this many will support him: he does well to emphasise at the same time the fact that the authors of Hermetic treatises were Egyptian by birth and naturally affected by national temperament. It will be remembered that one fragment of the *Kore Kosmou* discusses the reason why those born outside Egypt are less intelligent than those born within that holy land (*Exc.* XXIV, § 11. 500 ff., *ap.* Stob. I, 49. 45)[2]. For Egyptian mentality in connection with philosophic mysticism some mention should be made of Cumont's work, *Le culte égyptien et le mysticisme de Plotin*, published in *Monuments Piot*, XXV (1921–2), 77–92. Here Cumont connects the Hermetic λογικὴ θυσία with Egyptian silent prayer (p. 78), and discusses the Egyptian love of silent contemplation and their tendency to mysticism in a most illuminating way. Mr. Scott does not mention the possibility of Gnostic influence: we must however note, as W. Kroll does, the amount of belief common to Gnostics and Hermetism, as cosmogonical theories, strict dualism, and the teaching that certain select souls can obtain freedom from the common fate of man, and allow as he does that there may be direct Gnostic influence on Hermetism, though in general the two ways of thought are probably to be regarded as parallel phenomena[3]. Christian influence in terminology, especially in *C.H.*, I, IV and XIII, must probably be recognised in view of Prof. H. Windisch's valuable paper[4].

Mr. Scott's discussion of the *Corpus* and its possible origin is useful and cautious. The *Asclepius* he divides into three originally independent parts, later put together by a redactor. On such a point it is difficult for any theory to carry conviction. Zielinski found

theory to account for some children resembling their fathers, some their mothers, some more remote ancestors (*cf.* MUNRO *ad* Lucr., IV, 1209, for illustration of this), with an astrological modification (l. 19 the decan having to do with the hour of birth (or conception) is connected therewith, in a manner veiled by the corruption of the text but illustrated by the work of Hephaestion of Thebes, *e.g.* p. 65, 17 Engelbrecht (discussed by F. BOLL, *Memorie R. Acc. Bologna*, II, v–vii (1923), 10), in which the decan is connected with the hour of conception, *cf.* BOLL, pp. 8 and 10 ff., on this Egyptian astrology).

[1] *Cf.* BOUSSET's criticism of J. Kroll's book, *G.G.A.*, 1914, 697 ff., as well as ZIELINSKI's papers, *Arch. f. Rel.*, VIII, 321 ff., IX, 25 ff., which Mr. Scott does not, I think, mention (another addition to be made to the literature he quotes is Bousset's article *Kore Kosmou* in *Pauly-Wissowa*, XI, 1386 ff.).

[2] On this view *cf.* J. KROLL, *Die Lehre des Hermes Trismegistos*, 167, on the Egyptian basis of the explanation *cf.* PIETSCHMANN, *P. W.*, I, 985 f., F. BOLL, *Neue Jahrb.*, XXXI (1913), 138 f. (= *Die Lebensalter*, 50 f.). Clearly Egyptian is also the concluding portion of the *Kore Kosmou*, § 65 ff., 492 f. Scott: BOUSSET, *P. W.*, XI, 1389, compares *I.G.*, XII, 5. 1 (the glorification of Isis found on Ios. = DITTENB., *Syll.*[3], 1. 267), Diod. Sic., I, 27: *cf.* also *I.G.*, XII, 5. 739, *P. Oxy.*, 1380. For the use by the Creator of spells (*Kore Kosmou*, § 14, 464. 20 Scott, § 18, 468. 2) we may compare the spells the Egyptian gods, notably Horus, used to protect themselves (M. P. LACAU, *Monuments Piot*, XXV, 193). On the other hand, when Earth says (§ 59, 488. 29 f.) ἐξ ὧν αὐξήσεως καὶ μειώσεως ἀρχὴν ἔχει τὰ πάντα, εἰς ἃ καὶ πάλιν καταλήγοντα ἀναγκαίως ὀφειλόμενον τέλος ἔχει, the words used belong to the normal religious ideas of antiquity concerning *Mutter Erde*: *cf.* for a Latin parallel the *Terrae matris precatio* in RIESE, *Anth. Lat.*, I[2], 26 f.

[3] *P. W.*, VIII, 818. 42 ff., *cf.* WENDLAND, *Hellenistisch-römische Kultur*[3], 182, NORDEN, *Agnostos Theos*, 65.

[4] *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, LII (1918), 186 ff., especially 199 ff.

four independent parts, others may find more[1]. On the other hand the case advanced for dating the prophecy in *ch.* 24 ff. (p. 61 ff.)[2] as in the years 268 to 273 is very attractive. For the question of the date of the final prayer it should be noted that Fahz dates the Papyrus Mimaut, which includes it in Greek, as *circa* 300 and not earlier[3]. We should like to know what Mr. Scott thinks of J. Carcopino's view that the translation of the *Asclepius* into Latin was made in Africa[4]: his own suggestion (p. 79 ff.) is that C. Marius Victorinus is a possible translator. The last chapter of the Introduction is concerned with *Testimonia* and is a suggestive and valuable piece of work: we must, however, consider as highly doubtful the suggestion that Clement of Alexandria knew the Hermetica to be recent (p. 90), as also the similar suggestion in regard to the Neoplatonists (p. 95 f.). One point of some interest may here be added from Prof. Burkitt's recent book, *The Religion of the Manichees.* The Manichees regarded Hermes Trismegistus as a great and inspired teacher, and attached importance to the *Shepherd* of Hermas because they believed it to be a Hermetic document (p. 96).

To close the review proper, we have reason to be grateful to Mr. Scott for giving us this volume, but can hardly fail to regret the absence of collations of C and M, and the excessive degree to which he has rewritten the text. Meanwhile the most practical way in which we can show our gratitude is perhaps the attempt to contribute somewhat to the criticism and interpretation of these writings.

§ 2. *Diatribe form in the Hermetica.*

Among the marked features of the intellectual life of the Empire is a considerable philosophical propaganda, not limited to any one school. One of its chief weapons was a literary form commonly known as the diatribe: this was a species of popular sermon or causerie, commonly written in a pointed style and rich in vivid similes and metaphors. Its influence was widespread in various categories of literature[5]. Reitzenstein and others have recognised this influence in the *Corpus,* notably in I, 27 ff., where the disciple of Poimandres says: "And when I had given thanks and praise to the Father of all, I was sent forth by him, having had power given me, and having been taught the nature of all that is, and seen the supreme vision. And I began to preach to men the beauty of piety and of the knowledge of God, saying: 'Hearken, ye folk, men born of earth, who have given up yourselves to drunkenness and sleep in your ignorance of God: awake to soberness, cease to be sodden with strong drink and lulled in sleep devoid of reason.' And when they heard, they gathered around me with one accord. And I said 'O men, why have you given yourselves up to death, when you have been granted power to partake of immortality? Repent[6], ye who have journeyed with Error, and joined company with Ignorance; rid yourselves of darkness, and lay hold on the Light; partake of immortality, forsaking corruption.' And some of them mocked at my words and stood aloof: for they had given themselves up to

[1] Scott's treatment of κύριος (p. 54) should take account of recent work by Bousset and others, summarised by WILLIGER, *P. W.*, XII, 276 ff.

[2] Apart from the later insertions, which Mr. Scott dates after 353, and Mr. Neill and I would place between 384 and 391 A.D. (in a note published in *J.T.S.*, XXVI, 173 ff.).

[3] *Ap.* W. KROLL, *P. W.*, VIII, 797. 10.

[4] *Rev. Arch.*, 1922, XV, 280 ff.

[5] *Cf.* WENDLAND, *op. cit.*, 75 ff. Perhaps I may be allowed to refer to a discussion of this subject in ch. i of the Prolegomena to my forthcoming edition of Sallustius.

[6] On μετανοήσατε *cf.* NORDEN, *op. cit.*, 134 ff., with the corrections of F. C. BURKITT, *J.T.S.*, XV, 463 f.

the way of death. But others besought me that they might be taught and cast themselves down at my feet. And I bade them stand up; and I made myself a guide to mankind, teaching them the doctrine, how and in what wise they might be saved. And I sowed in them the teachings of wisdom; and that which I sowed was watered with the water of immortal life. And when evening was come, and the light of the sun was beginning to go down, I bade them all with one accord give thanks to God. And when they had accomplished their thanksgiving, they betook them every man to his own bed[1]," and in VII, 1 ff. (a typical Hellenistic sermon).

This influence has left other traces also. We have seen the *ἡ τοῦ θανάτου ὁδός* in I, 29. This Pythagorean notion of two ways between which one must choose (represented on a stele of the early part of the first century of our era at Philadelphia[2]) recurs in IV, 11 b (*cf.* VI, 5 *τὴν τῆς εὐσεβείας ὁδόν*, XI, 21 b *ὁδός ἐστιν εὐθὺ* (so Scott for *εὐθεῖα, ἰδία*) *τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ φέρουσα*, *ap.* Stob. I, 41. 1 a, 390, 2 b, Scott *αὕτη γὰρ μόνη ἐστὶν, ὦ τέκνον, πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὁδός· ἣν καὶ οἱ ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι ὥδευσαν καὶ ὁδεύσαντες ἔτυχον τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ*: for the notion of a choice *cf.* IV, 6 b, also *ap.* Stob. II, 8. 31, 446, 5 Scott *τὸ δὲ αἱρεῖσθαι ἔχομεν· τὸ γὰρ αἱρεῖσθαι τὸ κρεῖττον ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἐστιν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸ χεῖρον*). Again, the common Hellenistic comparison of life with a play[3] is employed in *Ascl.* 10 *is nouit se, nouit et mundum, scilicet ut meminerit quid partibus conueniat suis*, as is also the popular likening of the soul's struggle to an *ἀγών* (*C.H.*, X, 19, and *ap.* Stob. I, 41. 1 a, 392. 14 ff. Scott[4]). Of philosophic commonplaces for which no precise source can be assigned there is naturally much[5].

One striking example of a simile in the manner of the diatribe may here be noted. In the fourth tractate, known as the Kratér, we read that man must choose things corporeal or things incorporeal. He cannot have both. He who chooses that which is worse is like a

[1] (The rendering given is Scott's.) *Cf.* REITZENSTEIN, *G.G.A.*, 1911, 554 ff. (he characterises the first passage as Oriental, but it certainly shows diatribe influence), W. KROLL, *ibid.*, 814. 23 ff., 203 (with Philo), NORDEN, *op. cit.*, 3, 5, WINDISCH, *ibid.*, 195 ff. (connection with Jewish sapiential literature). For the reception of the message *cf.* Acts, XVII, 32 *ἀκούσαντες δὲ ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν οἱ μὲν ἐχλεύαζον, οἱ δὲ εἶπον Ἀκουσόμεθά σου περὶ τούτου καὶ πάλιν . τινὲς δὲ ἄνδρες κολληθέντες αὐτῷ ἐπίστευσαν*. With § 29 *ἔσπειρα ... ἐτράφησαν* (*-φη* Scott) *ἐκ τοῦ ἀμβροσίου ὕδατος cf.* I Cor., iii, 6 *ἐγὼ ἐφύτευσα, Ἀπολλὼς ἐπότισεν, ἀλλὰ ὁ θεὸς ηὔξανεν*, and H. J. ROSE, *Cl. Rev.*, 1925, 17. With § 27 (sleep and drunkenness) *cf.* Julian, VII, 233 A *σὺ δὲ νῆφε καὶ γρηγόρει*.

[2] KEIL-VON PREMERSTEIN, *Erste Reiseberichte* (*Wien. Denkschr.*, LIII, ii), 34, n. 55, *Abb.* 28, explained by BRINKMANN, *Rh. Mus.*, LXVI (1911), 622 ff. *Cf.* Persius, V, 34 f. The notion was familiar to Christian readers in the *Didache* and the Epistle of Barnabas. *Cf.* also J. KROLL, *op. cit.*, 380 ff.

[3] *Cf.* esp. R. HELM, *Lukian und Menipp*, 45 ff.

[4] On this cf. *Cl. Rev.*, 1924, 108[11], and add references to Epictet. I, 29. 36, II, 18. 28, III, 6. 7, 15. 1 ff. (detail), 22. 51, 102, IV, 4. 30, the *Enchir.*, 51. 24, and to the hagiographical use of the term *ἀθλητής*.

[5] As for instance *C.H.*, V, 3, subjection of sun and stars to law (as XII, 21): *cf.* Stat., *Silu.*, III, 3. 53: V, 5 [cf. *Kore Kosmou*, § 44 f., 482 Scott], vision of universe: *cf.* Cic., *De republica*, VI, 15 ff. Müller, Seneca, *Dial.*, VI, 25, and an adaptation of this *motif* by Lucian, *Somn.*, 15: (*cf.* on the power of the soul, XI, 19, XII, 20, *Ascl.* 6, on the special dignity of astronomy, *Ascl.* 9, with Ptolemy's epigram, *A.P.*, IX, 577, and F. CUMONT, *Bull. Ac. Roy. Belg.*, 1909, 256 ff., F. BOLL, *Jahresb. Phil. Ver. Berlin*, XLVII, 1 ff.; man's wonder at the universe is treated in *Kore Kosmou*, § 3), V, 6 (beauty of man's frame, as fr. 8, p. 536: *cf.* Xen., *Mem.*, I, 4. 6, Sallustius, *Περὶ θεῶν*, IX, H. A. KOCH, *Quellenuntersuchungen zu Nemesios von Emesa*, 47). *σωτηρίας λιμένιν* in VII, 1 b, is another common thought: *cf.* Epict., IV, 10. 27 (death as the harbour, as *A.P.*, IX, 49, KAIBEL, *Epigr. gr.*, 647. 6, Palladas, *A.P.*, IX, 172 (independence of mind), Apul., *Met.*, XI, 15, *ad portum Quietis et aram Misericordiae uenisti* (religious conversion), Virg., *Catal.*, V, 8, *nos ad beatos uela mittimus portus* (of philosophy).

useless procession, *ὅτι καθάπερ αἱ πομπαὶ μέσον παρέρχονται, μήτε αὐταὶ ἐνεργῆσαί τι δυνάμεναι, τοὺς δὲ ἐμποδίζουσαι, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ οὗτοι μόνον πομπεύουσιν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, παραγόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν σωματικῶν ἡδονῶν*[1]. That is to say, the man who chooses the good things of this world is like an image borne in procession or the individual representing the deity who walks in procession, and bodily pleasures then play the part of the band of devotees accompanying it. The simile is one taken from facts which would regularly be observed, in Egypt as well as elsewhere, at the time of writing[2]. It has therefore the

[1] IV, 7, 154. 2 ff., Scott. *παραγόμενοι* is a certain emendation by Patricius of the *παραγινόμενοι* of the MSS. Scott brackets *ἡδονῶν*, without any very obvious necessity.

REITZENSTEIN, *Poimandres*. 102_2, calls this "Das der griechischen Philosophie entnommene Bild" in his treatment of a very similar comparison in Zosimus, 229 ff., Berthelot (printed by Scott as fr. 29, 538).

[2] [*Πομπεύω* might mean "walk in a procession," *cf.* Lucian, *Menipp.*, 16, but *παραγόμενοι* seems here to determine its sense. It is unlikely that *πομπή* refers to a Roman triumph. The sense "parade", which the verb *πομπεύω* can have when transitive, as Epict., *Diss.*, III, 24. 118, is out of the question.]

Processions of an Egyptian deity are described by Herod., II, 63, of the image of the god of Memphis are mentioned by Claudian, *IV Cons. Hon.*, 570 ff. (*cf.* NORDEN, *Die Geburt des Kindes*, 25_3, for the explanation of the *effigies breuis* by reference to Macrob., *Sat.*, I, 18. 10), a Ptolemaic procession of Dionysus at Alexandria by Callixen. Rhod. *ap.* Athen., V, 196 ff.: a procession of Sarapis on shipboard from Alexandria to some other shrine or shrines is probably indicated by the Alexandrian coins of Trajan's time and later showing Sarapis on a boat between Isis and Demeter (as *B.M.C. Alexandria*, 103, n. 886, Pl. XXIX) or between Demeter and Tyche (*op. cit.*, 144, n. 1207, Pl. XXIX): this interpretation has the approval of W. WEBER, *Die agyptisch-griechischen Terrakotten*, 178_{12}, J. VOGT, *Die alexandrinischen Munzen*, I, 75 f., *cf.* II, 182 f., for references, also an alliance coin of Alexandria and Ephesus, showing Sarapis and Artemis on a ship (ROSCHER, IV, 376, fig. 6), and perhaps one of Osiris by the Alexandrine coins of Marcus Aurelius showing Osiris on shipboard (DATTARI, *Numi Augg. Alexandrini*, 3557/8, p. 236: J. VOGT, *op. cit.*, I, 145, regards it as representing "die Ausfahrt des Osiris zum Besuch anderer Götter"); for the golden boat of Amon-Ra, a floating temple, *cf.* G. FOUCART, *Mon. Piot*, XXV, 143 ff., for the *nauigium Isidis*, Apul., *Met.*, XI, 16, for a Minoan arrival of a goddess in a boat (represented on a seal ring from Mochlus), *cf.* GLOTZ, *La civilisation égéenne*, 284, fig. 41, for Astarte in a galley on the coins of Berytus cf. *B.M.C. Phoenicia*, lviii, Pl. XL, 5, of Sidon, 163, n. 130 ff., Pl. XXII, 9, of Tyre, 254, n. 248, Pl. XXXI, 4; 261, n. 299 ff., Pl. XXXI, 15: for boat-processions in modern Egypt *cf.* C. G. SELIGMANN, *Ridgeway Essays*, 452 ff., G. FOUCART, *op. cit.*, 168 f.: a procession of Isis Anubis and Apis at Corinth is described by Apul., *Met.*, XI, 9 ff.: a processional standard (a lion surmounted by a seven-rayed Sun) from Leontopolis has been published by PERDRIZET, *Mon. Piot*, XXV, 385, fig. 15: a procession (? of Messalina's image) at Alexandria is permitted by Claudius in *P. Lond.*, 1912, l. 38 (H. I. BELL, *Jews and Christians*, 24. 32).

Pausanias mentions many such processions as happening in Greece in his own time (the second century A.D.), as of Artemis every year at Patrae, on a car drawn by deer (VII, 18. 12: that the priestess personated Artemis is a reasonable inference, *cf.* FRAZER, *ad loc.* It is noteworthy that Artemis is here agricultural [*cf.* FARNELL, *Cults*, II, 455] in view of the primitive customs mentioned, p. 6, n. 3), of Artemis Limnaia from Mesoa to Patrae (VII, 20. 8), of Artemis and Apollo at Sicyon to the temple of Peitho, and back to that of Apollo (II, 7. 8), of Dionysus Eleuthereus from his temple to one in the Academy, every year on appointed days (I, 29. 2, as at Methymna, *B.C.H.*, VII, 37; at Ephesus, with mumming of deities, PICARD, *Éphèse et Claros*, 686 [was D. carried ?]), of *ἀγάλματα ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ* at Sicyon on one night in the year by torchlight to the temple of Dionysus (II, 7. 5), of Aesymnetes, the god in the chest, on one night during the festival at Patrae (VII, 20. 1), of Kore from Helos to the Eleusinion on Taygetus (III, 20. 7). For Athenian processions *cf.* E. PFUHL, *De Atheniensium pompis sacris* (Berlin: 1900), and esp. 108 ff., and for the rationale of processions in Greece in general M. P. NILSSON, *Jahrb. arch. Inst.*, XXXI (1916), 309 ff.

Such processions were common in Asia Minor. The Artemis of Ephesus left her shrine on the 6th of Thargelion "visitant à cette occasion en suzeraine ses domaines et sa ville" (PICARD, *op. cit.*, 328, 326 ff.: cf. *J.H.S.*, XVII, 87 f., Pl. II, 17, for an Ephesian coin showing her *ἀπήνη* drawn by four horses, *B.M.C. Ionia*, Pls. XIII, 13, XIV, 11 for the car drawn by two horses: GRUPPE, *Griech. Myth.*, 820_5, regards

pictorial character appropriate to the diatribe, which loved comparisons with everyday phenomena[1]. Further, it betrays that lack of sympathy with popular belief and practice which is also a mark of the diatribe: in general it was deistic but not favourable to *δεισιδαιμονία*; this attitude can be noted elsewhere in the *Corpus*[2]. Unsophisticated men no doubt believed that such processions had a definite and objective effect; the god or goddess visited his or her domain, and increased its fertility or expelled evil influences[3].

this as primarily a rain-charm), as did Artemis Leukophryene of Magnesia with the rest of the twelve gods on the 12th of Artemision, *ἐν ἐσθῆσιν ὡς καλλίσταις* (DITT., *Syll*[3]., 589. 41 ff.: a decree of 196 B.C.) [sacrificial procession, *cf.* NILSSON, *ibid.*, 312: a procession of twelve gods and Philip is mentioned by Diod. Sic., XVI, 92. 5], and as the kindred Daitis of Ephesus went to her sea-bath annually (PICARD, *op. cit.*, 312 ff., esp. 317, on the significance of this, also A. G. BATHER, *J.H.S.*, XIV, 262 f.), as did Hera at Samos (Menodot., *ap.* Athen., XV, 672) and Cybele at Rome to her bath in the Almo (GRAILLOT, *Cybèle*, 136 ff.): Cybele's other processions were famous, *cf.* Lucr., II, 624 ff., Herodian, I, 10. 5–7, HEPDING, *Attis*, 168 ff., 72. 75 f. [Gaul], and a relief in REINACH, *Rép. Rel.*, III, 321 (on the altar published by E. M. W. TILLYARD, *J.R.S.*, VII, 284 ff., Pl. VIII, a sacred throne and a sacred basket are represented as being carried: *cf.* portable *aedi-culae* from Athens and Massilia, figured by Saglio, *Dar. Sagl.*, I, 94, figs. 134, 135: for Bellona see *Ann. Épig.*, 1898, n. 61). Anaitis of Comana was carried forth twice a year (*cf.* Strabo, XII, 2, § 32, 557, § 36, 559); these processions were naturally pre-Greek (*cf.* GARSTANG-STRONG, *The Syrian Goddess*, 77[4], on Hittite processions, R. KITTEL, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*, 80, on Babylonian processions). For the procession of Zeus Panamaros *cf.* A. B. COOK, *Zeus*, I, 20, H. OPPERMANN, *Rel. Gesch. Vers. Vorarb.* XIX, 3. 73 f.

Passing southwards, we may note the HPAKΛEION APMA on the coins of Philadelphia in the Decapolis (*B.M.C. Galatia*, p. xc, 306. 1, Pl. XXXVIII, 9; *B.M.C. Arabia*, p. xxxix f., 41, n. 20, Pl. VI, 12), the wheeled shrines of Astarte at Sidon attested by Philo Byblius *ap.* Euseb., *P.E.*, I, 10. 2, and shown on coins (G. F. HILL, *J.H.S.*, XXXI, 61, Pl. III, 17–19, *B.M.C. Phoenicia*, 184 ff., 244–260, Pl. XXIV, 5–10, 193, n. 291–2, 194, 299 f., Pl. XXV, 4, and a provincial coin, 303. 33, Pl. XLV, 7), the wheeled (?) shrine containing a bust of Astarte on a coin of Tripolis (*B.M.C. Phoenicia*, 226, n. 139), the portable shrine of Astarte on coins of Tyre (*op. cit.*, p. cxl, 283, n. 435, 437, Pl. XXXIV, 3, 290, n. 470–2, Pl. XXXIV, 14, 292, n. 478–9, Pl. XXXIV, 16), the god of Ptolemais-Ace (*op. cit.*, 138, n. 50, Pl. XVII, 10: for the Tyche of the same city so represented *cf.* ROUVIER, *Journ. Intern.*, IV, 226, n. 1049); the god of Orthosia is represented as riding in a car (*B.M.C. Phoenicia*, p. lxxvii, 126, n. 1, Pl. XVI, 1). Cumont interprets a Syrian terra-cotta published by him (*Études Syriennes*, 263 ff.) as representing a local double Gad carried in procession on a camel.

Italian processions of an image included the carrying of Juppiter and other deities on *tensae* to the Circus Maximus (V. CHAPOT, *Dar. Sagl.*, V, 115 f.). and of Venus Pompeiana through Pompeii (*Notizie degli scavi*, 1912, 110, fig. 7, cf. *Ausonia*, 1921, 68 ff.: a processional *aedicula* is represented also in a wall-painting figured in *Dar. Sagl.*, I, 95, fig. 137).

[1] As Epictet., IV, 1. 105, *οὐ θέλεις οὖν, ἕως δέδοταί σοι, θεασάμενος τὴν πομπὴν καὶ τὴν πανήγυριν εἶτα, ὅταν σ' ἐξάγῃ, πορεύεσθαι προσκυνήσας καὶ εὐχαριστήσας ὑπὲρ ὧν ἤκουσας καὶ εἶδες*; (perhaps a recollection of Menander, *Ὑποβολιμαῖος*, fr. ii, IV, 211 f., Meineke: *cf.* later Iambl., *Protr.*, IX, 51, 53, Pistelli): *cf.* also Lucian, *Necyomant.*, 16, *τοιγάρτοι ἐκεῖνα ὁρῶντί μοι ἐδόκει ὁ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίος πομπῇ τινι μακρᾷ προσεοικέναι, χορηγεῖν δὲ καὶ διατάττειν ἕκαστα ἡ τύχη, διάφορα καὶ ποικίλα τοῖς πομπεύουσι σχήματα προσάπτουσα...* (alluding to the masquerading which commonly formed part of processions, *cf.* LOBECK, *Aglaophamus*, 173 ff., PICARD, *op. cit.*, 687[4], and for the Anthesteria P. STENGEL, *Griech. Kultusalt.*[3], 239), Muson., *ap.* Stob., IV, 24. 15.

[2] As XII, 23, *θρησκεία δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ μία ἐστι μὴ εἶναι κακόν* (though for this attitude cf. *Cl. Rev.*, 1924, 59). Even the *Asclepius*, which recognises sacrifices to idols (ch. 38), does not permit their being offered to the *Deus summus* (ch. 41). CUMONT, *Mon. P.* XXV, 80, discusses the belief that the Supreme Being cannot be represented by an image, while minor deities can, quoting Macrob., *In Somn. Scip.*, I, 2. 16, Plot., *Enn.*, VI, 9. 11, 770 c.

[3] *Cf.* MANNHARDT, *Antike Wald- und Feldkulten*, I, 405 (Germanic use in the 8th cent. A.D., *cf.* earlier Tac., *Germ.*, 40, for bearing Nerthus to be bathed, 592), E. HAHN, *Demeter und Baubo*, 36 ff., for primitive examples of the bearing of the great goddess or her representative on a waggon or on a ship (*cf.* FARNELL, *Cults*, V, 192 f.). NILSSON, *ibid.*, 317 ff., discusses *Zauberprozessionen* (distinct from the

It must be remembered that many of the Hermetic tractates we possess are manifestly written for popular circles and not for the instructed. *C.H.*, X, the κλείς is dedicated to Tut, *ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν γενικῶν λόγων τῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν λελαλημένων ἐστὶν ἐπιτομή* (§ 1): reference is made to other Hermetic works, as in the same paragraph in the words *ἀλλαχοῦ δὲ ἐνέργειαν καθὼς ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐδιδάξαμεν θείων τε καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων ἃ δεῖ νοεῖν ἐπὶ τούτου*, XII, 5 *ὁ περὶ τῆς εἱμαρμένης λόγος ὃν* (Scott for ὃ) *ἔμπροσθέν μοι διεξελήλυθας* (Scott for *ἐξεληλυθώς*: perhaps *διελήλυθας* would be a simpler change), XIII, 1 *ἐν τοῖς γενικοῖς, ὦ πάτερ, αἰνιγματωδῶς καὶ οὐ τηλαυγῶς ἔφρασαι, περὶ θεότητος διαλεγόμενος*, *Exc.* VI, 410. 14, Scott (*ap.* Stob., I, 21. 9) *ἐπεί μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν γενικοῖς λόγοις ὑπέσχου δηλῶσαι περὶ τῶν τριάκοντα ἓξ δεκάνων, νῦν...*[1]. A great range of Hermetic writings existed, including simple mnemonics[2]: our Corpus is naturally as a collection later than the period when Hermetism had its distinctly self-conscious faithful few[3]. For this habit of referring in a popular work to the more exhaustive writings current on the subject we have parallels in the treatise of Sallustius *Concerning the Gods and the Universe*. The author discusses the gods in the universe, the *ἐγκόσμιοι* (ch. VI): on the *ὑπερκόσμιοι* he is more brief and says, *...καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τρεῖς ἔχουσι τάξεις, καὶ πάσας ἐν τοῖς περὶ τούτων λόγοις ἔστιν εὑρεῖν*. Elsewhere (ch. V) he remarks, "Each of these subjects requires many

procession to a god with victims or for other ceremonies, or processions indicating the connection of two sanctuaries, or processions involving an epiphany, installation, or purification of the god) as cathartic (Thargelia, *decursio*, *lustratio*, etc.) and beneficent, and emphasises the absence from Greek cult of processions like those of Egypt, where the god or goddess was supposed to spread magical power. However, when once these ideas had found a way into the Greek world they may well have given a new meaning to old practices. The bearing of *sacra* for specific purposes is very common: apart from *phallophoriai* (PFUHL, *op. cit.*, 63, 77$_{25}$, *Notizie*, 1910, Pl. X, R. VALLOIS, *B.C.H.*, XLVI, 94 ff. [Delos]), we have the *hydria* of Crannon in Thessaly carried as a rain-charm (Antig., *Hist. mir.*, 15, evidence completed by the coin on which it appears on wheels accompanied by a crow, *B.M.C. Thessaly*, 16, n. 3–5, Pl. II, 13, *Hist. Num*^{2}., 293 [for this fact I am indebted to Mr. C. T. Seltman]), and possibly the scene represented on the Hagia Triada sarcophagus (illustrated in BOSSERT, *Altkreta*^{2}, 48 ff., explained in this sense by HAMMARSTROM, *Acta Academiae Aboensis*, III, ii, 1 ff. (with useful collection of parallels), criticised by H. LAMER, *Phil. Woch.*, 1923, 959 ff.). This bearing of a sacred image or sacred thing through or round an area should possess in popular imagination more potency than a ceremonial circling round (on which *cf.* S. EITREM, *Opferritus*, 6 ff.). For the general aspects of this matter a reference may be added to A. E. CRAWLEY, *E.R.E.*, X, 356 ff.

[1] We must not, however, neglect Scott's suggestion, p. 30$_2$: "It is possible that in two or three instances a redactor of the *Corpus* may have slightly altered the opening words of a *libellus* in order to make them appear to refer back to the document which immediately precedes it in the collection." Some cross-referencing also may be due to a redactor.

[2] As *Excerpt* XI, 426 ff., Scott (*ap.* Stob., I, 41. 1 (b), 274 ff.): *cf.* the Epicurean Κυρίαι Δόξαι. *Ib.* 432. 17, *ὧν σοι διὰ πλειόνων λόγων διεξῆλθον*, probably refers to the *diexodica* (on which *cf.* REITZENSTEIN, *op. cit.*, 117. 126).

Did a book of Hermetic prayers exist as the source whence the composer of the Mimaut papyrus drew the prayer ending the *λόγος τέλειος*, and the writer of a Berlin papyrus that ending the Poemander? It is perhaps implied by *C.H.*, XIII, 16, *τῆς ἁρμοζούσης νῦν ἄκουε εὐλογίας τὸν ὕμνον τῆς παλιγγενεσίας*, that there were prayers regularly concluding set discourses. We must of course remember that an oration could so end: *e.g.* the *De Corona*. A hymn has been lost at the end of the *Kore Kosmou* (*ap.* Stob., I, 49. 44, 494, Scott). On the style of these hymns *cf.* WINDISCH (above, 127, n. 4), 193 f.

[3] Cf. *Asc.*, 22, *sunt autem non multi, aut admodum pauci, ita ut numerari etiam in mundo possint religiosi*, *Exc.* XI, 432. 23, Scott, *οὗτοι δὲ οἱ λόγοι ὀλίγους παντελῶς τοὺς ἀκροατὰς ἔχουσιν* (Scott *ἕξουσιν*, unnecessarily: he also inserts *ἀξίους* before *ἢ*), *ἢ τάχα οὐδὲ τοὺς ὀλίγους ἕξουσιν* (bracketed by Scott: why?), very few have had perfect *γνῶσις*, we learn from a fragment quoted by Lactant., *Div. Inst.*, I, 11. 61 (in Latin: fr. 5, Scott, 534).

long discussions, but there is no reason why we should not treat them here in a summary way, to prevent readers from being completely ignorant of them," and again (XIII) "Of the gods and of the universe and of human affairs this account will suffice for those who neither can be steeped in philosophy nor are incurably diseased in soul."

Since then many of these treatises were meant for wide circles, we find in them both those literary features which are characteristic of philosophical propaganda under the Empire and are specially associated with the diatribe, and also certain formal peculiarities of *Kunstprosa*. Norden has shown that Meyer's law of the accentual clausula is largely, though not invariably, observed in an elevated passage of the *Kore Kosmou*, and has remarked with reason that this fact is of importance for the criticism of that work[1]. It may be added that in the fifth tractate of the *Corpus* we have the short jerky *cola* of the "Asiatic" style in § 3 (158, 22), *εἰ δὲ θέλεις αὐτὸν ἰδεῖν, νόησον τὸν ἥλιον*

νόησον τὸν σελήνης δρόμον
νόησον τῶν ἀστέρων τὴν τάξιν,

and later a fire of short sharp questions (160, 2), *τίς ὁ τοῦτο κεκτημένος τὸ ὄργανον; τίς ὁ τῇ θαλάσσῃ τοὺς ὅρους περιβαλών; τίς ὁ τὴν γῆν ἑδράσας*[2]*;* This slight stylistic observation fits excellently the fact noted earlier (p. 4, n. 5) that certain thoughts in this tractate are normal commonplaces of Imperial philosophy: it is then a popular address in popular language, leading up to an enthusiastic close in Pantheistic devotion: (§ 11, 164, 13) *σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὃ ἂν ὦ, σὺ εἶ ὃ ἂν ποιῶ. σὺ εἶ ὃ ἂν λέγω*[3]*. σὺ γὰρ πάντα εἶ, καὶ οὐδεν ἄλλο ἔστιν ὃ μὴ σὺ εἶ. σὺ εἶ πᾶν τὸ γενόμενον, σὺ τὸ μὴ γενόμενον, νοῦς μέν, νοούμενος, πατὴρ δὲ, δημιουργῶν, θεὸς δὲ, ἐνεργῶν, ἀγαθὸς δὲ, πάντα ποιῶν.*

The rest of this paper is devoted to the attempt to emend and to illustrate certain passages in the *Hermetica*.

§ 3. *Notes on the Corpus Hermeticum.*

I, 19, 124. 17. *οὗτος μένει ἐν τῷ σκότει πλανώμενος αἰσθητῶς, πάσχων τὰ τοῦ θανάτου.* REITZENSTEIN, *Poimandres*, 334, and others punctuate before *αἰσθητῶς* and connect it with *πάσχων*. This is not impossible, but it should be observed that *αἰσθητῶς* properly means "in a manner that is perceptible," as in Plut., *De primo frigido*, 18, 953 C *καὶ μὴν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τὸ ψυχρὸν αἰσθητῶς σκληρόν ἐστι.* A better sense would, I think, be given by reading *αἰσθητικῶς*, "in the way of sense perception": we may compare Epictet., *Diss.*, I, 14, 7 *ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν περὶ τῆς θείας διοικήσεως καὶ περὶ ἑκάστου τῶν θείων, ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων ἐνθυμεῖσθαι δύνασαι καὶ ἅμα μὲν αἰσθητικῶς ὑπὸ μυρίων πραγμάτων κινεῖσθαι, ἅμα δὲ διανοητικῶς, ἅμα δὲ συγκαταθετικῶς, τοῖς δ' ἀναπνευστικῶς ἢ ἐφεκτικῶς, τύπους δὲ τοσούτους ἀφ' οὗτω πολλῶν καὶ ποικίλων πραγμάτων ἐν τῇ σαυτοῦ ψυχῇ φυλάττεις.* The man referred to is the man who has chosen the things of sense as opposed to *γνῶσις*: he is *ὁ κατ' αἴσθησιν ζῶν*, whom Sallustius sees in the person of Paris (ch. IV).

[1] *Op. cit.*, 66$_1$: Mr. Scott seems not to have attached importance to these considerations which incidentally confirm the view that this document is late (3rd 4th cent. says BOUSSET, *op. cit.*: on grounds of prose-rhythm one would imagine it is not earlier than *circa* 300 A D.).

[2] *Cf.* NORDEN, *Kunstprosa*, 410 ff., 420 f. (Aristides) for illustrations, WENDLAND, *op. cit.*, 357$_0$, for S. Paul's use of this style.

[3] This is a Stoic dogma (*cf.* Lucan, IX, 580, *Iuppiter est quodcumque uides quodcumque moueris*, Seneca, *N.Q.*, II, 45) expressed in the style discussed *C.Q.*, 1924, 185 ff., and differing from the hymn of Cleanthes in that the Hermetic writer says "Thou art..." not "Thou dost perform...."

The corruption is a natural one. Meineke has restored *αἰσθητικὸν* for *αἰσθητὸν* with certainty in Exc. XI (*ap.* Stob., I, 41, 1 (b)), 428, 4 Scott.

II, 17 a, 144, 12 ff. In this paragraph, which Mr. Scott regards as probably an insertion, we read that it is the greatest wickedness to leave the world childless; such an offence is punished by reincarnation in a body which is that neither of a man nor of a woman. On this rests the curse of the Sun. Wherefore, one must not regard as happy the childless (whose position commonly meant that they were paid much court by *captatores*).

What is the meaning of the phrase *ὅπερ ἐστὶ κατηραμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου*? In the MSS. it stands after *μήτε ἀνδρὸς μήτε γυναικὸς φύσιν ἔχον*: Mr. Scott plausibly transposes it after *ἀπαλλαγῆναι*, and makes the Sun's curse rest on childlessness. In either case the result is similar; the Sun curses either childlessness or a sterile condition. This is not familiar, as is the invocation of the Sun to avenge violent death[1].

We must probably explain it as due to the belief that the Sun is creator, cf. *C.H.*, XVI, 5 *οὕτω γὰρ οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆν †ἀεὶ† ὁ δημιουργός, λέγω δὴ ὁ ἥλιος, τὴν μὲν οὐσίαν κατάγων, τὴν δὲ ὕλην ἀνάγων*, *ib.*, § 8 *ζωοποιῶν καὶ ἀνακινῶν γένεσιν*, § 10 a *ἡ ζωογονία αὐτοῦ πυκνή τις καὶ ἀδιάλειπτος*, XVIII, 11 *ὁ ἥλιος, τρόφιμος ὢν πάντων τῶν βλαστημάτων* and many passages outside the Hermetica[2]. To see the Sun in a dream may signify *παίδων γονήν*, according to Artemidorus, II, 36, 133. 25 Hercher. NORDEN, *Die Geburt des Kindes*, 66, has quoted texts to illustrate the belief that the Sun's smile created the seven gods who encompass the universe or the holy tribe of gods in general: for the Sun's smile as creative we may add also a reference to an invocation of him in the great Paris magical papyrus (l. 1598 ff.) l. 1608 *ἐπικαλοῦμαι σοῦ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ μέγαλα καὶ κρυπτὰ ὀνόματα οἷς χαίρεις ἀκούων· ἀνέθαλεν ἡ γῆ σοῦ ἐπιλάμψαντος, καὶ ἐκαρποφόρησεν τὰ φυτὰ σοῦ γελάσαντος, ἐζωογόνησε τὰ ζῷα σοῦ ἐπιστρέψαντος...*[3]. So the Sun, as producer of life, curses those who will not co-operate with him[4]. It may be added that this belief that the childless are punished hereafter is perhaps a development of an older belief found in Greece, that those who die unmarried can have no portion in eternal bliss[5].

III, 3, 148. 2 *μοίρας †ὀχλουμένης† γνῶναι ἀγαθῶν καὶ φαύλων.*

To emend a phrase and leave its context obscure is unsatisfactory. The context here seems corrupt and Mr. Scott's treatment far from convincing. It may, however, be suggested

[1] *Cf.* F. CUMONT, *Studia Pontica*, III, 17, ad n. 19, and his penetrating and exhaustive study, *Atti della Pontificia Accademia di Arch., Serie* III, *Memorie* I, i (1923), 65 ff. In the latter he shows how the Sun comes to be regarded as the punisher of all crimes and as the guardian of the sanctity of oaths.

It must be noted that in *C.H.*, III, 3, *παλιγγενεσία* lies in procreation, as did *ἀνάστασις* in the view of certain Christian heretics (WINDISCH, *ibid.*, 205).

[2] *Cf.* O. JESSEN, *P. W.* VIII, 61 f., also *C.C.A.G.*, VI, 83. 16.

[3] The style of this invocation is clearly Egyptian: *cf.* the hymn of which ERMAN has published a translation in *Sitz. Ber. Akad. Berlin*, 1923, 62 ff., esp. 70, N. 80. For significant laughter *cf.* O. WEINREICH, *Phil. Woch.*, 1924, 900 f. (the child Zeus), Diod. Sic., V, 4 (Demeter after her mourning), Plut., *Rom.*, 21 (the Luperci after being smeared with a bloody knife and wiped with wool dipped in milk).

[4] For the praise of procreation in the Hermetica cf. *Asel.* 21, *Kore Kosmou* 28, 472, Scott (Aphrodite says *ἐγὼ δὲ πόθον αὐτοῖς, ὦ δέσποτα, καὶ ἡδονὴν ἐπιζεύξω καὶ γέλωτα, ὡς μὴ χαλεπωτάτην αἱ συγγενεῖς ψυχαὶ τὴν καταδίκην ὑπομένουσαι ἐπὶ πλέον κολάζωνται*: here the *καταδίκη* is probably that which attends childlessness: for *καταδίκη* as "doom" cf. *C.H.*, X, 8).

[5] *Cf.* FRAZER, *Pausanias*, V, 388 ff., and perhaps Lucian, *Dial.*, VI, 3 (quoted by LAWSON, *Modern Greek Folklore*, 593): for the throwing away of the corpse of a barren woman in E. Africa cf. *G.B.*[3], I, 142: the childless are coupled with the *ἄωροι* in *P. Par.*, 2733 (*cf.* DILTHEY, *Rh. Mus.*, XXVII, 386 ff.).

that *ἀχλυομένας* or *ἀχλυουμένας* should here be read for *ὀχλουμένης*, "to learn the destinies, veiled in obscurity as they are, of good and of bad."

IV, 1, 150. 3 *ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ὢν μόνῳ ἑαυτῷ τοῦτο ἀναθεῖναι.* So Stobaeus: the MSS. of the Corpus have *ἀγαθὸς ὤν, μόνῳ γὰρ τούτῳ ἀνατέθεικεν.* It may be worth while to propose *ἀγαθῷ γὰρ ὄντι μόνῳ αὐτῷ ἀγαθὰ ἀναθετέον*: *ἀναθετέον* would perhaps be glossed as *ἀναθεῖναι χρή.*

VI, 4, 168. 30 ff. *ταῦτα γὰρ μέρη τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστιν, ὁλόκληρα, ἴδια αὐτοῦ μόνου, οἰκεῖα, ἀχώριστα, ἐρασμιώτατα, ὧν ἢ αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς ἐρᾷ ἢ αὐτὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐρᾷ.*

Mr. Scott, in addition to transposing *ὁλόκληρα* and putting it after *ἀχώριστα* (why?), brackets *ἢ* before *αὐτός* and condemns also *ἢ αὐτὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐρᾷ.* Should we not read rather *ὧν μᾶλλον αὐτὸς κ.τ.λ.* without further alteration? *ἤ* may have been written above *μᾶλλον* to show that a term of comparison followed: once suprascribed it might be supposed to be an alternative reading or a correction[1].

IX, 2, 178. 24 ff. We may perhaps restore thus: *οὔτε γὰρ χωρὶς αἰσθήσεως δυνατὸν νοῆσαι, οὔτε αἰσθέσθαι χωρὶς νοήσεως. <οἱ μέν φασιν> χωρὶς αἰσθήσεως νοεῖσθαι, καθάπερ οἱ διὰ τῶν ὀνείρων φανταζόμενοι ὁράματα. ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ γεγονέναι ἀμφοτέρας τὰς ἐνεργείας ἐν τῇ τῶν ὀνείρων ὄψει· ἐγρηγοροῦσι γὰρ <νόησις συνέζευκται> αἰσθήσει.*

XII, 7, 226. 7 *καὶ ποιότητα μεταβολῆς ἀδύνατόν ἐστι διεκφυγεῖν, ὥσπερ καὶ γενέσεως· κακίαν δὲ τῷ νοῦν ἔχοντι διεκφυγεῖν ἔστι.*

μεταβολή is here a euphemism for "death" (*cf.* § 18). We should probably substitute *κοινότητα* for *ποιότητα*, "the common lot of death."

XVIII, 10, 280. 2 *βασιλέας οἷς πάλαι μάλιστα τὸ κῦρος παρὰ τοῦ κρείττονος [θεοῦ] κεκορύφωται.* Is this a reminiscence of Pind., *Ol.*, I, 13 *τὸ δ' ἔσχατον κορυφοῦται βασιλεῦσι*?

§ 4. *Notes on the* Asclepius. (T. refers to pages in the Teubner edition by P. Thomas.)

I, 286. 7 (37. 4 T.) *quem si intellegens uideris* is sound: *quem* means *quem sermonem*, and *intellegens uideris* is the equivalent of *κατανοῶν φαίνει, φανερὸς εἶ* or something of the sort. We do not need Mr. Scott's *<deum> uideris.*

IV, 292. 17 (39. 20 T.). We should perhaps read *ideoque species mortales sunt ⟨genera non sunt⟩* rejecting all Mr. Scott's proposals (or all but *occidant* for *occidat*, which is attractive). But this addition is not strictly necessary, any more than *quaeque ⟨eas⟩ sit diuina ratio sortita*, which might be proposed in XIII, 310. 15 (49. 7 T.).

XXI, 334. 1 ff. (57. 3 T.) *hoc ergo omni uero uerius manifestiusque mente percipito quod ex domino illo totius naturae deo hoc sit cunctis in aeternum procreandi inuentum tributumque mysterium, cui summa caritas, laetitia, hilaritas, cupiditas, amorque diuinus innatus est. Et dicendum foret quanta sit eius mysterii uis atque necessitas, nisi ex sui contemplatione unicuique ex intimo sensu nota esse potuisset.*

Mr. Scott, in his translation, speaks of "this sacrament of eternal reproduction" and of "the compelling force with which this sacrament binds man and woman together." Does not this involve giving *mysterium* more meaning than the author intended? It is natural to interpret it as signifying a secret act, with a nuance of solemnity. *mysterium* is freely used in a somewhat vague manner, as *Ascl.*, 32, *C.H.*, XVI, 2, of sacred teaching, *Kore*

[1] We cannot simply delete the first *ἤ* and make the second mean *μᾶλλον ἤ*: *ἤ* is so used only when the idea of preference is implicit in the verb (KÜHNER-GERTH, II, 304, A. C. PEARSON, *C.Q.*, XIII, 122 f. [where he disposes of the supposed exception in Soph., *Ai.*, 966, reading *ἥ*, which is supported by the tradition behind Eustathius]).

Kosmou, § 2, 456. 19 Scott, § 3, 458. 6, § 13, 462. 31, etc., of supernatural powers and forces: so elsewhere Cic., *Tusc. Disp.*, IV, 25, 55 *ne rhetorum aperiamus mysteria*, Auson. *Epp.*, XIV, 67. 247 Peiper *accipe congestus, mysteria friuola, nugas.* We may therefore treat its use here (*cf.* Musaeus, 142, *μυστιπόλευε γαμήλια λέκτρα θεαίνης*, Meleager, *A.P.*, V. 194. 7 *Κύπρι σοὶ Μελέαγρος ὁ μύστης | σῶν κώμων*, Cic., *Ad Att.*, I, 18. 3 *C. Memmius suis sacris initiauit*) as essentially metaphorical and not implying a view of marriage as a sacramental act[1].

§ 5. *Notes on the Hermetica in Stobaeus.*

Excerpt III (*ap.* Stob., I, 41. 6 b), 398. 9 ff. *αἱ δὲ καθαρώτεραι ἐνέργειαι* (*sc. ἐνεργοῦσι*) *κατὰ μεταβολὴν τῆς ἡλικίας, τῷ λογικῷ μέρει τῆς ψυχῆς συνεργοῦσαι.*

The passage is not clear, but must refer to the purer *ἐνέργειαι* which enter the mind of one reaching the age of adolescence. Is this a form of the Stoic doctrine that the *ἔννοια* of good and evil is not attained till the second seven years of life? Aelius, *Plac.*, V, 23. 1, states this view thus: *περὶ δὲ τὴν δευτέραν ἑβδομάδα, ἔννοια γίνεται καλοῦ τε καὶ κακοῦ* (having said earlier, IV, 11. 4, *ὁ δε λόγος ἐκ τῶν προλήψεων συμπληροῦσθαι λέγεται κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἑβδομάδα*). Iamblichus, *ap.* Stob., I, 48. 8, 317. 21 ff. Wachsmuth, gives the Stoic view in these words: *πάλιν τοίνυν περὶ τοῦ νοῦ καὶ πασῶν τῶν κρειττόνων δυνάμεων τῆς ψυχῆς οἱ μὲν Στωικοὶ λέγουσι μὴ εὐθὺς ἐμφύεσθαι τὸν λόγον, ὕστερον δὲ συναθροίζεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσθήσεων καὶ φαντασιῶν περὶ δεκατέσσαρα ἔτη*[2].

p. 400, 14 *τὸ δὲ πάθος καὶ <ἡ> αἴσθησις ἀπὸ μιᾶς κορυφῆς ἤρτηνται, εἰς δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ συνάγονται.*

Is *ἀπὸ μιᾶς κορυφῆς* a reminiscence of Plat., *Phaedo*, 60 B *ὥσπερ ἐκ μιᾶς κορυφῆς ἡμμένω δύ' ὄντε..... ὁ θεὸς... συνῆψεν εἰς ταὐτὸν αὐτοῖς τὰς κορυφάς* (of pleasure and pain), a passage possibly before the mind of Themistius when he said, *Orat.*, I, 5 c, *ἀρετὴ βασίλεως..... εἰς ἣν ξυνδοῦνται καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ ὥσπερ εἰς μίαν κορυφὴν ἀνημμέναι?*

Excerpt VI (*ap.* Stob., I, 21. 9), 418, 21 ff. *εἴη δ' ἄν τι, ὦ πάτερ, χωρὶς τούτων* (*sc. τοῦ σχήματος καὶ τοῦ χρώματος καὶ τοῦ σώματος*) *καλόν;*—*Μόνος ὁ θεός, ὦ τέκνον, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ μεῖζόν τι ὂν τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ὄνομα.*

We should here perhaps read *τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὀνόματος*, "too great for the name God," comparing *C.H.*, V, 1 *τοῦ κρείττονος θεοῦ ὀνόματος* (which might however be construed as

[1] For the popular view of marriage as a *τελετή cf.* J. C. LAWSON, *Modern Greek Folklore*, 590 ff.: but it is such rather as a *rite de passage* for each of the partners, a change of state for either or both if virgin [*cf.* Plut., *Q.R.*, 105 (with H. J. ROSE's note, 211), days available for the remarriage of widows, not so available for the marriage of maidens, DITT., *Syll.*[3], 1006. 5 *ταῖς δὲ τελευμέναις καὶ ταῖς ἐπινυμφευμέναις* (virgins marrying, for whom the act is a *τέλος*, and women remarrying are contrasted), Chariton, IV, 4 *νὺξ μυστική, ἐν ᾗ πρῶτον σὺ μὲν ἀνδρὸς, ἐγὼ δὲ γυναικὸς πεῖραν ἐλάβομεν* (*cf.* Auson., *Cent.*, 215. 17 Peiper, *mysterium nuptiale*), Pollux, III, 41, for divergent use in case of *δευτερογαμοῦντες*] than in virtue of their union for the procreation of children, which is the point emphasised in this passage of the *Asclepius*. The language of amatory devotion did of course border on the religious, *cf.* Catull., 68. 70 *mea...diua*, Lucr., IV, 1182 *tribuisse quod illi | plus uideat quam mortali concedere par est*, 1168 *Ceres est ipsa ab Iaccho* (that is, *νέα Δημήτηρ*: *cf.* the popular adoration of Psyche as *νέα Ἀφροδίτη*, Apul., *Met.*, IV, 28 f.).

WINDISCH, *ibid.*, 223, compares *Ephes.*, V, 32 *τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο μέγα ἐστίν· ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω εἰς Χριστὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*. Here, however, it seems reasonable to interpret *μυστήριον* as referring not to human marriage, but to its mystic analogy in the union of Christ and His Church; this analogy runs through the paragraph.

[2] This stage in development is no doubt indicated by Virgil's words, *Ecl.*, IV, 26 ff.: *At simul heroum laudes et facta parentum iam legere et quae sit poteris cognoscere uirtus.*

"the god who is too great for a name"), and Lactant. Placid. *ad* Stat., *Theb.*, IV, 516, 228. 5, Jahnke *deum δημιουργόν, cuius scire nomen non licet*[1].

Excerpt XXV (Stob., I, 49. 68), 508. 17 ff. *μύστης δὲ ὥσπερ τῆς ἀθανάτου φύσεως καὐτὴ τυγχάνουσα, καὶ ὠδευκυῖα διὰ τοῦ πεδίου τῆς ἀληθείας.*

These words, spoken by Isis, are transposed by Mr. Scott to a position after the first words of the goddess (*πρόσεχε παῖ· ἀναγκαιοτάτη γὰρ ζήτησις αὕτη*), p. 506, 23 f., and there they are appropriate; where they stand they are not impossible. Mr. Scott further deletes *μύστης* and *ὥσπερ* and substitutes *μετέχουσα* for *τυγχάνουσα*. Is it not easier to read *ὥσπερ δὲ μύστις.....? τυγχάνω* without the participle *ὤν* is well authenticated, as a glance at KÜHNER-GERTH, II, 67, § 483, will show.

p. 508, 30 *ἐξ ὧν ἔτι ἐν τῷ σώματι οὖσα καὶ τῷ πλάσματι πάσχει παρὰ τὴν ἰδίαν φύσιν πεπαχυμμένη.*

Mr. Scott marks *πεπαχυμμένη* as corrupt, suggesting *βεβαρυμένη* or *πεπεδημένη* as possible alternatives. But there is no difficulty in *πεπαχυμμένη*, meaning "coarsened": we may compare *Exc.* XXVI, § 17 (*ap.* Stob., I, 49. 69), 524, 14 *πεπαχυμμένων τῶν αἰσθητικῶν μερῶν*, and Sallustius, *Περὶ θεῶν καὶ κόσμου* IV *σίτου καὶ τῆς ἄλλης παχείας καὶ ῥυπαρᾶς τροφῆς ἀπεχόμεθα· ἑκάτερα γὰρ ἐναντία ψυχῇ.*

p. 512, 19 ff. *ἔχει μέντοι παρὰ τῆς φύσεως ταύτην τὴν ἐξουσίαν ὁ ἀὴρ οὗτος, ὥστε καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις ὀκτὼ χωραῖς καὶ ἐν ταῖς τῆς γῆς τέτταρσι περιπολεῖν μεθ' ὧν ἔχει ζῴων τῆς γῆς εἰς τὰς αὐτοῦ ἐπαναβῆναι μὴ δυναμένης.*

αὐτοῦ as here printed is Heeren's emendation of *ἑαυτοῦ*. Would it not be better to read *ἢ αὐτοῦ*, that is *ὀκτὼ αὐτοῦ*, thus restoring balance to the sentence?

[1] This remark is clearly due to the philosophic source of these scholia, discussed by P. WESSNER, *P. W.*, XII, 359 f.

On the other hand, in *Kore Kosmou*, § 5, 486. 30 *καὶ σεβαστὸν ἐν θεοῖς καὶ κρυπτὸν ὄνομα μέχρι νῦν ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις* (where I accept Wachsmuth and Scott's transposition of *σεβαστὸν* and *κρυπτόν*, but retain otherwise the MS. text) we have identification of the deity and his name: cf. *P. Leid.*, W., VII, 11 *γενέσθαι ἐν ὀνόμασι πάντων κτισμάτων*, meaning *γενέσθαι πάντα κτίσματα* (and a note thereon, published in *J.T.S.*, XXVI, 176 f.).

THE ROMAN ROADS AND STATIONS IN THE EASTERN DESERT OF EGYPT

By G. W. MURRAY

With Plates XI to XVI.

1. Introduction.

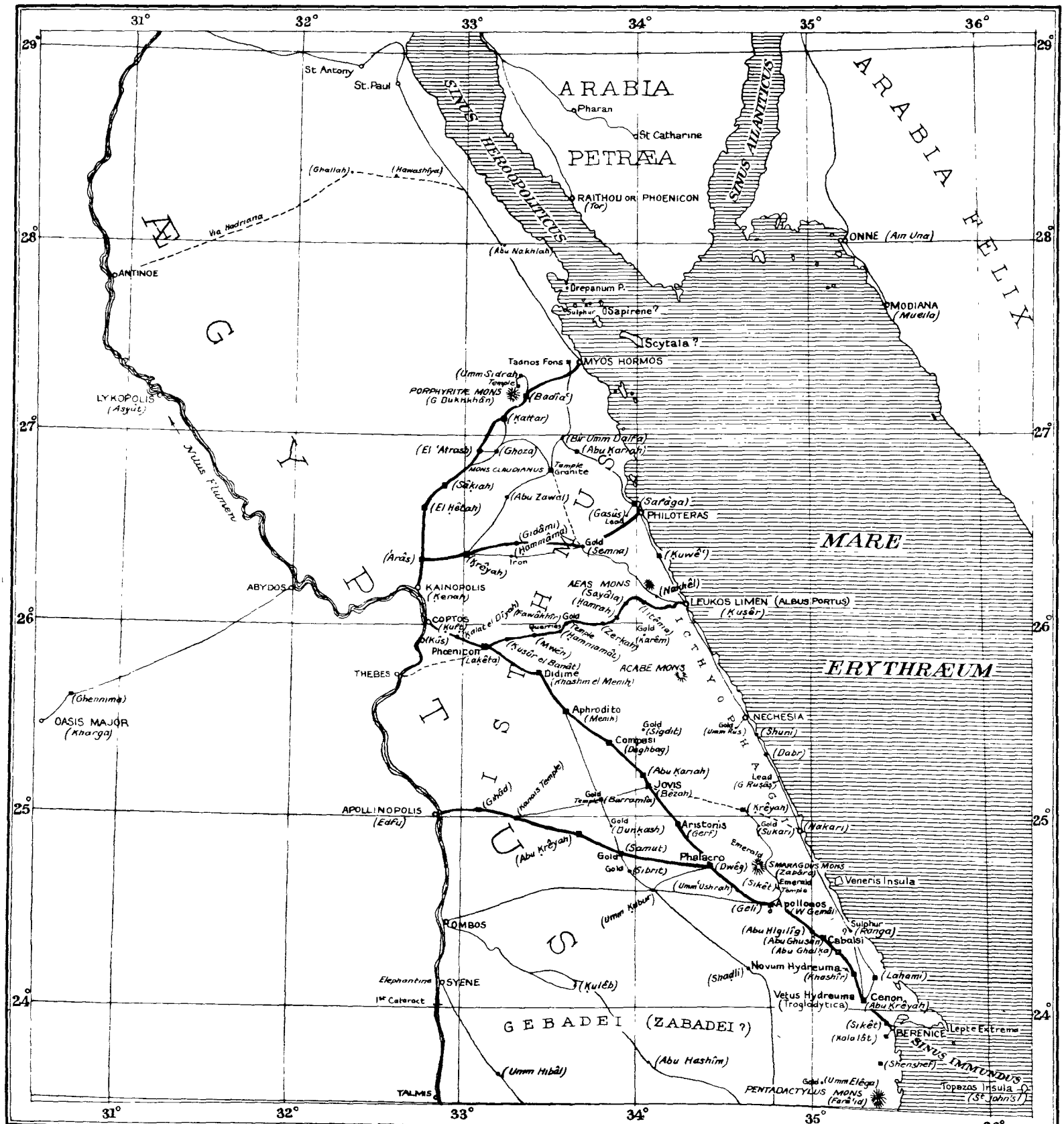
It may perhaps be thought superfluous to touch upon a subject already examined by so many travellers[1] and especially after the report by M. Couyat[2]. Indeed the latter's complete and convincing identification of the stations mentioned in the Antonine Itinerary left me for some years under the impression that practically the last word had been said on the matter. As, however, material accumulated in the Desert Survey Office of Egypt, we were able to check from actual measurements those distances which M. Couyat had only been able to estimate from the pace of his camels. We found them sufficiently correct, but I came to believe that M. Couyat's memoir could be somewhat extended. During the fifteen years which have elapsed since that publication, I have visited all but six or seven of the fifty or more known stations and have discovered additional stations at *'Arâs, Ḳuwê', Dabr, Lahami, Abu Ghalḳa* and southern *Sikêt*. Again, the mapping of the coast, on which I have been engaged for the last few years, has led me to conclusions regarding the harbours rather different from those expressed by M. Couyat in 1910. In view of the approaching termination of my work in Egypt, I venture to publish here a map of what has already been discovered and to summarize briefly my own views on this rather thorny subject.

The immensely important trade-route from East to West, which, coming from India and China, passed through Egypt to Europe, was greatly hampered down to quite recent times by the difficulty to sailing vessels of beating up the long and relatively narrow Red Sea against the prevailing north wind. In those periods when the canals from the sea to the Bitter Lakes and thence to the Nile were not available, a desert journey was in any case necessary before the goods reached the Mediterranean. It was therefore usual to land the westward-bound cargoes at some point on the African coast of the Red Sea to escape the long and dangerous passage through the Gulf of Suez. Consequently Suez (Clysma) and the other ports at the head of the Gulf were in ancient times places of minor importance.

The principal point of disembarkation varied with the ages. The ancient Egyptians preferred Duau (Ḳuṣêr); the Ptolemies and the Romans, Berenice, or for a short time, Myos Hormos; and the Arabs, Aiḍâb, so convenient for the pilgrim traffic. Later Duau,

[1] D'Anville, *Mémoires sur l'Égypte*, Paris, 1766, 230–235. Wilkinson, *Topography of Thebes and General View of Egypt*, London, 1835, 415–422. Muller's edition of *Ptolemy*, Paris, 1881. Schweinfurth, *Auf unbetretenen Wegen in Aegypten*, Berlin, 1922. Floyer, *Étude sur le Nord Etbai*, Cairo, 1895. Golenischeff, *Une excursion à Bérénice* in *Rec. Trav.*, xiii, 1891, 75–96.

[2] Couyat, *Ports gréco-romains de la mer rouge, et grandes routes du désert arabique* in *Comptes Rendus* Paris, 1910. (M. Couyat is better known nowadays as M. Couyat-Barthoux.)



W E BROWNE, DEL.

Scale 1:3,000,000

Km 0 20 40 60 80 100 Km.

MP 0 20 40 60 80 100 MP

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The Roman Roads of the Eastern Desert.

under the name of Ḳuṣêr, recovered its supremacy, but not until the discovery of the Cape route by Vasco da Gama had robbed the Red Sea of nearly all the through traffic. Later still, the advent of the steamship relieved mariners of their bugbear, the north wind, and brought to Suez a prosperity which Ḳuṣêr also enjoyed for a brief period. But the cutting of the Suez Canal, while it restored the Red Sea route to more than its early importance, dealt a death-blow to the desert traffic. Never since the dawn of history has the Eastern Desert of Egypt been so little traversed as it is to-day.

The desert routes selected by the ancients had one thing in common—from whatever port they started, they all reached the Nile Valley near the horseshoe bend of the river, within forty miles north of Thebes (Pl. XI). The roads from Myos Hormos and Philoteras came in at Kainopolis (Ḳenah); those from Albus Portus (Ḳuṣêr) and Berenice, at Coptos (Ḳuft); and the later mediaeval road from Aiḍâb, at Ḳûs (Apollinopolis Parva), only five miles south of Ḳuft. The Roman roads were all provided with fortified watering stations (hydreumata), and the Coptos-Albus Portus road was further marked out by a system of intervisible beacons or signal-towers. In addition to the through traffic with the Orient, swelled in Islamic times by the pilgrimage to Mecca, the desert had a very large traffic of its own to the gold and the emerald mines and to the quarries of porphyry, granite, and *breccia verde antica*. At the present time, the gold is worked out; the emeralds are worthless in our modern eyes; and nobody wants the beautiful porphyry of Gebel Dukhkhân.

2. The Authorities.

The earliest writers who deal with the Eastern Desert of Egypt, that which Strabo called "the Isthmus[1]," were Agatharchides of Cnidus (*c.* 170–100 B.C.), the tutor of Ptolemy X, and Artemidorus (*c.* 100 B.C.). They present a quantity of hearsay information from which it is difficult to disentangle anything definite of topographical interest. With Pliny, Strabo, and Ptolemy, we are on different ground, though the foundations on which to build are sometimes rather insecure. We can now take it that we know the actual latitudes and longitudes of all the sites discovered to within 1′ of arc; and we find that Ptolemy[2] was unable to estimate longitude with any precision and only quotes latitudes to the nearest 10′ or 15′. Fortunately in the district here reviewed, he was able to attain this degree of accuracy, as is shown by the following comparison of his values for the extreme and central parts of the area with those of the modern maps:—

	Ptolemy	Our maps	Difference
Syene	23° 50′	24° 05′	−15′
Berenice	23° 50′	23° 54′	− 4′
Coptos	26° 00′	26° 00′	± 0′
Albus Portus	26° 00′	26° 06′	− 6′
Antinoe	28° 10′	27° 48′	+22′
Pharan	28° 40′	28° 42′	− 2′
Modiana	27° 45′	27° 40′	+ 5′

We may reasonably assume from this that the intermediate points lying on the routes between these towns were also fairly correct, and that points lying in their immediate

[1] Strabo defined the "Isthmus" as limited by the four towns of Apollinopolis Magna, Berenice, Coptos, and Myos Hormos.

[2] Throughout this article I accept the latitudes given in Muller's edition of Ptolemy, sometimes called the "édition Didot," published in Paris, 1881.

vicinity attain a similar order of accuracy. We may therefore identify the following places from the latitudes alone without other corroborative evidence:—

	Ptolemy	Survey of Egypt
Aeas Mons	26° 10′	26° 12′ (Gebel Ḥamrawên)
Acabe Mons	25° 45′	25° 43′ (Gebel Abu Ṭiyûr)
Veneris Insula	25° 00′	24° 41′ (Wâdî Gemâl Island)
Mons Pentedactylus	23° 30′	23° 33′ (Gebel Farâ'id)
Agathon Insula	23° 20′	23° 36′ (St. John's I.)

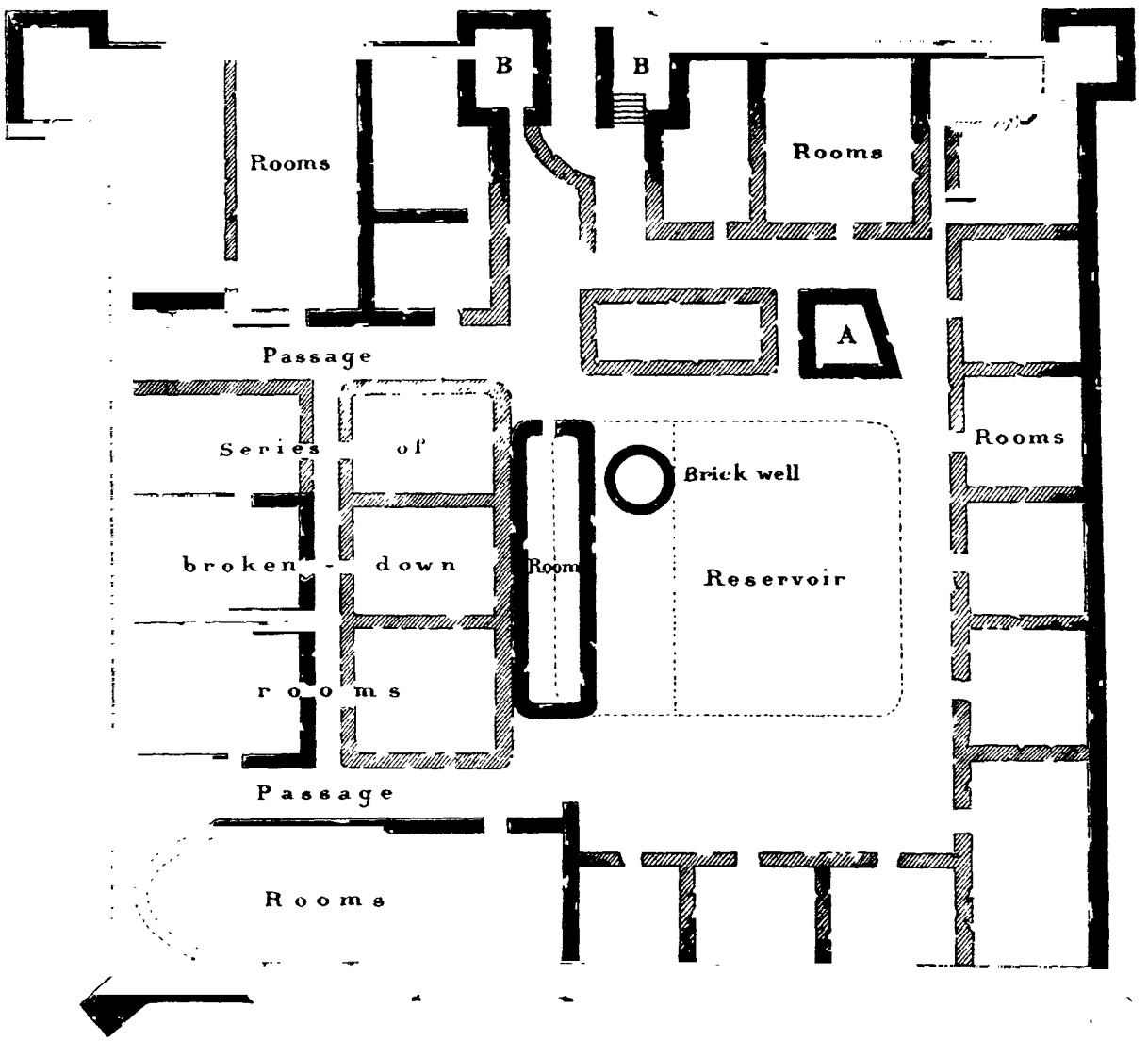
It must not be assumed from the above examples that Ptolemy's accuracy elsewhere was so great. It was not, but in this locality, about which he was certainly well informed, he is an authority by no means lightly to be set aside. As for Mons Porphyritae and Mons Claudianus, they have been identified with certainty from inscriptions found at those places, while the Smaragdus Mons can hardly have been anywhere but at Gebel Zabâra.

As to modern authority, we have now sufficient map material in the Survey of Egypt offices. Maps of the whole Eastern Desert have been published on a scale of 1 : 500,000, while a series of the Red Sea coast on the 1 : 100,000 scale is in course of publication.

3. The Roads and Stations.

The roads of the Eastern Desert, like all desert roads, are not, properly speaking, roads at all but only tracks. Except on the Via Hadriana, which was a cleared track between Antinoe and Berenice, little work was ever done on any of them. Each is represented nowadays by a number of camel-tracks running roughly parallel to each other; and the number of tracks indicates the modern importance of the road. In sandy districts, which are rare, the track is often lost, while elsewhere the multiplicity of tracks makes it doubtful which is the ancient one. In fact, the Via Hadriana is often obscured by them. In the plain of Nag' eṭ-Ṭêr, the surface is so good that where the old Myos Hormos road diverges from the present camel-track to take advantage of the short-cut over the Bâb el-Mukhênig pass, one sees a series of exactly parallel ruts (2·7 metres gauge) of the carts or sledges which brought the porphyry from Gebel Dukhkhân. The gravel surfaces, untouched by man, are usually so good that the roads can be traversed by the modern motor-car which finds its chief obstacle in the occasional patches of sand, not in any steep or rugged passes. Myos Hormos, Philoteras (by the southern route), and Albus Portus have all been reached by motor from the Nile, and the coastal section of the Via Hadriana has been traversed from Bîr Abu Nakhlah to Ranga.

The stations along the roads, although varying considerably in details, conform to a general type—a rectangular caravanserai with substantial rubble walls and flanking towers at the angles and at either side of the gateway, which was often of dressed stone. (See the plan of Dêr el-'Aṭrash, Pl. XII, and Pl. XIII, fig. 3.) Small rooms for the garrison and the travellers crowded the interior, but in the centre there was usually a well and an open space for animals. The stations on the roads to the porphyry and granite quarries were provided, however, with separate enclosures for the animals. Most of the stations had brick reservoirs lined with cement for storing water. In certain localities, notably El-Ḥêṭah and the Vetus Hydreuma, the neighbouring hill-tops were fortified (Pl. XIV, fig. 3). Unburnt brick was used for the buildings at El-Ḥêṭah; burnt bricks for the reservoirs there and at Dukhkhân. So the burnt bricks which I found at 'Arâs and Daghbag were probably remains of tanks.

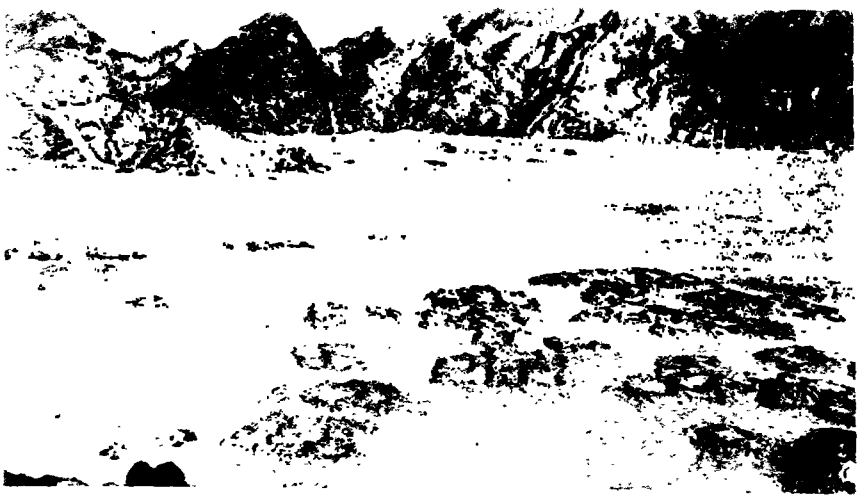


Plan of Roman Fort at Dêr el-'Aṭrash.

(After BARREN & HUME, *Topography and Geology of the Eastern Desert.*)



1

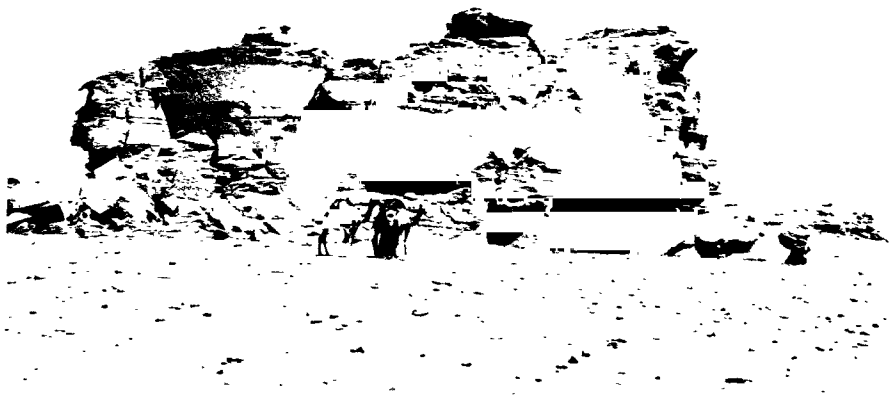


2



3

1. Mons Claudianus · general view.
2. Fawâkhîr : the mining settlement.
3. Badîa' : typical hydreuma.



1



2



3

1. Inscribed rock at Ḳuṣûr el-Banât.
2. Fons Tadnos (Bîr Abu Sha'ar).
3. El-Ḥêṭah : fort on hill-top.

The Arabs call the stations, the ancient hydreumata, indifferently, *dêr* (monastery) or *ḳariyah* (village) with the diminutive *ḳuréyah*. For those on the Ḳuft-Ḳuṣêr road they reserve the name *wekâla* (caravanserai).

4. The Harbours.

The latitudes given by Ptolemy for the five ancient ports on the Egyptian coast of the Red Sea correspond fairly closely with those of the five anchorages still in use by native craft:—

	Ancient Harbour	Ptolemy, Latitude	Modern Anchorage	Survey of Egypt, Latitude
(*a*)	Myos Hormos	27° 30′[1]	= Abu Sha'ar	27° 23′
(*b*)	Philoteras	26° 45′	= Mersa Guwêsis	26° 33′
(*c*)	Albus Portus	26° 00′	= Ḳuṣêr	26° 06′
(*d*)	Nechesia	25° 30′	= Mersa Mubârak	25° 30′
(*e*)	Berenice	23° 50′	= (Berenice)	23° 54′

(*a*) *Myos Hormos.*

The identification of the "Mouse Harbour" with Abu Sha'ar is rendered obvious and certain by the remains of a fortified town very nearly in the latitude given by Ptolemy, at the end of a seven-stage road from Coptos, with a spring at a little distance which can hardly be other than the Fons Tadnos of Pliny (Pl. XIV, fig. 2). Wellsted[2] and Wilkinson were the first to point this out. The ruins have been described by Wellsted and Barron[3]. The latter gives 66 × 80 paces as the inside measurements of the walled town. There are towers at the corners and on each side of the northern gateway. He counted 90 houses and noted a well now dry. Wellsted adds that there was also a gateway to the west where no doubt the road from Coptos entered the town.

Agatharchides described a port with a winding entrance (*cf.* Wellsted, p. 124), having three islands opposite—perhaps the modern Shadwan (the Scytala of Pliny?), Ṭawîla, and Jubal (Sapirene?). Two of these were covered with "olive-trees," and the third contained sea-birds. Agatharchides calls this place Aphrodite or Myos Hormos; and Diodorus and Pliny repeat his description. The islands are now bare, but may formerly have been covered with the false mangrove (*Avicennia*) which exists in patches on these islands and covers those further south. It bears a fruit not unlike an olive in outward appearance. Agatharchides, indeed, says rather pathetically elsewhere, "they are not like our olives." He also mentions a red hill which dazzled the eyes of all beholders. In 25 B.C., Aelius Gallus embarked his army at Myos Hormos for the expedition to Arabia, in a fleet which he had had constructed at Cleopatris at the head of the Gulf of Suez.

Shadwan Island may also be identified with the Phocarum Insula, or "Island of Seals," which Agatharchides places near the *silvosum promontorium*, perhaps the mangrove-clad

[1] Muller, relying on a statement implied in Artemidorus and repeated in Pliny that Philoteras was north of Myos Hormos, exchanges in his Latin translation the latitudes for Myos Hormos and Philoteras as given in the Greek text of Ptolemy. To confuse the issue still further, there is a misprint in the Latin which gives 27° 50′ instead of the correct 27° 30′. So M. Couyat, misled by this unwarrantable conjecture that the latitudes had been exchanged, quoting direct from Muller's Latin gives Philoteras as 27° 50′ and Myos Hormos as 26° 45′. But I see no reason for altering the Greek text of Ptolemy which I have followed in the above table.

[2] *Travels in Arabia*, London, 1838, II, 123–125.

[3] Barron and Hume, *Topography and Geology of the Eastern Desert* (Central Portion), Cairo, 1902, 74–75.

tip of Râs Moḥammed. The *phocae* were no doubt the dugongs, rare nowadays, whose bones may still be picked up on the islands.

(*b*) *Philoteras.*

Philoteras was a small harbour formerly called Aennum, but renamed Philoteras by Ptolemy Philadelphus (285–247 B.C.), after his sister. The latitude is given by Ptolemy as 26° 45′ (with a variant reading of 26° 30′), a position which lands us near the present Port Safâgâ. But the depth of that anchorage must have rendered it unsuitable for ancient craft. Nor can the Râs Abu Suma anchorage, a little further north, be Philoteras, for there are no ancient ruins there and no diverging path to it from the Via Hadriana which passes by along the base of the foothills. Philoteras must be sought further south, I think, beyond the native fishing village consisting of only a few huts. Two kilometres south of this village is a well of extremely bitter water and a ruined hydreuma in the Wâdî Safâgâ. M. Couyat, misled by Muller, says: "Il faut y voir le port de Myos Hormos[1]." There are, however, no ruins of any kind except the hydreuma and no anchorage. But ten kilometres south of the mouth of Wâdî Safâgâ is a dhow anchorage at the mouth of the Wâdî Guwêsis in lat. 26° 33′ (*cf.* the variant reading given above for Philoteras). Here, there is a ruined village, rather modern-looking, and a road leading to more ruined houses in the Wâdî Gasûs. I am inclined to place Philoteras here. The site is now waterless.

Pliny, following Artemidorus, mentions various places in the Heroopolite Gulf (the Gulf of Suez), then Philoteras, and adds that the country is desert from there to Myos Hormos. Pliny was therefore under the impression that Philoteras was north of Myos Hormos. But in the face of the latitude given by Ptolemy and in the absence of any ruins north of Myos Hormos, I prefer to believe that Pliny rather than Ptolemy was misinformed. D'Anville went further south still and identified Ḳuṣêr el-Ḳadîm in lat. 26° 09′ with Philoteras, an identification which Weigall accepts[2]. But M. Couyat rendered a real service in pointing out that Ḳuṣêr el-Ḳadîm is a mediaeval and not a classical site. I have examined the site and found there potsherds of Arab ware, fragments of matting, and date-stones of very recent appearance.

(*c*) *Albus Portus.*

Albus Portus was certainly Ḳuṣêr. The present town presents no ancient remains except the ruins of a Ptolemaic temple, inscribed with the Egyptian name of the town, Duau[3].

(*d*) *Nechesia.*

The identification of Nechesia with Mersa Mubârak is more difficult. M. Couyat prefers Mersa Shuni, about four miles south of Mersa Mubârak. There is certainly a small quadrangular ruin at Shuni but the anchorage is very small and there is no water. The claims of Mersa Mubârak are more obvious, a good well and anchorage; and although there are now no ancient remains, it is the natural port for the ancient gold mine of Umm Rûs, only seven kilometres away inland, where Floyer in 1891 counted the ruins of over 300 houses. Possibly the name of Nechesia was used indifferently for both the mining settlement and the port.

[1] M. Couyat, however, writes on the copy of his paper which he kindly sent me in 1912: "Erreur, Abou Chaar est bien Myos Hormos."

[2] *Travels in the Upper Egyptian Deserts*, London, 1909, 61.

[3] WEIGALL, *ibid.*

There is, however, another claimant to the honour of being Nechesia. Don Juan de Castro who voyaged from Goa to Suez in 1541 describes[1] "a very spacious and noted harbour called Shawna where according to the Moors and inhabitants there formerly stood a famous city of the Gentiles." This place is laid down in lat. 24° 53′ and is certainly not Shuni, which de Castro calls Tuna, but must be the ruins at Mersa Nakari in lat. 24° 55′. Wilkinson identified these with Nechesia. To me the site seems too far south, and the ruins rather recent. I found no Roman potsherds, that is, none of the typical ribbed amphora. Couyat denies the existence of Nakari and suggests that Wilkinson confused it with Sukari. But both these places exist about thirteen miles apart.

(*e*) *Berenice.*

Berenice Troglodytica was founded by the same Ptolemy Philadelphus (285–247 B.C.) who renamed Aennum, Philoteras, and cut a canal from the Red Sea to the Bitter Lakes. The site, called by the 'Ababda Medînat el-Harrâs, was discovered in 1818 by Belzoni, who had been reading D'Anville. It has been described by Wellsted, who estimated the number of houses as from 1000 to 1500, by Schweinfurth, and by Golenischeff. The last named gives a plan of the temple. On the site I found, in December 1923, some copper nails, an unusual quantity of broken glass, some coins of Constantius (337 A.D.), and a piece of obsidian. This stone, though well-known to the ancient Egyptians, has not yet been found in the Egyptian mountains and was probably imported from Arabia or Abyssinia.

The Lepte Extrema of the ancients is the peninsula of Ras Banas. The sandspit over which they hauled their boats is still seen projecting from it southwards. Ptolemy's Island of Agathon and the Topazos Insula of Agatharchides are both to be identified with the island of St. John, exploited until lately for peridots. Agatharchides says that it was full of snakes and known for that reason as Serpentaria. The ancient Egyptian legend of an island inhabited by snakes which occurs in one of Golenischeff's papyri may possibly be reflected in this report[2]. But there are no snakes on St. John's Island. The Veneris Insula (Wâdî Gemâl Island) does harbour some quite large ones, and the native sailors still romance about them. Perhaps the Serpentaria was there, if the name was ever attached to a real place.

There was an outer chain of fortified posts defending Berenice—at Kalalât, Sikêt, Abu Ḳrêyah (the Vetus Hydreuma), and Lahami. Owing to lack of water, it must have been very difficult to maintain a large garrison in Berenice itself. Indeed, the site is now dry[3]. Further south there is a well-built village at Shenshef, described by Dr. Ball[4].

5. The Road from Coptos to Berenice and the Emerald Mines.

The stations on the road from Coptos to Berenice are named in the Antonine Itinerary and also in part by Pliny. In the table below, distances are given in Roman miles from Coptos. The names in italics are those of stations discovered on the ground but not mentioned by ancient writers. The modern data consist of the 1 : 500,000 scale map published by the Survey of Egypt and some as yet unpublished material gathered by myself. On these all the stations are shown except Didyme and Aristonis, which I have had to plot from

[1] Quoted in Lord Valentia's *Travels*, London, 1809, II, 333.

[2] Erman, *Literatur der Aegypter*, 56.

[3] The water no doubt came from the larger of the two stations at Kalalât, 8 km. S.W. of Berenice. There is a rectangular hydreuma, 80 m. square, with a central pit, lined with rubble, 30 m. in diameter. It is now nearly filled in.

[4] Ball, *Geography and Geology of S.E. Egypt*, Cairo, 1912, 31 and Pl. IV.

the distances given by M. Couyat, who as I have said was the first to identify all the stations. Golenischeff erred in neglecting Laḳêta and in ignoring the true distances. Consequently he began one wrong in placing Phoenicon at Khashm el-Menih.

Antonine Itinerary	M.P.	Pliny	M.P.	Our map	M.P.	Remarks
Coptos	0	Coptos	0	Ḳuft	0	
.....				*Mefâriḳ*	*14*	Station
Phoenicon	24			Laḳêta	24	Palms, well, heap of ruins
.....		Hydreuma I[1]	32			
Didyme[2]	48			Khashm el-Menih	49	Important station
.....				*"Citerne" marked by Couyat*		
Aphrodite	68			Menih	71	Well
Compasi	90	Hydreuma II	95	Daghbag	92	Ruined fort, well
.....				*Abu Ḳariah*	*109*	Large station, tank
Jovis	115			Bêza	116	Small station, well
Aristonis[3]	138			Gerf	136	
Phalacro	163			Dwêg	157	
.....				*Ḳariyat Umm 'Ushrah*	*171*	
Apollonos[4]	186	Apollinis	184	Wâdî Gemâl	186	Triangular station
.....				*Abu Hegilig*	*206*	Station with two tanks
Cabalsi	213			Abu Ghusun	212	Ruins of large station
.....				*Abu Ghalḳa*	*218*	Small station
.....		Novum Hydreuma	233	Khashir	231	Ruin and dry well
Cenon[5]	240	Vetus Hydreuma	237	Abu Ḳrêyah	242	See note 5
.....				*Sikét*	*255*	Small station
Berenice	258	Berenice	258	Medînat el-Harrâs	259	(Berenice)

6. The Emerald Mines.

From the station of Apollonos on the Coptos-Berenice road, a road branched off to the emerald mines of Sikêt (13 km.), and Zabâra (37 km.). At Sikêt, there are three little rock-cut temples, the chief of which is shown in Pl. XV, fig. 1, and some Greek dedicatory inscriptions[6]. The number of well-built houses here and across the hill in Wâdî Nugrus is remarkable. There are old workings and, higher up the valley, wells. From Sikêt the road leads beside a tower, over a rocky pass, and through some intricate foothills to Zabâra, the Smaragdus Mons. At Zabâra there are more houses and extensive underground workings. The mines have been prospected in modern times, but no gems of commercial

[1] Pliny seems to have made a mistake in the distance to his first hydreuma which was certainly at Laḳêta.

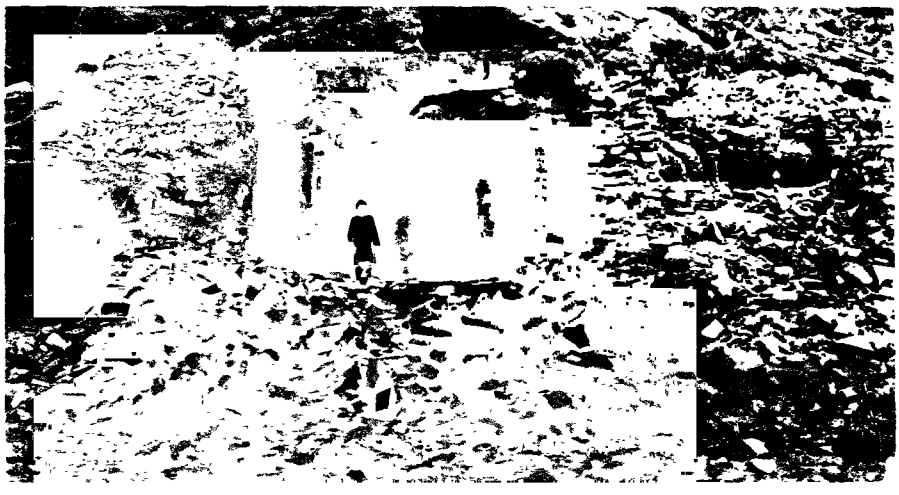
[2] Ibn Gubayr in his journey to Aiḍab, after passing Laḳêta, took the road of Ḳariatên (*i.e.* "of the two ruins"). Was Ḳariatên an echo of Didyme, "the twin fortress"?

[3] M. Couyat gives the name Fessali for the ruins of Aristonis in Wâdî Gerf. My guides say Fêsalî.

[4] At Apollonos, a road diverges to the emerald mines. Belzoni calls this station Kafafeet. It is not far from the junction of Wâdî Gemâl with Wâdî Hafâfît. Not far south is the ruined village of Geli, which Wilkinson calls vicus Apollinis.

[5] Pliny calls the Vetus Hydreuma also Hydreum Troglodyticum, and says that it was garrisoned and could hold 2000 people. There are ruins of two large rectangular buildings, a fort on the hill commanding them, and two more hill-forts overlooking the defile in which the well is situated. I estimated that at least 250 men would be needed to hold them. The number of broken amphorae thrown out from the larger fort is remarkable.

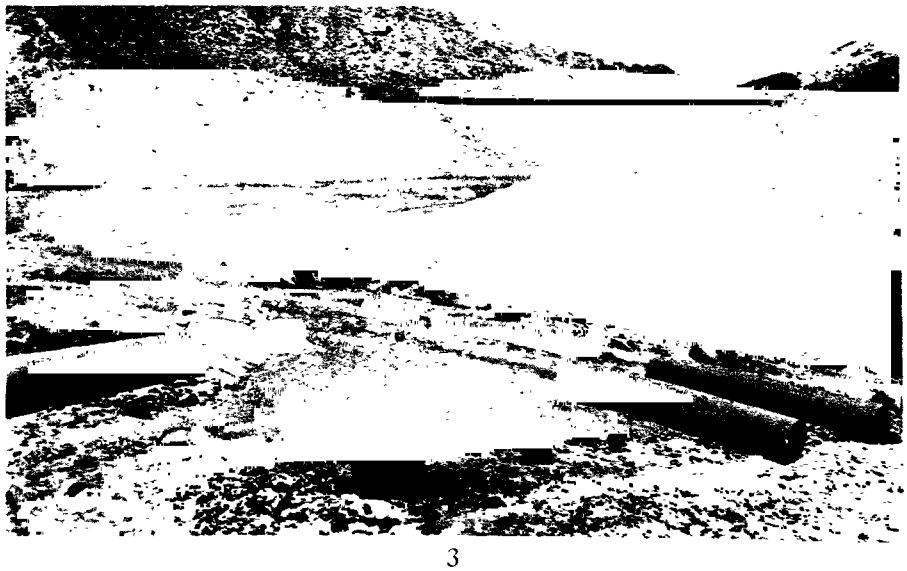
[6] Belzoni's *Narrative*, II, 87–88, gives the ancient name of Sikêt as Σενσκειτ or Σενσκεις.



1



2



3

1. Ptolemaic temple at the emerald mines of Sikêt.
2. Temple of Sethos I at Kanais in the Wâdî Abbâd.
3. Mons Claudianus: columns awaiting removal.



1



2



3



4

1. Mons Claudianus: "water tower."
2. Signal-tower on the Koptos to Albus Portus road.
3. Hydreuma at Kanais.
4. Dukhkhân: remains of Roman causeway

value were found. The mines are mentioned by Strabo and Pliny but not, I think, by any earlier authority. The largest workings of all are nearer to the sea in Wâdî Umm Kâbu: but there are no temples or well-built houses there, only a rectangular ruin commanding the mines and a few circular structures of rubble like those in Pl. XIII, fig. 2. I believe the Umm Kâbu workings to be Arab in date. Makrizi says the mines were abandoned in 1342 A.D. The Zabâra and Sikêt sites were rediscovered by Cailliaud in 1816. Bruce, the Abyssinian traveller, records a visit in 1769 to some workings near the coast (he says three miles from the sea) where he found "brittle green crystals." But the Umm Kâbu workings are 13 not 3 miles from the sea. Bruce lies under the suspicion of repeating some native tale as his own experience.

7. The Road from Apollinopolis Magna to Berenice.

The road from Apollinopolis Magna to Berenice, for its first two stages and part of the third, follows an ancient Egyptian road to the gold mines of Barrâmîyâ (remains of a temple) and Sukari, probably the largest ancient gold working in Egypt. The first station, Gihâd, lies in the Wâdî 'Abbâd, 15 Roman miles from Contra-Apollinopolis, and contains a sandstone block with the cartouche of Tutʿankhamūn[1]. The second hydreuma, at Kanais (Pl. XVI, fig. 3), lies just beside the temple of Seti I (Pl. XV, fig. 2) in the Wâdî 'Abbâd. The present well, 55 m. deep, was bored by the Egyptian Mines Department in 1906 and lined with stones from the ancient hydreuma. The third station at Abu Ḳrêyah contains two cylindrical reservoirs, 4 m. in diameter. The fourth station, Samut, must have been an important centre for the collection of gold-dust from the mines at Sibrit, Dunḳash, etc. There is a well 20 m. deep in the station. At the fifth station, Dwêg (Phalacro), the road joins that from Coptos to Berenice. The distances are as follows:—

	M.P.	Km.
1. Gihâd	15	22
2. Kanais	32	45
3. Abu Ḳrêyah	62	88
4. Samut	80	114
5. Dwêg (Phalacro ...	117	166

8. The Road from Coptos to Albus Portus.

The road from Coptos to the gold mines of Fawâkhîr and the famous quarries of Wâdî Ḥammâmât we may suppose to have been more important in Egyptian times than in those of the Romans, when the Coptos-Berenice road must have robbed it of much of its traffic. It was marked out by large cubical beacons of rubble masonry (Pl. XVI, fig. 2[2]), at intervisible intervals, from which sentries could overlook the whole length of the road. They may also very probably have been used for signalling to the custom-house at Coptos the arrival of ships at Albus Portus. The most ancient map in the world, that of the Turin Papyrus, depicts this road, as was shown by Dr. Alan Gardiner[3]. I give below the Arab names of the stations, and the distances from Coptos taken from a survey of the road made by myself in 1921 and as yet unpublished by the Survey of Egypt.

[1] Weigall, *op. cit.*, 152, with photograph of the station on p. 142.

[2] The tower shown in Pl. XVI, fig. 2, measured 3·5 m. square at the base, 2·6 m. square at the top, and was 3·5 m. high.

[3] *Cairo Scientific Journal*, Feb. 1914, 41–46.

		M.P.	Km.
1.	Wekâlat el-Mefâriḳ (the *Ḳalat ed-Dîyah* of Ibn Gubayr)	14	20
2.	Laḳêta (*Phoenicon*: Coptic ruin, well, palms: no station)	24	34
3.	Ḳuṣûr el-Banât (station). Pl. XIV, fig. 1	34	48
4.	Umm Mwêh (station with cistern)	44	63
5.	Ḥammâmât (station: well, 32 m. deep with spiral stairway)	55	78
6.	Fawâkhîr (ruins of temple of Ptolemy III; no station; gold mine)	61	86
7.	Wekâlat el-Zerḳah (or Abu Fanani or Abu Zirân; large station)[1]	77	109
8.	Wekâlat el-Ḥamrah (station)	86	121
9.	Sayâla (or Ḥâg Sulêmân: station, well with direct stairway)	93	132
10.	Wekâlat el-Litêmâ (or Wekâlat ed-Duwi: station)	102	145
11.	Ḳuṣêr[2]	122	173

9. The Road from Kainopolis to Philoteras (Aennum).

The road from Kainopolis to Philoteras is identical with that to Mons Claudianus (see § 12, below) as far as Ḳrêyah, the second station. Thence it continues up the Wâdî Gidâmi to Dêr Gidâmi, a rectangular ruined station, 31·5 m. × 24 m., according to M. de la Roque[3]. The *graffiti* in the lower part of the Wâdî Gidâmi have been published by Cook[4] and Green[5]. There was an alternative route from Ḳrêyah to Semna by Wâdî Ḥammâmah, with a station, Dêr Ḥammâmah, to which iron ore from the Wâdî Abu Gerîdah was brought to be smelted. Near the Semna station (plan by de la Roque, *op. cit.*, 134), there was a gold mine. From Semna the road ran by Wasîf (Greek inscription at the well and cartouche of Darius I) to the head of Wâdî Gasûs. Schweinfurth found a little lower down a Twenty-sixth Dynasty inscription. Near the present phosphate mines of Wasîf the ancients worked amethyst[6]. The road went on down the Wâdî Gasûs to near the sea and so to the ruins at the mouth of the Wâdî Guwêsis, which I take to be Philoteras. Lead was also worked not far from here between Wâdî Gasûs and Wâdî Safâgâ. We may note that the route to Philoteras affords the shortest road between the Nile and the Red Sea. The distances of the stations from Kainopolis are as follows:—

		M.P.	Km.
1.	'Arâs	15	21
2.	Ḳrêyah	31	44
3.	Gidâmi	51	73
4.	Semna	72	105
5.	Philoteras	105	151

The intermediate stations are shown on the 1 : 500,000 map of the Eastern Desert (Survey of Egypt). The distances are taken from that map, and might be slightly exceeded in actual marching.

10. From Coptos and Kainopolis to Mons Porphyritae and Myos Hormos.

The road from Coptos to Mons Porphyritae and Myos Hormos followed the Nile from Coptos to Kainopolis (Ḳenah) and then struck inland up the Wâdî Ḳenah to a brackish well, Bîr 'Arâs, 15 M.P. or 21 km. from Kainopolis, where in 1920 I found some burnt

[1] Photograph in Weigall, *op. cit.*, 66, and plan in Couyat's report, p. 6.

[2] The last stage appears so much longer than the others that it seems possible that there was formerly an intermediate station, perhaps at Bîr el-Bêḍah (154 km. from Coptos) where an important intermediate route from the south joins the road.

[3] *Voyage au Djebel Shaib* in *Bull. Soc. Roy. Géo. du Caire*, xi, 1922.

[4] *P.S.B.A.*, xxvi, 1904. [5] *P.S.B.A.*, xxxi, 1909. [6] *Cairo Scientific Journal*, 1914, 179.

bricks, probably the remains of a reservoir. Strabo says that there were seven stages to Myos Hormos, so that an additional station must be assumed besides the five already found. I place this sixth station at 'Arâs. The roads to Philoteras and Mons Claudianus branch off here. From 'Arâs our road goes on up Wâdî Ḳenah to El-Ḥêṭah, or Ḳenah el-Ḳadîm (M.P. 36, or 51 km.), a watering station with a large reservoir and well (now dry), animal lines, and two very well-preserved buildings on a hill (Pl. XIV, fig. 3, and see photograph in WEIGALL, 96). The station is built of unburnt brick on a rubble foundation. The enclosed animal lines are a feature of the Roman quarry roads as distinguished from the ancient Egyptian roads; that is they exist on this road and on that to Mons Claudianus but not on the road to Wâdî Ḥammâmât. From El-Ḥêṭah[1], the road turns north-east across the plain of Nag' eṭ-Ṭêr to Sâḳiat eṭ-Ṭêr[1] (M.P. 49, or 70 km.), another hydreuma containing a dry well and a large cemented reservoir. At this place, a modern boring of 69 m. failed to reach water. A little further on, where the old road diverges from the modern camel-track, I observed in 1914 and again in 1920 the ruts mentioned above in § 3 of the carts or sledges that had brought the porphyry from Gebel Dukhkhân.

The next station, Dêr el-'Aṭrash, "the ruin of the deaf (adder)" (M.P. 70, or 100 km.), has been described by Hume[2], as follows: "The stones of the walls, though uncut, have the smoothed sides turned outward; the towers are of brick cemented by mortar containing many pebbles, the brick itself being very porous and containing much silica" (see plan, Pl. XII, and also Pl. VIII in BARRON and HUME's *Topography*). Dêr el-'Aṭrash is now dry and so is the next station beyond it, Ḳattar (M.P. 87, or 123 km.), but at Ḳattar water can be had in the hills at a little distance. Thence the road crosses the watershed by an easy pass, 560 m. above sea-level. At Badî' (M.P. 101, or 143 km.), the next hydreuma, there is a well with poor water, a station (Pl. XIII, fig. 3), and a fortified strong point on a rock.

From Badî', a footpath runs over the hills to the quarries; but camels have to make a détour of 25 kilometres by Wâdî Umm Sidrah, and in former days carts (or sledges) must have taken this détour. The road forks at Badî' and the branch to Myos Hormos runs straight to its destination (M.P. 127, or 181 km.) without any more stations. Following the quarry branch, one comes after about ten kilometres to the remains of a ramp for loading carts or sledges at the mouth of Wâdî Umm Sidrah. From this loading ramp to the quarry is another 14 kilometres, and it is obvious that some form of transport other than carts or sledges must have been used for this more difficult section. Half-way (7 km. from the ramp) is a ruined building, Dêr Umm Sidrah, at the junction of the quarry valley (Wâdî el-Ma'amal) with the main *wâdî*, Wâdî Umm Sidrah. In the Wâdî el-Ma'amal the track is completely washed away or buried beneath boulders brought down by the floods. In seven more kilometres from Dêr Umm Sidrah, we reach the town at the quarries (Mons Porphyritae).

11. MONS PORPHYRITAE.

At Mons Porphyritae is a temple (dedicated to Zeus-Serapis-Helios by the Emperor Hadrian), the remains of a well with pillars round it, and a square-walled town on an elevated rock (photo., WEIGALL, 108). In the town is a second well lined with burnt brick;

[1] There are plans of the stations at El-Ḥêṭah and Sâḳiat eṭ-Ṭêr in M. DE LA ROQUE'S *Voyage au Djebe Shaïb*, 115–117.

[2] *Topography and Geology of the Eastern Desert* (Central Portion), 25.

but both wells are now dry. The site has been described by Lepsius[1], Hume[2], Weigall[3], and Villiers-Stuart[4]. Villiers-Stuart says:

> "About 1000 metres south-west of the temple is the foot of the Roman causeway which winds up the flank of Gebel Dukhkhân to a porphyry quarry. The horizontal length of the road is about 1400 metres and in this distance it rises about 600 metres. The causeway is built of dry rubble with frequent buttresses, and the ingenuity necessary to erect such a structure on a steep mountain side, without cement or mortar, renders it the most remarkable of the Roman remains in the Eastern desert. *The work entailed in building this causeway is out of all proportion to the cube of the porphyry obtained from the quarry to which it leads:* and about 2000 metres further south there is a quarry reached by a steeper ascent, to which there is no artificial road." [The italics are mine.]

The photograph in Pl. XVI, fig. 4, was taken on the causeway looking down.

12. The Road from Kainopolis to Mons Claudianus.

The road from Kainopolis to Mons Claudianus branched off from the Myos Hormos road at Ḳrêyah, the second station, and thence reached the quarries in two stages. There is water at all the stations except Mons Claudianus, which is now dry. The Ḳrêyah station(M.P. 31, or 44 km. from Kainopolis) has a well 17 m. deep from which a cement-lined conduit runs to the animal lines (photograph in Weigall, 104). The next station, Abu Zawal, or Fatîrî (M.P. 61, or 86 km.), is well preserved with a well 16·6 m. deep. The quarries at Mons Claudianus are 78 Roman miles (111 km.) from Kainopolis, or Ḳenah. These stations have all been plotted on our 1:500,000 map of the Eastern Desert.

13. Mons Claudianus.

The ruins at Mons Claudianus consist of a temple, a town, baths and animal lines, Pl. XIII, fig. 1. The granite quarried there is a greyish-white, speckled with black hornblende and glittering mica. There are inscriptions referring to Trajan, and quite a number of columns awaiting removal (Pl XV, fig. 3). In fact the Arabs call the site Umm Diḳâl ("Mother-of-pillars"). It was discovered by Burton and Wilkinson in 1822. In the ruins, I picked up a number of pieces of the imperial porphyry from Gebel Dukhkhân, suggesting that when any large block of this stone was to be cut, sample chips were first sent for approval to the director of works at Mons Claudianus. For detailed descriptions, see Schweinfurth, *op. cit.*, 235–265, the popular account by Weigall, *op. cit.*, 115–140, and a note by Hume, *op. cit.*, 39. The hydreuma lies about a mile south of the settlement, and contains a tower (Pl. XVI, fig. 1) which Schweinfurth thought had been a water-tower. There are remains of a conduit leading down the *wâdî* into the hydreuma, but the top of the tower appears to me too low for water to have been syphoned thence to the main settlement.

14. The Road from Mons Claudianus to Albus Portus.

The inland road from Mons Claudianus to Albus Portus was probably used only by the camel-patrols (*ala dromedaria*). Its northern portion I have not followed, and it is

[1] *Letters from Egypt, Ethiopia and Sinai*, London, 1853, 287–288.
[2] Hume, *op. cit.*, 27–28.
[3] Weigall, *op. cit.*, 106–111.
[4] Villiers-Stuart, *Cairo Scientific Journal*, 1910, 64–66.

indicated by a dotted line on the map. The first known station is that at Semna (described in § 9) where our road crosses the Kainopolis-Philoteras road. The second station is at Nakhêl, concerning which my diary contains the following note:—

> "We moved camp here (Bîr Nakhêl) two days ago from Bîr Inglîzî. The well is a pool in the wady bed, about five feet square by seven or eight inches deep. The water wells up from under an overhanging ledge, salty but drinkable. We cleaned perhaps ten hundredweights of filth, mostly donkey-dung, out of it; and it took all night to refill, flowing some four or five gallons an hour. Yet in some past age the flow must have been greater, for just across the wady are the ruins of some seventy huts, of rubble stone, each with a well-built central room with a *maṣṭabah* for the *ḥarîm*, and another *maṣṭabah* in the court-yard for the master of the house, while subsidiary stone circles denoted pens for poultry, goats, etc. Many broken fragments of ribbed amphorae showed that the inhabitants could not have been Bedouin, who hardly use pottery, while the presence of *ḥarîm* and animals forbids one to suppose a mining settlement or a garrison. A small cemetery of about twenty graves, circular stone heaps, across the wady showed that the occupation had been of short duration. Altogether the impression left on my mind is that this has been a temporary refuge for some of the inhabitants of Ḳuṣêr in Roman times, perhaps during time of pestilence or foreign invasion. A small caravanserai, or hydreuma, beside the well reminded one that this was the route from Ḳuṣêr to Mons Claudianus."

15. The Via Hadriana.

An inscription in the Cairo Museum, found by Mariette and studied by Miller[1], relates that Hadrian joined his town of Antinoe to Berenice by a new road bearing his name. According to M. Couyat (*op. cit.*, 16), the Via Hadriana leaving Antinoe takes the route Wâdî Ṭarfah (where it is marked on our field sheets as "ancient road called *sikkat-el-'agal*"), Wâdî Ragalah, Hawashîya, passes the foot of Gebel Abu Had, and so into the coastal plain. From Bîr Abu Nakhlah I have traced it southwards as a well-cleared track, 12–20 m. wide, marked with little cairns on either side at about 20 m. intervals. Further south, it is known to the 'Ababda not as Sikkat-el-'agal ("road of wheels") but as Sikkat-el-'agam ("road of the foreigners"). South of Myos Hormos, it turns inland to Bîr Umm Dalfa, where I saw two Nabataean inscriptions but no other remains. The road leaves the foot-hills again near Gebel Abu Bedûn; and there is a station in the Wâdî Abu Ḳariah. It reaches the coast near the mouth of Wâdî Barûd, and thence southwards it is generally obscured by the present day camel-track. There is a hydreuma and a bitter well at the mouth of Wâdî Safâgâ. Then come the ruins of Philoteras at the mouth of the Wâdî Guwêsis. There is another hydreuma at Ḳuwê', which I was led to discover in 1922 by following up a divergence from the main road. The occasional floods have removed all but one corner of this station. The ruins at Ḳuṣêr (Albus Portus) have already been noted in § 4 (*c*). Beyond Ḳuṣêr, the old road is very noticeable south of Bir el-Essel where it is 26 m. wide. At Mersa Dabr there is another small station. Near Râs Samadai, in lat. 25° 01′, the Via Hadriana crosses places unfit for wheeled traffic; and here the clearing has been done but no cutting or filling. At the brackish well of Ranga the road forks, one branch going straight to the Vetus Hydreuma, and the other to a little station, 20 m. × 18 m., which I found in 1923 at the inland end of the Wâdî Lahami gorge. Thence it runs straight to Berenice.

[1] *Revue Archéologique*, XXI, 1870, 315–318.

One gets the impression that the Via Hadriana, circuitous and, in the northern half, waterless, was little used except for local traffic between ports. It was probably planned however as a great trade-road to divert the traffic from all the ports to Antinoe in order to give that artificial foundation a solid commercial basis. To obtain water on the coast, it is necessary to dig in the beds of the larger *wâdîs* at a little distance from the sea, in situations obviously exposed to the rare but sudden floods of rain-water. The ruined condition of the hydreumata at Safâgâ and Ḳuwê' suggests that there may formerly have existed other stations at the mouths of such *wâdîs* as Essel, Umm Ghêg, Mubârak, Nakari, and Ranga.

For that portion of the road which is dotted on my map, I have followed M. Couyat's description, supplemented in Wâdî Ṭarfah by field-sheets (unpublished) by Mr. G. F. Walpole. The unpublished maps at scale 1:100,000 of the Red Sea Coast (those south of Safâgâ by myself) are my authority for the rest.

In conclusion I should like to express my thanks to Dr. W. F. Hume for permission to reproduce the plan of Dêr el-'Aṭrash (Pl. XII) and to Mr. W. E. Browne of the Survey of Egypt, who has drawn the map (Pl. XI).

LENGTH-MEASURES IN PTOLEMAIC EGYPT

By Sir HERBERT THOMPSON

In 1920 Professor Spiegelberg published his *Koptische Etymologien*, and in illustration of the origin of the word ⲥϧϥⲱ (ⲥϧⲱ) he referred to a demotic form of the word *sḫf·t* which he had discovered in a papyrus at Heidelberg (dem. no. 1289) of which he published a facsimile plate at the end of his memoir. On p. 57 he wrote a note on the plate in which he says, "Es stellt mit seinen Gleichungen von Stadien (
sdʾdiʾn), Schoinien ( *ḥt-nwḥ* = ⲥⲉⲛⲛⲟϩ) und dem dem Kopt. ⲥϧϥⲱ entsprechenden Wort *sḫfe* den Metrologen vor schwierige Probleme, mit denen ich nicht fertig geworden bin. Es handelt sich um Vermessungen, in dem letzten Abschnitt um solche im 'Gau von Edfu.'" There he left it and gave no translation. Though I cannot read every word, the papyrus yields metrological statements of considerable interest.

The document consists of the lower portion of a column of text with fragments of adjacent columns on each side which show that it was probably one of some compass. What remains is thirteen lines with lacunae forming the bottom of the column. How much is lost above, it is not possible to say, but there is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. blank space at the foot.

I give a transliteration of the demotic as follows:—

Pap. dem. Heidelberg 1289.

1. *e ...n ḫ-nwḥ-w a ...-kmy...*
2. *pr-ybt n ḥr n p yr-ʿʾ [stʾt]yʾn* $146\frac{1}{4}$ *a sḫfe·t* 4·*t*
3. *stʾtyʾn* $26\frac{1}{4}$ [*a ...-km*]*y* 2·*t* $\frac{1}{3}$ *ḫ-nwḥ* 25
4. *p myt n t mte·t a wš*(?)
5. *n ʿy-w*
6. *pr-ʾmnt n ḥr n p yr-ʿʾ* [*st*]*ʾtyʾn* [62]$\frac{1}{2}$ *a sḫfe·t* 2·*t*
7. *stʾtyʾn* $2\frac{1}{2}$ *a ...-k*[*my* 1·*t ḫ-nwḥ*] 10 *p myt t mte·t a wš*(?)
8. *pr-ybt n ḥr n p yr-ʿʾ* [*ḫ-nwḥ* 42]$8\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ *a stʾty*[*ʾ*]*n* 107
9. *ḫ-nwḥ* $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ *a sḫfe·t* 3·*t stʾty*[*ʾn*] 17 *ḫ-nwḥ* $\frac{1}{4}$ [$\frac{1}{8}$] *a ...-kmy* 1·$t\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ *ḫ-nwḥ* $8\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{8}$
10. *p myt n t mte·t a wš*(?)
11. *p tš Tb*
12. *pr-ʾmnt n ḥr n p yr-ʿʾ ḫ-nwḥ* 1090 *a stʾtyʾn* $272\frac{1}{2}$ *a sḫfe·t* 9
13. *stʾtyʾn* $2\frac{1}{2}$ *a ...-kmy* $4\frac{1}{2}$ *ḫ-nwḥ* 10 *p myt n t mte·t a wš*(?)

Notes.

l. 8. Of [42]8 the tail of the 400 and the base of the 20 are visible.

l. 9. The scribe has omitted $\frac{1}{8}$ by error.

l. 12. The scribe has forgotten to write the tail of the sign for 200.

For the purpose of the measures, ll. 1 (end of previous statement), 4–5 and 10–11 may be omitted as having no bearing on the values of the measures.

There are four statements contained in ll. 2–3, 6–7, 8–9 and 12–13.

ll. 2–3. "East facing the river [Nile] $146\frac{1}{4}$ stadia = 4 *sḫfe·t* (and) $26\frac{1}{4}$ stadia = $2\frac{1}{3}$...-*kmy* (and) 25 *ḫ-nwḥ*.

ll. 6–7. "West facing the river [62]$\frac{1}{2}$ stadia = 2 *sḫfe·t* (and) $2\frac{1}{2}$ stadia = 1 ...-*kmy* (and) 10 [*ḫ-nwḥ*].

ll. 8–9. "East facing the river [42]$8\frac{3}{8}$ *ḫ-nwḥ* = 107 stadia and $\frac{3}{8}$ *ḫ-nwḥ* = 3 *sḫfe·t* (and) 17 stadia (and) $\frac{3}{8}$ *ḫ-nwḥ* = $1\frac{3}{4}$...-*kmy* (and) $8\frac{3}{8}$ *ḫ-nwḥ*.

ll. 12–13. "West facing the river 1090 *ḫ-nwḥ* = $272\frac{1}{2}$ stadia = 9 *sḫfe·t* (and) $2\frac{1}{2}$ stadia = $4\frac{1}{2}$...-*kmy* (and) 10 *ḫ-nwḥ*."

Taking ll. 12–13 first, as being the simplest case :—

ll. 12–13. There are evidently four *ḫ-nwḥ* in a stadion, since 1090 *ḫ-nwḥ* = $272\frac{1}{2}$ stadia; and there are thirty stadia in a *sḫfe·t* since $272\frac{1}{2}$ stadia = 9 *sḫfe·t* + $2\frac{1}{2}$ stadia; and there are two *sḫfe·t* in a ...-*kmy* since 9 *sḫfe·t* + $2\frac{1}{2}$ stadia = $4\frac{1}{2}$...-*kmy* + 10 *ḫ-nwḥ* (from l. 12 $2\frac{1}{2}$ stadia = 10 *ḫ-nwḥ*).

ll. 8–9. Applying the above values we see that [42]$8\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ *ḫ-nwḥ* may be expressed as 107 stadia + $\frac{3}{8}$ *ḫ-nwḥ*; and the latter (dividing by thirty) as 3 *sḫfe·t* + 17 stadia + $\frac{3}{8}$ *ḫ-nwḥ*; and the latter again (dividing by two) as $1\frac{1}{2}$ + $\frac{1}{4}$ (*i.e.* 15 stadia) ...-*kmy* + 2 stadia (*i.e.* 8 *ḫ-nwḥ*) + $\frac{3}{8}$ *ḫ-nwḥ*.

ll. 6–7 are now obvious and need not be repeated.

ll. 2–3. This too presents now no difficulty except one point in the final equivalence, viz. $26\frac{1}{4}$ stadia = 105 *ḫ-nwḥ*, and since 80 *ḫ-nwḥ* = $\frac{1}{3}$...-*kmy*, we may express the 4 *sḫfe·t* (and) $26\frac{1}{4}$ stadia as $2\frac{1}{3}$...-*kmy* + 25 *ḫ-nwḥ*, as in l. 3.

Subject to the corrections made in the notes to ll. 9 and 12 above, the equivalences all work out quite correctly, and we obtain the following table :—

[100 cubits = 1 *ḫ-nwḥ* (ϣεπτοϩ)]
4 „ = 1 stadion
120 „ = 30 stadia = 1 *sḫfe·t* (ϣϥω)
240 „ = 60 „ = 2 „ = 1 ...-*kmy* (...ⲛ̄ⲕⲏⲙⲉ)

It is unfortunate that the word for the highest measure is written with a single symbol only which gives no clue to the reading; but the numerals attached to it are always in the feminine. We should have expected it to be *ỉr*, which occurs in demotic as the equivalent of the schoenus, but *ỉr* is a masculine word. The second part of the word is certainly "of Egypt," and the whole must mean "Egyptian schoenus."

Herodotus in a well-known passage (II, 6) states that thirty stadia are equal to a parasang and sixty stadia to a schoenus. The accuracy of his statement has been severely criticized by Prof. SETHE in his *Dodekaschoinos* (*Untersuch.*, II, Heft 3, 63 seq.). He refers to Artemidorus (as quoted by Strabo), a traveller of *circa* B.C. 100 and therefore but little later than our document, as stating that the σχοῖνος was a vague term in Egypt and might be used of a measure of 30, 40, 60 or even 120 stadia, and concludes in agreement with SCHWARZ (*Berl. Studien f. klass. Philologie*, XV, Heft 3, 1894) that the schoenus was in later times usually equal to thirty stadia, or less often to forty.

However he does not refer to an important passage of Strabo which deserves to be quoted :—

XVII, 24. *ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Δέλτα κορυφὴν αὕτη ἡ περιήγησις. φησὶ δ' ὁ Ἀρτεμίδωρος σχοίνων ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι τὸν ἀνάπλουν, τοῦτο δ' εἶναι σταδίους*

ὀκτακοσίους τετταράκοντα, λογιζόμενος τριακονταστάδιον τὴν σχοῖνον· ἡμῖν μέντοι πλέουσιν ἄλλοτ' ἄλλῳ μέτρῳ χρώμενοι τῶν σχοίνων ἀπεδίδοσαν τὰ διαστήματα, ὥστε καὶ τετταρακονταστάδιους καὶ ἔτι μείζους κατὰ τόπους ὁμολογεῖσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν. καὶ διότι παρὰ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἄστατόν ἐστι τὸ τῆς σχοίνου μέτρον, αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀρτεμίδωρος ἐν τοῖς ἑξῆς δηλοῖ. ἀπὸ μὲν γὰρ Μέμφεως μέχρι Θηβαΐδος τὴν σχοῖνον ἑκάστην φησὶν εἶναι σταδίων ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Θηβαΐδος μέχρι Συήνης ἑξήκοντα, ἀπὸ δὲ Πηλουσίου πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν ἀναπλέουσι κορυφὴν σχοίνους μὲν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσί φησι σταδίους δὲ ἑπτακοσίους πεντήκοντα, τῷ αὐτῷ μέτρῳ χρησάμενος.

"This is the description from Alexandria to the apex of the Delta. Artemidorus says that the navigation up the river is twenty-eight schoeni, which amount to eight hundred and forty stadia, reckoning the schoenus at thirty stadia. When we ourselves sailed up the river schoeni of different measures were used at different places in giving the distances, so that sometimes the received schoenus was a measure of forty stadia and even more. That the measure of the schoenus was unsettled among the Egyptians, Artemidorus himself shows in a subsequent place. In reckoning the distance from Memphis to Thebais, he says that each schoenus consists of 120 stadia, and from the Thebais to Syene of 60 stadia. In sailing up from Pelusium to the same vertex of the Delta, is a distance, he says, of 25 schoeni or 750 stadia, and he employs the same measure[1]."

[Thus he says that from the Thebais to Syene a schoenus was equivalent to 60 stadia. He proceeds up river past Oxyrhynchus and through the Cynopolite nome.]

XVII, 41. *ἑξῆς δ' ἐστὶν Ἑρμοπολιτικὴ φυλακή, τελώνιόν τι τῶν ἐκ τῆς Θηβαΐδος καταφερομένων· ἐντεῦθεν ἀρχὴ τῶν ἑξηκονταστάδιων σχοίνων ἕως Συήνης καὶ Ἐλεφαντίνης· εἶτα ἡ Θηβαϊκὴ φυλακὴ καὶ διῶρυξ φέρουσα ἐπὶ Τάνιν....*

"Then follows the Hermopolite Castle, a place where is collected the toll on merchandise brought down from the Thebais. At this place begins the reckoning by schoeni of sixty stadia each, which is continued to Syene and Elephantine...."

Artemidorus, then, says distinctly that north of the Thebais the number of stadia in a schoenus was a variable quantity; but from Hermopolis, which was the border town of the Thebais, south to Syene, the unit of measurement was a schoenus of 60 stadia. On his authority we are justified in regarding the ...*-kmy* of 60 stadia as being a schoenus, since our document, as the mention of the nome of Edfu in l. 11 shows, is dealing with a part of the Thebais: and as we know from Xenophon that to him also a parasang meant thirty stadia, we may equate the parasang with the 𓇋𓏏𓅱 and the ...*-kmy* with the schoenus for Upper Egypt in the Ptolemaic period.

[1] *The Geography of Strabo*, transl. by H. C. HAMILTON and W. FALCONER, 3 vols., 1857.

MAGICAL NOTES

By A. D. NOCK

I. *The Sword of Dardanus.*

The sword of Dardanus is a charm described in the great magical papyrus now at Paris (l. 1716) as πρᾶξις ἣς (? ἧς) οὐδέν ἐστιν ἴσον. Dardanus is no doubt that fictitious ancient whose works were said to have been buried with him and disinterred by Democritus[1]. Its user must take a magnet stone containing the breath of life, μάγνητα τὸν πνέοντα (1722, so described in accordance with a common belief)[2]; and engrave thereon a representation of Aphrodite sitting on a soul (perhaps represented as a butterfly) as though on a horse[3], binding up her hair with her left hand, and having above her head the formula αχμαγε|ραρπεψει (1728 f.). Under her is to be engraved Eros, standing on a globe, and burning Psyche (that is the common art type showing Eros in the act of applying a torch to Psyche, represented as maiden or as butterfly)[4]; beneath Eros are to be carved certain names, including Adonai, Jacob, and Iao (in l. 1737 ιαωη is probably for ιαω η, possibly for ιαω ηλ). This side of the gem may be regarded as typifying the application of constraint to the object of desire. On the other side Eros and Psyche are to be represented as embracing: this will typify attainment. Under the feet of Eros is σ eight times repeated, under those of Psyche η eight times repeated.

The stone thus engraved requires a τελετή or consecration to give it its full powers (1743 γλυφέντι δὲ τῷ λίθῳ καὶ τελεσθέντι χρῶ οὕτως). The nature of the τελετή is not

[1] Pliny, *N.H.*, 30. 8; so Dieterich, *Fleck. Jahrb. Suppl.*, xvi, 752 (=*Kleine Schriften*, 6 f.), giving other instances of spells attached to famous names: cf. P. Lond. 125 γραῦς Ἀπολλωνίου Τυανέως ὑπηρέτις, various Ἐξορκισμοὶ Σολομῶνος (Vassiliev, *Anecdota*, 332, P. Iand. 14, I, 6, *Cat. Codd. Astr. Gr.*, vi, 84 ff.), the προσευχὴ τοῦ ἁγίου Μάμαντος πρὸς ἀρρωστίαν (Pradel, *Rel. Gesch. Vers. Vorarb.*, iii, 3. 278 [=26]).

For ξίφος in the phrase ξίφος Δαρδάνου compare the giving of the title μάχαιρα to a stone which, if found during Hecate's mysteries, caused madness (Eudox. *ap.* [Arist.] *Mir. ausc.*, 173 [187] 847 a. 5 ff.), and a Byzantine amulet (Schlumberger, *R. Ét. Gr.*, v, 78; Eitrem, *Ein christliches Amulett*, 18) κύ(ριος) θε(ὸς) μαχαίρας ὀξύτερος.

[2] Cf. 2631 (in P. Parthey ii, 18 ἡλιοπάλιον λίθον πνέ[οντα as Kroll reads, *Philol.*, liv, 565), Diog. Laert., I, 24 (Thales), and J. Röhr, *Philol. Suppl.*, xvii i 94: for the magnet as a gem *cf.* A. Jacob, *Dar.-Saglio* iii, 937, as a charm *Lithica* 317 ff.; its attractive force is likened to that of love by Achilles Tatius, I, 17.

[3] 1724 ἱππιστὶ καθημένην ἐπὶ ψυχῆς: for Aphrodite riding a horse *cf.* Furtwängler, *Roscher*, I, 419, l. 18 ff., Tumpel, *Pauly-Wissova*, I, 2752, l. 25 ff.: for the soul represented as a butterfly *cf.* O. Waser, *Arch. f. Rel.*, xvi, 382 ff. On gems mentioned by Delatte, *B.C.H.*, xxxviii, 258, the Sun rides a lion. We must note a cornelian published by A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, ii, 1047, fig. 902 (Eros rides a human Psyche with butterfly wings in a race course: her butterfly is on one *meta*). That αχμ. is a formula has been pointed out to me by Mr. A. B. Cook, to whom I am indebted for several valuable hints.

[4] *Cf.* Waser, *Roscher*, iii, 3234 ff. This is no peculiar type, like those of Ares binding Aphrodite or Aphrodite binding Ares discussed by A. Blanchet, *Comptes R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1923, 220 ff. For ἐπὶ πόλου ἑστῶτα *cf.* P. Leid. W., I, 31 (Dieterich, *Abraxas*, 173. 1: Aphrodite sits on a globe, in the type seen on a coin of Uranopolis, *Beschreibung d. ant. Münzen*, ii, 162. 1): Imhoof-Blumer identifies, but with hesitation, as Aphrodite the figure standing on a globe on coins of Elacusa Sebaste in Cilicia, *Nomisma* viii, 19 f., Taf. ii, 24. For Eros sitting on the globe *cf.* A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, ii, 1047, fig. 899 (*ib.*, for him planting his foot thereon).

here specified: it seems to be given later, 1829 *ἐστὶν τὸ ἐπίθυμα τὸ ἐμψυχοῦν τὸν Ἔρωτα καὶ ὅλην τὴν πρᾶξιν*, and to be an offering of fragrant spices and things of the sort, drenched with sweet-smelling wine: for this postponed exegesis a parallel can be found in the Leiden papyrus V, col. vi, 32 (806 Dieterich) *τελέσας τὸν λίθον ἐν χρυσῷ δακτυλίῳ φόρει ὁπόταν ᾖ σοὶ χρεία, ἁγνὸς ὤν, καὶ ἐπιτεύξῃ πάντων ὅσων προαιρῇ· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐν χρυσῷ γλυφέντα τὴν αὐτὴν ἐνέργειαν ἔχει. τελετὴ δὲ ἡ κατασκευὴ ἡ ὑπογεγραμμένη*...(it may also be noted that further on, col. viii, 20, a note occurs that the names carved on the back of the stone are Iao Sabaoth Abrasax: this repeats what has been said (vi, 30) and illustrates the absence of logical sequence from these texts). The application of such *τελεταί* to stones was commonly regarded as necessary if their occult properties were to be employed; in an anonymous tractate *Περὶ λίθων*, published by J. MESK, *Wiener Studien*, XX, 309 ff., it is repeatedly mentioned (as 318; 319, 9, 21; 321, 10) and only once described (321, 25 *τελεῖται δὲ οὕτως· λαβὼν βελόνην χαλκῆν γράφε ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο, ἰαχώ* [? Ἰαω] *καὶ ὑπόθες εἰς τὸν δακτύλιον τὸν λίθον καὶ ἐντυπώσας φόρει*): *τελεταί* were in like manner applied to herbs[1]. That the rite is said to give Eros life, *ἐμψυχοῦν τὸν Ἔρωτα*, is noteworthy: we must remember the Egyptian belief that offerings of incense could animate divine images[2], and compare a prescription in P. Leid. V, i, 14 (794 f.) for putting life into a wax Eros; you kill seven birds, l. 31 *ταῦτα δὲ πάντα μὴ θῦε ἀλλὰ κατέχων εἰς τὴν χεῖρα ἀναπνίξεις, ἅμα προσφέρων τῷ Ἔρωτι μέχρις οὗ ἕκαστον τῶν ζῴων ἀποπνιγῇ* [*τὸ δὲ πνεῦ*]*μα αὐτῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἔλθῃ*[3]: in the same papyrus, ix, 2 ff. (810), is a recipe for empowering a ring with sacred representations (called a *ξόανον*, ix, 22).

When the stone has been consecrated, the man using the charm must put it under his tongue and turn it round with the intention of attaining what he desires[4], uttering the while an incantation which begins thus (1748): *ἐπικαλοῦμαί σὲ τὸν ἀρχηγέτην πάσης γενέσεως τὸν διατίναντα τὰς ἑαυτοῦ πτέρυγας εἰς τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον καὶ ἀμέτρητον εἰς τὰς ψυχὰς πάσας ζωογόνον ἐμπνέοντα λογισμόν, τὸν συναρμοσάμενον τὰ πάντα τῇ ἑαυτοῦ*

[1] For *τελεταί* of stones *cf.* TH. HOPFNER, *Griechisch. ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber*, I, 147, § 574 (also GERVASE OF TILBURY, *Otia imperialia*, III, 28 with F. Liebrecht's note 29, p. 110), of herbs *cf.* P. Par. 2967 ff., with the notes of S. EITREM, *Lina Laukar* (an offprint from *Festskrift til Bibliothekar A. Kjaer*, 1924: he there discusses a Scandinavian method of consecrating a phallus to be used for magical purposes).

[2] *Cf.* A. MORET, *Annales du Musée Guimet*, XIV (1902), 79 ff., 221, HOPFNER, *op. cit.*, I, 217, § 808. For the belief that a deity is ritually induced to enter an image *cf.* E. B. TYLOR, *Primitive Culture*[3], II, 174 ff., W. CROOKE, *E.R.E.*, VII, 144 f. (India), L. A. WADDELL, *ib.* 160 (Tibet), also LOBECK, *Aglaophamus*, 727 ff., *Journ. Theol. Stud.*, XXVI, 176. Mr. C. T. Seltman has reminded me of Minoan beliefs in the descent of the god to his pillar (*cf.* A. J. EVANS, *J.H.S.*, XXI, 170, fig. 48, *cf.* 105 f.).

[3] Reading [*τὸ δὲ πνεῦ*]*μα* as Hopfner (so also EITREM, *Aegyptus*, IV, 185). *Cf.* HOPFNER, *op. cit.*, I, 209 f., § 803 on the value of *ἐπιθύματα*. It is natural that animal sacrifice should be thought to give life: SALLUSTIUS (*Περὶ θεῶν καὶ κόσμου*, XVI) says *αἱ μὲν χωρὶς θυσιῶν εὐχαὶ λόγοι μόνον εἰσί, αἱ δὲ μετὰ θυσιῶν ἔμψυχοι λόγοι, τοῦ μὲν λόγου τὴν ζωὴν δυναμοῦντος, τῆς δὲ ζωῆς τὸν λόγον ψυχούσης*. Nevertheless in P. Leid. V, x, 7 f. the right word is credited with the power of giving life.

[4] *Cf.* P. Mimaut, fr. 3, l. 109 (edited by S. EITREM, *Les papyrus magiques de Paris* [*Videnskapsselskapets Forhandlinger*, 1923], 41 *λαβὼν ξύλου δάκτυλον ὑπόθες ὑπὸ τὴν* [*γλῶσσάν*] *σου πρίν τινι λαλήσῃς*, P. Lond. 121. 686 W. = 620 K. The tongue is popularly credited with special powers: cf. *Golden Bough*[3], VIII, 269 ff., 147 of birds, Petronius 43. 3 (*ego uerum dicam qui linguam caninam comedi*, the survival in proverb form of a superstition) of dogs (cf. CONSTANT. AFRICAN., p. 119 Ackermann, for the putting of a puppy's tongue under your toe), *G.B.*[3], VIII, 153 of dead enemies, IV, 203 of previous kings (by eating it you acquire their powers: cf. DIETERICH, *Mithrasliturgie*[3], 109, 241), of vultures (HEIM, *Fleck. Jahrb. Suppl.*, XIX, 552) (you carry it): we may note an Olbian *defixio* of an enemy's tongue, *Phil. Woch.* 1924, 1162, another at

δυνάμει, πρωτόγονε παντὸς κτίστα χρυσοπτέρυγε μελαμφαη(-ής ?). The tone of this is Orphic and its language seems Orphic too: for *χρυσοπτέρυγε* we may compare Aristophanes, *Aues*, 697 *στίλβων νῶτον πτερύγοιν χρυσοῖν* (in a passage commonly regarded as parodying Orphic cosmogonies), for *πρωτόγονε* Lactant., *Inst. diu.*, I, 5. 4–6 (*ap.* O. KERN, *Orphica*, 151, n. 73). The accumulation of participles is characteristic of Greek ritual hymns[1]: it is at least possible that we have here a distorted recollection of an Orphic hymn to Eros[2]. What follows is more in the nature of literary commonplace and is phrased in antithetic language (1759): *ὁ τοὺς σώφρονας λογισμοὺς ἐπικαλύπτων καὶ σκότινον ἐμπνέων οἶστρον, ὁ κρύφιμος καὶ λάθρα ἐπινεμόμενος πάσαις ψυχαῖς, πῦρ ἀθεώρητον γεννᾷς βαστάζων, τὰ πάντα ἔμψυχα οὐ κοπιῶντα βασανίζων ἀλλὰ μεθ' ἡδονῆς ὀδυνηρᾷ τέρψει, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα συνέστηκεν· σὺ καὶ ἐντυγχανόμενος λύπην φέρεις ποτὲ μὲν σώφρων ποτὲ δὲ ἀλόγιστος, δι' ὃν ὑπὲρ τὸ καθῆκον τολμῶντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐπὶ τὸν μελαμφαην(-ῆ) σὲ καταφεύγουσιν, νεώτατε ἄνομε ἀνίλαστε ἀλιτάνευτε ἄϊδη ἀσώματε οἰστρογενέτωρ τοξότα λαμπαδοῦχε*[3], which passes without break into a doxological passage (1779) *πάσης πνευματικῆς αἰσθήσεως κρυφίων πάντων ἄναξ, ταμία λήθης, γενάρχα σιγῆς, δι' ὃν καὶ εἰς ὃν τὸ φῶς χωρεῖ*[4], *νήπιε ὅταν γενηθῇς ἐνκαρδίως, πρεσβύτατε ὅταν ἐπιτευχθῇς, ἐπικαλοῦμαι σὲ* (which I propose for *σοῦ*) *τὸν ἀπαραίτητον τῷ μεγάλῳ σοῦ ὀνόματι*. A series of names and epithets follows: in it *ἐπήκοε*, "ready to hear," should be read in place of *ἐπήκουε* (1796). *Πελάγιε* (1800) is notable: we may suppose that Eros is *πελάγιος* because Aphrodite was *πελαγία*[5].

Athens (DITTENB., *Syll.*[3], 1261), and the Egyptian belief that Horus sprang from the tongue of Ptah (ERMAN, *Sitz. Ber. Berlin*, 1911, 937; *cf.* Plut., *Is. et Os.*, 68, 378C, WINDISCH, *Theol. Tijdschrift*, 1918, 221 f.).

If the magic stone is placed under the tongue, the latter will through the contact receive its powers (*cf.* PFISTER, *P. W.*, XI, 2116, 2169 f.).

Στρέφε εἰς ὁ θέλεις seems to mean "turn for your purpose": *cf. θόρε κεῖς Θέμιν καλάν* in the hymn of the Curetes (*B.S.A.*, XV, 358), and Pind., *Nem.*, VII. 46 *ἡρωΐαις δὲ πομπαῖς θεμίσκοπον οἰκεῖν ἐόντα πολυθύτοις εὐώνυμον ἐς δίκαν*.

[1] *Cf.* NORDEN, *Agnostos Theos*, 166 ff. On the Orphic style *cf.* O. KERN, *Orphica*, 206 f.

[2] Such hymns could easily be much altered in use: DILTHEY, *Rhein. Mus.*, XXVII, 375 ff., has studied one which occurs in P. Parthey I in a shorter form than in P. Par. The extent to which dislocation could go appears in the Christian amulet published P. Iand. 14, I, 6, where, as E. Schaefer remarks, the "exorcism of Solomon" has been inserted in the Christian text (*cf.* also EITREM, *Amulett*, 6).

[3] According to Ficinus (LOBECK, *op. cit.*, 957) Orpheus called Eros *γλυκύπικρος*. But the tone of the passage is suggestive rather of the Greek novel (*cf.* LONGUS, II, 7), and we have perhaps to reckon with borrowing from SOPHOCLES, *Ant.*, 781 (esp. 790 ff. *σὺ καὶ δικαίων ἀδίκους γνώμας παρασπᾷς ἐπὶ λώβᾳ*) or EURIPIDES, *Hipp.*, 525 ff.

It may be remarked that Eros is very prominent in the *Dionysiaca* of the Egyptian poet Nonnus: DILTHEY, *ibid.*, 384 f., has noted a number of points of contact between Nonnus and P. Parthey II, 88 ff.: he explains them as due to common use of similar religious texts.

[4] So EITREM, *Amulett*, 24 for *διοντοφως και ισοντιφως χωρει*, referring to NORDEN, *op. cit.*, 249 f. *Φῶς* is divine light.

Νήπιε ὅταν κ.τ.λ. is compared by EITREM, *Zu den Berliner Zauberpapyri* [*Vid. Forh.*, 1923 i], 5, with P. Parthey I, 33 (prayer to Sun, child when rising, old man when setting); *ἐπιτευχθῇς* is obscure.

[5] On Aphrodite Pelagia *cf.* HOFER, *Roscher*, III, 1813 (II, 481, for the more popular Isis Pelagia: Isis was commonly identified with Aphrodite, *cf.* DITTENB., *Syll.*[3], 1132). Mr. Cook has drawn my attention to an early representation of Eros flying over the sea on a vase of Kachrylion (PFUHL, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, III, 101, *Abb.*, 351, HOPPIN, *Attic Red-Figured Vases*, I, 152 f.). *Pelagicus* occurs as an epithet of Iao in AUDOLLENT, *Defixionum tabellae*, 396 ff., n. 286 (from Africa); spirits of the sea may, of course, be regarded as hostile, and protection from them is sought in the amulet printed by REITZENSTEIN, *Poimandres*, 293. The moon is invoked as *πελαγίη*, P. Par. 2283.

Eros, then, is invested by the magician with every epithet and quality which Orphism, literature or art supplied to the memory of the writer: it is desired that he should exercise the powers implied thereby[1]. The invocation closes at *ὄνομα*, 1812.

A direction follows to inscribe the "sword" on a gold leaf (*πέταλον χρυσοῦν*: gold is a favourite metal for this purpose)[2]; you must write the acclamation *εἷς Θουριηλ Μιχαηλ Γαβριηλ Οὐριηλ Μισαηλ Ἰρραηλ Ἰστραηλ*, modelled on the common *εἷς Ζεὺς Σέραπις*[3]. The gold leaf so inscribed must be swallowed by a partridge; you then kill the partridge and recover the leaf; afterwards you insert *paideros* in it and wear it round your neck[4]. Next comes a prescription for the *ἐπίθυμα*, and information as to the means of securing an assistant spirit; *ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἡ πρᾶξις πάρεδρον* (1840)[5]. For this you must make of mulberry wood a small image of Eros, wearing a chlamys, his right foot set forwards, his back hollowed; in the hollow you put a piece of gold foil, on which you have written the name of a person with a Cyprian stylus, hardened by being dipped in cold water after hammering when hot[6]. You then go to the house of the person desired, strike her door with the image, and utter a spell to cause a dream: Eros is to take the shape of the god or spirit she venerates most, and inform her of your wish[7]. Returning home, you set flowers on a table

[1] Cf. *Studies in the Graeco-Roman beliefs of the Empire*, i, n. 49 (*J.H.S.*, xlv, 1925, 90). With 1809 *δοί(η) τὰ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἑαυτῆς cf.* the spell published by Preisendanz, *A.R.W.*, xvi, 548, l. 16, *ἔλθοι ποθοῦσά με τὰς χεῖρας ἔχουσα πλήρεις.*

[2] *Cf.* Wessely, *Wien. Stud.*, viii, 176 ff. (gold amulets of dead, xx, 140, *C.C.A.G.*, vi, 77, 9 *γράφεται δὲ ἐν χρυσῷ πετάλῳ*): gold *lamellae* were buried with dead Orphics in South Italy: we may recall also the gold crowns and masks of the dead in South Russia (E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, 388 ff., 433 ff.), gold foil bearing apotropaic representations found in that region (Stephani, *C. R. St. Pét.*, 1876, *Taf.* iii, 10, 11, 17), the golden *bulla* of Roman children, the *σφαῖρα χρυσῆ* mentioned by Psellus (Hopfner, *op. cit.*, i, 153, § 604), the use of gold in magical medicine (Riess, *P.W.*, i, 51, l. 33 ff.), and general references given in *G.B.*[3], xii, 288, *s.v.* Gold, Golden.

[3] *Cf.* O. Weinreich, *Neue Urkunden zur Sarapisreligion*, 24 ff., and an alchemical fragment, *Cat. Manuscr. alch. grecs*, iii, 21, *ἓν τὸ πᾶν δι' οὗ τὸ πᾶν καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τὸ πᾶν καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ πᾶν· εἷς ἔστιν ὁ ὄφις ὁ ἔχων τὰ δύο συνθέματα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ.* On the invocation of angels in magic *cf.* Hopfner, *op. cit.*, i, 30 ff., § 135, Andres, *P.W. Suppl.*, iii, 109, 5 ff.

[4] Does the gold foil thus acquire the vital strength of the partridge? The initiate (P. Par. 41) drinks the blood of a cock (if we accept Eitrem's *ἀ[πό]πιε* instead of *ἔ[πει]τα*), and so appropriates to himself its force and life, as Eitrem says, *Les pap. mag.*, 8. We may perhaps explain as due to this desire for vital strength the directions we find to write spells in the blood of a bird [*C.C.A.G.*, vi, 61 ff.] or fish [*ib.*, 75, 4], and note also P. Leid. v, i, 36, *ποιῶν τὴν τελετὴν κατάφαγε τὸν νεοσσὸν μόνος.* In P. Leid. v, x, 1, the ring is inserted in the bowels of a newly-slain cock, left there for a day and taken out at the 9th hour of night. The partridge is useful as being sacred to Aphrodite (A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i, 727). I assume that *λεπίδα* (1828) is equivalent to *πέταλον*. To wear an amulet round the neck was usual: *cf.* Kropatschek, *De amuletorum apud antiquos usu capita duo* (Diss. Münster, 1908), 33 f.: the amulet, P. Iand. i, 6, was probably so worn (Schaefer, p. 18). On the plant *paideros* cf. Frazer, *ad* Pausan. ii, 10, 6 (iii. 68).

[5] So Kroll reads (*Philol.*, liv, 563) for *ἔχει δὲ καὶ πρᾶξιν πάρεδρον*, which is however defensible: *πάρεδρος* commonly used of familiar spirits (Lobeck, *op. cit.*, 222), can be applied as an epithet to a spell, as 2145 *τρίστιχος Ὁμήρου πάρεδρος.*

[6] 1847 *κυπρίῳ γραφείῳ γράψας ψυχρηλάτῳ τινὸς τὸ ὄνομα.* Κυπρίῳ is presumably "of Cyprian bronze," Cyprus being supposed to be its original home (Oberhummer, *P.W.*, xii, 66). The lettering on the gold might not be very clear; we may, however, note that the inscription on one of the gold *lamellae* found in the territory of Sybaris is described as "incisa colla punta di uno stilo non acutissimo" (*Notizie degli scavi*, 1879, 156). For *γράψας τινὸς τὸ ὄνομα* cf. *C.C.A.G.*, vi, 76, 10 *γράφεται δὲ μεθ' αἵματος νυκτερίδος εἰς ἀγεννήτου ἐλάφου δέρμα τὸ ὄνομα ἐκείνης ἧς ἐρᾷς καὶ ὑποτιθέμενα* (then cryptographic letters) *ἴδῃς ἐξαίσια.*

[7] So that she may perform it *somnio monita* (cf. *Studies*, ii, in *J.H.S.*, 1925, 96).

covered with clean linen, put the image thereon, and make an offering of incense to it, repeating the invocation all the time. Thus you send Eros, and he will do your purpose without fail (we must read *ποιήσει* for *ποιησαι* in 1867)[1]. It is desirable to send a dream in this manner on the night of the day on which you have employed the magnet.

This short analysis of a *πρᾶξις* illustrates once more the way in which Graeco-Egyptian magic combines varied elements to secure the maximum of *θεία δύναμις*.

II. ΤΟ ΘΕΙΟΝ ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ.

A love charm preserved in P. Berol. 9909 and published by Dr. PREISENDANZ (*Aegyptus*, IV, 305 ff.) contains a commonplace invocation of the daimon of a mummy to constrain the soul of one Karosa. After the usual *ἤδη ἤδη ταχὺ ταχύ* comes the curious phrase, l. 50 *κεῖται παρὰ σοὶ τὸ θεῖον μυστήριον*. The editor explained *μυστήριον* as signifying the hair of Karosa, attached to the charm and inserted with it in the mummy's mouth[2]. There is, however, another possible interpretation which may be preferred. It is that *μυστήριον* means "the magic act" as in P. Parthey I, 130 *κρύβε τοῦτο τὸ μέγα μυστήριον*, P. Leid. V, x, 9, *ἔστιν δὲ ὃ καὶ ἔχε ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ ὡς μεγαλομυστήριον*, P. Paris, 722 *ὡς σὺ ἐνομοθέτησας καὶ ἐποίησας μυστήριόν μοι*, P. Lond. XLVI, 109 W. (= 108 K.) *ἐγώ εἰμι μούσης* (*i.e.* *Μωϋσῆς*) *ὁ προφήτης σοῦ ᾧ παρέδωκας τὰ μυστήρια σοῦ*. The phrase would then mean "this divine and holy act depends on you."

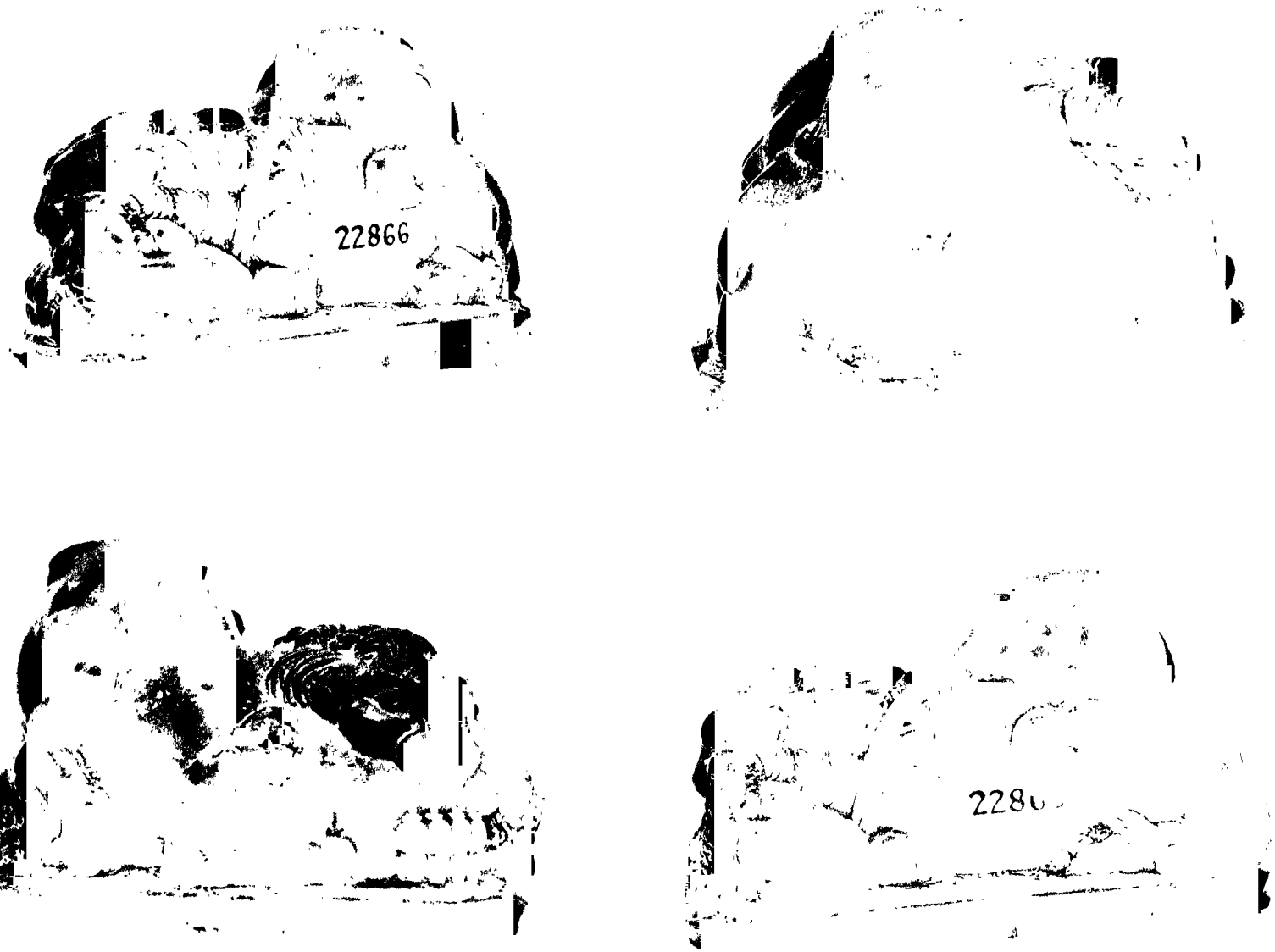
III. *An intaglio.*

An intaglio described, but not figured, by Sir Cecil Smith and Miss C. A. Hutton in their admirable *Catalogue of the Antiquities (Greek, Etruscan and Roman) in the collection of the late Wyndham Francis Cook, Esqre.* (London, 1908, 55, n. 248) represents a "hawk-headed divinity holding in either hand an upright sceptre, round one of which twines a serpent. The figure wears a basket on its head. Possibly 'Heka, lord of enchantments.' Inscription ΡΗΣΙΧΘΩΝ = Resichthon." This inscription must be read as one word, *Ῥησίχθων*, a common spelling of the epithet *Ῥηξίχθων*, "render of the earth, causer of earthquakes": this epithet is applied to Bacchus in the Orphic hymns (50. 5, 52. 9 ed. Abel), to Hecate P. Paris 2722, to Brimo P. Lond. 121, l. 758 ed. Wessely, to Sterxerx, the lord of the gates of hell and heaven, in a Cyprian *defixio* (L. MACDONALD, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1891, 174 = AUDOLLENT, *Defixionum tabellae*, n. 22), and occurs in a common spell *μασκελλι μασκελλω φνουκενταβαωθ ορεοβαζαγρα ιπποχθων ρηξιχθων πυριπηγανυξ* (WESSELY, *Neue griechische Zauberpapyri*, 63, in *Denkschr. Ak. Wien*, XLII, 2, AUDOLLENT, *op. cit.*, 511)[3].

[1] As Kroll: for *ἀπαραβάτως* cf. *Cyranides*, III, *π*, 13, *ἀπαράβατον νικητικὸν καὶ μέγιστον φυλακτήριον*.

[2] In P. Par. 746 *μυστήριον* is used of a magic ointment, in P. Leid. V, x, 9 (p. 813) *μεγαλομυστήριον* of a magic word of force, *ib.*, l. 19, perhaps of the engraved gem being consecrated: we may note also P. Par. 794, *χρᾶσθαι φοροῦντα τὸ μέγα μυστήριον τοῦ κανθάρου*, 2592, of *μυγαλός*, *Cyranides*, III, *υ*, 6, 39, of an amulet.

[3] *Cf.* for further references HÖFER, *Roscher*, IV, 111, ll. 32 ff. DIETERICH, *De Hymnis Orphicis* (Marburg, 1891), 50 f., sees in this use of the epithet in magical texts evidence of Orphic influence.



Jasper group of a lion and a bull fighting. From Tell el-'Amarnah.

Natural size.

A JASPER GROUP OF A LION AND BULL FIGHTING, FROM EL-'AMARNAH, IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

By H. R. HALL, D.Litt.

With Plate XVII

Twenty-four years ago, in 1901, I published in my *Oldest Civilization of Greece*, p. 303 ff., with two excellent line drawings by the late Mr. Anderson (Figs. 70, 71), the remarkable jasper group of a lion and bull fighting, which I now republish with photographic illustrations (Pl. XVII). As the object seems still to be little known, whereas it is in many ways one of the finest objects in the Egyptian collection of the British Museum, I wish again to draw attention to it, in the hope of eliciting opinions as to its origin, which is a matter for discussion. In describing it I cannot do better than reproduce with slight modification what I have already said about it in my book.

It was found at El-'Amarnah "with the great collection of cuneiform letters, despatches, etc., from the governors and chiefs of Western Asia to the Egyptian kings Amenophis III and IV" (Akhenaten) "and the copies of their letters to Asia. Its date is then presumably about 1380–1370 B.C.

"Only a few objects unconnected with the diplomatic correspondence of the royal cabinet were found with the El-'Amarnah tablets; of these some are in the Museum of Berlin, and two are in the British Museum; one of them, bearing the number 22866, being the group of which we are speaking. What it was doing with the royal diplomatic correspondence it is hard to say, as its use is not clearly apparent. It might be the 'cover of a vase or jar,' as it is described in Budge-Bezold, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, p. 2 [this was the first reference to it], or it might be a simple *objet d'art*, designed to stand by itself, like a group by Barye," of which it reminds us not a little. "That unofficial objects did occasionally stray into the royal 'office' is also shown by that tablet relating the surprising adventures of the Babylonian goddess Ereshkigal, of her messenger Namtar, and of her unedifying quarrel with her husband Nergal, which had somehow slipped into the royal despatch-boxes and is now with our animal group in the British Museum.

"The material of the group is a hard deep-red stone with a few lighter spots, apparently a jasper. It is a representation of a fight between a lion and a bull. The lion has seized his antagonist by the neck with his left paw and is holding him down with his right, which grips the back and shoulder of the bull, so that his right leg has been forced into a kneeling position. The teeth of the lion are buried in the neck of the bull, who has twisted his head to the left, and, with wide open mouth and lolling tongue, is bellowing vehemently. In his struggle to escape he has forced his hindquarters on to the back of the lion, whom he appears to be vigorously kicking. Originally his tail was lashing his sides. It has been broken off in ancient times, and only the traces of its presence remain, but these are enough to show that it was for a portion of its length cut free from the body of the group. The bull's horns are also broken off. A curious feature is that the lion has upon his back

an ornament consisting apparently of a shoulder- and belly-band, decorated with incised squares, and joined together on the shoulder by an oval buckle (?).

"The group stands upon a low elliptical base roughly grooved to represent rocks (?), measuring $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches (8·9 cm.) long by 2 inches (5·1 cm.) broad. The height of the group is $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches (5·35 cm.), and its interior is hollowed out to a depth of $\frac{3}{4}$ inch (1·9 cm.). This last fact may show that it was a vase-lid: in this case the loop of the tail probably served as a handle.

"The energy of this small group is very remarkable; the attitude of the bull is eloquent of rage and pain. But, while the composition is good and parts of the bodies of the combatants are well designed, there are also many faults which show the artistic limitations of the sculptor—*e.g.* the forelegs of the lion are far too long and his hindlegs are absurdly short and stumpy. Generally speaking, the bull is better than the lion.

"Of what art is this group a product? It is not Egyptian, not even Egyptian of the artistic development under Akhenaten. For this its execution is far too faulty, as also its composition is perhaps too refreshingly vigorous and energetic. It has been thought to be Mesopotamian, but here many objections are apparent. There is nothing particularly Assyrian about it; the mane of the Assyrian lion is disposed differently. It might appear to have a Persian look, but here again on close inspection the bull, though he has short fat legs with huge hooves, is no Persian bull. And, besides, it is a thousand years older than Persepolis."

I went on to suggest that it might be "Mycenaean," that is to say Minoan. "Many Mycenaean traces are visible in it; not only its vigour of composition but also the inequality of its execution," I thought, seemed "to indicate a Mycenaean origin; the violent upheaving of the hindquarters of the bull and his vehement bellowing remind one strongly of the Vaphio bulls, while the over-emphasized muscles, the exaggerated length of the bodies and stumpiness of the legs" confirmed, I thought, "the aptness of this reminiscence." Also the head of the lion reminded me strongly of the usual type of lion's head on Minoan gems.

If this surmise were correct, this group would be one of the most interesting examples of the Minoan art of the fourteenth century B.C. that we possess, and it was for this reason that I published it in my *Oldest Civilization of Greece*. But I am by no means so certain now that it is correct: the further knowledge of a quarter of a century, derived from Crete, does not altogether confirm a diagnosis made in 1901. Despite the fact that the group has a Minoan look, there are in it also elements that give a non-Minoan impression, and point rather to Asia for its home than to Greece. In fact, from its style, North Syria would seem to be indicated roughly for its place of origin, rather than any other part of the world, and this artistic judgment is confirmed by the circumstance of its discovery with the 'Amarnah tablets. I think now that it must be the lid of a jar of jasper, as Budge and Bezold originally supposed, and such an object from Syria might well have been kept with letters from Syria, perhaps with a letter actually accompanying it as a gift to the Pharaoh, like the *kuiḫku*  vases mentioned both in the cuneiform letters and in the inscriptions of Tuthmosis III. Animal heads and groups are represented as ornamenting the lids of Syrian vases sent as tribute (W. M. MÜLLER, *Asien u. Europa*, 308, 348; in the latter case mixed with Minoan objects from Cyprus or Crete; WAINWRIGHT, Liverpool *Annals*, VI, Pl. XIII). These were no doubt generally executed in gold, but we need not doubt that the same idea was often carried out in fine stone. The Minoan suggestion in this lion and bull may not

impossibly be due to the very probable Minoan influence which we often seem to be able to trace in Syrian art as the Egyptians represented it for us: we have very few actual relics of it. I have already supposed a Minoan-Syrian *Mischkunst* at this time in Cilicia ("The Land of Alashiya," *Manch. Eg. and Or. J.*, 1912–13, 33–45), to which I would attribute such objects as the ivory mirror-handles from Enkomi in Cyprus in the British Museum, with relief representations of combats between lions and bulls, the Arimaspian fighting a gold-guarding griffin, and so forth, which were found in the same place as the purely Minoan remains of the Aegean immigrants into Cyprus to the time of Amenophis III, and the Egyptian imported objects that they prized. These are more Minoan-looking than our group is: they have more of the naif angularity of the Cretan art, while our group is too squat and too "curly"; note the tail of the bull, which is oriental enough, and not at all Minoan. They are from further west than our group, I take it.

This Cypro-Cilician (?) art again must have been related to the Phoenician art of the time, which we cannot yet distinguish from its neighbours, though no doubt it was already marked by the eclecticism and by the specially strong Egyptian influence to which it had been continuously subject since the days of the Old Kingdom. Our group however shows no sign of this, and for this reason I do not believe it to be Phoenician, even of the fourteenth century B.C. Little though we know of the characteristics of Phoenician art at that time, I believe the Egyptian touch would always be more visible in it than it is here.

The harness of the lion may give a Mesopotamian impression. Though it is not Assyrian as we know the Assyrian lion in later art, yet this harness makes us think of an Assyrian half-tame lion let loose from his cage, as in Ashurbanipal's time, to do battle, in this case with a bull. The bull is not Mesopotamian at all, and I would not go further east or south than Mitanni for the place of origin of this sculptured vase-lid, and preferably not east of the Euphrates at all. It should be a work of North Syrian or Cilician art, and more probably the former, since, while it has something of the Minoan look in it, the probable Cypro-Cilician works have much more. They might be taken for aberrant Minoan work: this can hardly be so regarded nowadays. It is Syrian, in my opinion.

FRESH LIGHT ON THE TOMB ROBBERIES OF THE TWENTIETH DYNASTY AT THEBES

AN ADDITIONAL NOTE.

By T. ERIC PEET.

Papyrus B.M. 10068.

At the time when I published my article on this subject in this *Journal* (pp. 37 ff.) I was under the impression that Papyrus 10068[1] in the British Museum contained nothing more than a list of houses with their owners. My first intimation that it was more closely connected with the tomb robberies than this would lead one to assume was gained from a letter from Dr. Černý, who collated it in the summer of 1924. Accordingly I made a collation of it in July of this year and find it of such high interest in connection with the subject of the previous article that it seems worth while to give a very short account of it at once.

The papyrus seems to be complete except for a strip at the right hand end of the recto, bearing the beginnings of the lines of page 1. On the recto, *i.e.*, the side on which the main fibres run horizontally, are six pages of a text concerning tomb robberies. It begins as follows ".....(date lost, but day more than 10)...under the majesty of King Neferkerē‘ Setpenrē‘ etc.....the gold, the silver and the copper and everything which the workmen of the necropolis were found to have stolen, who were found to have violated this Place of Beauty[2] on the West of Thebes, even this place in which rested (a female name followed)[3]..., after they had been denounced to the vizier Khaemwēse who was royal..... [and to the chief priest of Amūn] Amenhotpe, by the prince Pewerō and by Wennefer scribe of the quarter of the West of Thebes. The vizier and the chief priest of Amūn..... [the temple of] King Usimarē‘ Miamūn in the House of Amūn on the West of Thebes which the wicked thieves..... They were seized together with the gold, the silver and the copper.....in the temple of Maat in Thebes."

This is followed by a list of eight thieves, with each of whom is stated the amount of "good gold," "white gold," silver and other goods taken in his possession. The names of the thieves are not new to us, for they are precisely the eight men inculpated in Papyrus Harris A (B.M. 10053 recto) and in the Turin Papyrus Pleyte Rossi XCII and XCIII (see pp. 48 and 49 of this *Journal*). In other words we have here still another document relating to the same events as Group IV of my article (above, p. 47). Harris A dealt with the disposal by the thieves of stolen copper. The first list preserved in the present papyrus records quantities of gold, silver and various other things seized on the prisoners.

This list occupies the first three pages. Page 4 is headed "Year 17, second month of winter, day 21, received in the temple of Maat in Thebes, the gold and silver recovered from

[1] Spiegelberg saw it many years ago. See his *Studien u. Materialien*, 113, n. 200.

[2] A name for a royal tomb.

[3] The female determinative remains.

the workmen, thieves of the necropolis, which they were found to have given to the traders of every house[1]: recovered by the vizier Khaemwēse and the chief priest of Amūn Amenhotpe." Then follows a list of persons each entitled "the trader" and accompanied by an amount of gold or silver or both. These are added up in line 21.

With line 22 begins a fresh list: "Gold and silver which the thieves had given to the people of the West of Thebes: recovered by the vizier and the chief priest of Amūn." This list is summed up in line 18 of page 5, "Total, gold. silver and copper found in possession of the wicked thieves of the necropolis and delivered into the storehouse of the temple of Usimarēᶜ Miamūn." The total which follows contains not only the three metals, but many other things such as valuable woods, linen, ivory and ointment.

We have already pointed out that the thieves are the eight men known to us from Papyrus Harris A and from some of the Turin documents. We can go further, for if the reader will turn back to page 50 of this *Journal* he will find among the events of the 21st day of the second month of winter in Year 17 recorded in the Necropolis Journal that the sergeants of the necropolis on that day handed over to the vizier and the chief priest of Amūn "the silver and the gold and the garments and ointment and everything which had been found in their (the thieves') possession." Pages 4 to 6 of the recto of our present papyrus are the *procès-verbal* of this handing-over. Pages 1 to 3, having lost their date, cannot be connected with any particular stage of the affair as recorded in the Turin Necropolis Journal, but that they relate to the same series of events is obvious. It is unfortunate that the name of the owner of the tomb where the robberies were committed has perished in the lost beginning of a line. It was, however, a woman, and circumstantial evidence (see pp. 50–51) points very strongly to Queen Isis.

For the sake of completeness we may now turn to the verso. The first page is dated, but the scribe has inadvertently omitted the numeral of the year date and so we only read "Year...second month of winter, day 17." The page is headed, "Reception of the gold, silver, copper and garments of the contribution[2] by the scribe Dhoutmōse, the scribe Khonsmōse and the attendant Shedemua." There follows a list of persons accompanied by various amounts of the articles mentioned. This page may be dismissed without further discussion for it has clearly nothing to do with the tomb-robberies, and judging by its position it should be later in date.

At a still later date the papyrus was turned round and a third text written beginning at the opposite end of the verso. This again does not closely concern us. It is dated Year 12, third month of summer, day 13 and entitled "List of the town of the West of No beginning from the temple of King Menmarēᶜ (Sethos I)." Then follows a long list each entry of which is of the form "House of the priest Ḥowtenūfer." The conclusions as to the geography and population of the west bank of Thebes which may be drawn from this list do not concern us here, but no doubt they will be eagerly seized upon by Dr. Černý for his forthcoming work on the Theban Necropolis in the New Empire.

[1] *n pr nb*. Cf. Pap. Lansing, 4. 10.

[2] The word *šrmt* is only known elsewhere from Anastasi I, 5. 17, where Gardiner translates it "complimentary gift," following Burchardt's proposed connection of the word with the Hebrew *šlm*.

Papyrus B.M. 10054.

Since the writing of my earlier article the Keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum, Dr. Hall, has very kindly had Papyrus 10054 remounted and correctly arranged. This has resulted, among other things, in the exposure of the beginnings and ends of the lines of page 1 of the verso, which were previously hidden by misplaced strips of papyrus. This page proves to have been dated in Year 16 (not 18 as I conjectured), third month of inundation, day 14, and is headed "Trial of the thieves of the tombs of the West of Thebes." The man whose evidence is here recorded is one Amūnpnūfer, and the thefts which he confesses took place in "Year 13 of the reigning Pharaoh, four years ago" (or, as we should have said, three years ago). It is curious that on the verso of a document whose recto[1] is partly dated to Year 18 we should find an entry dated Year 16 of the same king, as is undoubtedly the case. It is easy to suggest explanations: the earlier pages of the recto may have been the first to be written, in Year 16 or earlier, then the page on the verso, later in Year 16, and finally the rest of the recto, Year 18: or again the page on the verso may have been a later copy of a document originally drawn up in Year 16. Much more fruitful than such hypotheses is the moral that in documents of this type it must not be lightly assumed that a text on the verso will necessarily bear a later date than one on the recto[2].

[1] On p. 47, line 11, I have stupidly written "verso" for "recto."

[2] The removal of some transparent paper from a part of the papyrus has also shown that the filing-docket "The trial of the thieves" mentioned on p. 45 as being on the verso is in reality on the recto, and the correction has been made in remounting. If we assume, as it is natural to do, that a document was rolled up with its writing inside, *i.e.*, on the concave surface, then the docket, in order to be visible on the tied roll, would have to be on the opposite side. Applying this to the present case, since the docket is on the recto we might argue that the verso was the first side to be written, contrary to the usual practice of the scribes: the year dates would in this case be in the expected order.

The removal of the strip of papyrus which covered the ends of the lines in verso 1 and its remounting in its correct place have made it possible to decipher in part another much damaged text on the verso in front of and under page 1, and connected clearly with the later entry of pages 2 ff. concerning a distribution of flour for bread-making. It contains a list of persons to whom bread was issued out of a stock of 500 loaves, perhaps the very loaves made with the flour stated in p. 2 to have been issued.

HADRIAN'S DECREE ON RENTING STATE DOMAIN IN EGYPT

By WILLIAM LINN WESTERMANN, Columbia University.

In 1908 four papyri appeared which contained offers of Egyptian peasants to lease small parcels of state-owned land in Egypt at a much lower rental than the same peasants had previously been paying to the Roman state upon the same parcels[1]. The total number of the actual leases was six. They were all from the same year (the first of the principate of Hadrian), all from the same place (the town of Heptakomia in Upper Egypt), and all markedly similar in general form and wording. Since that time three more of the same type and out of the same year and the same local record office have been added[2]. Those in which the date is preserved fall in the months of Choiak and Tybi of the second year of Hadrian according to the regnal reckoning followed in Egypt, that is, in December of 117 and January of 118 A.D. The latest certain date which appears is the 15th of Tybi[3], or January 10, 118 A.D.

In all of these proffers of lease the peasants who make the offer referred to a certain pronouncement of Hadrian[4] (or perhaps to a single clause in a series of decrees), which they hail as an act of beneficence (*εὐεργεσία*). The particular benefaction of which they take advantage in these new leases lay in the fact that the royal, state and crown lands were to be worked by the peasants "according to the value of each plot (*κατ' ἀξίαν ἑκάστης*) and not on the basis of the old decree[5]." The explanation of these nine leases, undoubtedly similar to many others made at the same time in Egypt, still stands substantially as outlined by Rostovtzeff in a letter to Wilcken[6]. The question of chief importance, he says, is to establish the character of this edict of Hadrian. This will be determined by the meaning which is derived from the phrase *κατ' ἀξίαν*[7]. Rostovtzeff was of the opinion that the decree of Hadrian contained a series of beneficences, such as those contained in P. Teb. 5, of the 52nd year of Euergetes II (118 B.C.), or in the well-known edict published in Egypt in 68 A.D. by the clever Jewish prefect, Tiberius Julius Alexander[8]. In this series of kindnesses occurred the paragraph to which these peasant lessees of the state lands referred in

[1] Edited and explained by Kornemann in *Klio*, VIII, 398–412.

[2] Two of these were published by Ulrich Wilcken in *Archiv*, V, 245–6. These eight leases were then published by Kornemann in *Griechische Papyri zu Giessen* (P. Giss.) with commentary. Since that time another lease of the same place, time and character has appeared in the *Rylands Papyri* (no. 96).

[3] P. Giss. 4. The dates, either day and month or month only, are preserved in P. Giss. 4; 5; 6, col. I, col. II, col. III; and P. Bremen 34 (*Archiv*, V, 246).

[4] *Πρόγραμμα*, in P. Giss. 7, and *κατὰ τὰ κελευσθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ εὐεργετικωτάτου κυρίου τῆς οἰκουμένης Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος* in P. Brem. 34. See Kornemann's introduction to P. Giss. 4–7.

[5] P. Giss. 4, *τὴ[ν] βασιλι(κὴν) γῆν καὶ δημοσίαν καὶ οὐσιακὴν γῆν κα[τ'] ἀξίαν ἑκάστης καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ παλαιοῦ π[ρο]στάγματος γεωργεῖσθαι.*

[6] Published by Wilcken in *Archiv*, V (1909–13), 299–300. Kornemann has accepted Rostovtzeff's interpretation as the basis of his discussion in his introduction to P. Giss. 4–7.

[7] More exactly, *κατ' ἀξίαν ἑκάστης.*

[8] *O.G.I.*, II, no. 669.

making their new offers to lease. It was designed, according to Rostovtzeff, to meet the complaints of the small renters of state lands against the "genuinely bureaucratic immobility of the taxes." The officials were ordered to lease the farm parcels *κατ' ἀξίαν*, but only where such a reduction of rent was necessary. The land which would come into consideration, he thought, would be land of rather poor quality, although it was apparent from the leases that it was, for the most part, of the category of "flooded land[1]." He called attention to the similarity of phraseology and of the character of the rent reduction in the leasing of the Ptolemaic royal domain "according to value" (*ἐξ ἀξίας*), as recorded in the land registers of Kerkeosiris kept by the village scribe, Menches, from 118 to 111 B.C., in which farm parcels formerly renting at $4\frac{5}{6}$ or 4 *artabae* of wheat per *aroura* were let out at a flat rate of 1 *artaba* per *aroura*[2]. The following study is an attempt to explain more fully the analogy pointed out by Rostovtzeff; to determine whether the two phrases, *ἐξ ἀξίας* in Menches' reports and *κατ' ἀξίαν* in the leases of Hadrian's time, do in reality represent "exactly the same thing[3]"; and to subject to a more thorough investigation than has as yet been given to them the circumstances and purpose of the legislation of Hadrian upon which the requests for reduction of rent were based. In approaching the problem a correct understanding of the technical idea inherent in the phrase *κατ' ἀξίαν ἑκάστης* is fundamental. The best approach to this understanding is, obviously, to be found in a study of the conditions of the Ptolemaic period which resulted in the rent reductions *ἐξ ἀξίας* which appear in Menches' records.

In making his report for the year 118 B.C.[4], Menches gave the total acreage of his village district. From this he deducted that area of the village itself which was occupied by houses and was therefore unproductive to the Crown. After briefly giving the amount of the temple lands, the amount assigned under the classification of cleruch land, and that held by the native cavalry[5], Menches deducted these from the total acreage. The remainder constituted the amount of the "royal domain," in its narrower sense of land leased by the Crown directly to the small peasants[6]. The amount of this royal domain was 2427+ *arourae*[7]. Upon the books of the central office of the Dioecetes at Alexandria against this total acreage there stood a theoretical total income in rent[8]. Menches was responsible for this total rent or for such an explanation of the deficiencies as would satisfy the central office. Of the 2427+ *arourae* reported as cultivable, only 1122+ *arourae* were sown in grains[9] and actually capable of bringing in the rent standing against them in the contracts made at the last general lease which the government had instituted. To these Menches added 17 *arourae* of land which were inundated but remained unsown by the peasants. Their rents, however, were exacted in full, probably because there was no acceptable excuse for the fact that this productive land lay idle[10]. It was the chief task of the village scribe, so far as his bookkeeping went, to account for the divergence between the government's total credit account of 2427+ *arourae* of cultivable land, with a rental income (on paper) of 12,330+ *artabae* in

[1] *Archiv*, v, 300.

[2] P. Teb. I, 60, 81–4. The tenure of office of Menches as komogrammateus was probably from 120 to 111 B.C. See P. Teb. I, p. 538.

[3] *Archiv*, v, 299.

[4] P. Teb. I, 60, 1–45.

[5] *Ibid.*, lines 26–71 and Appendix I, sect. 3, 552.

[6] *Ibid.*, lines 46–7.

[7] *Ibid.*, line 47.

[8] *Ibid.*, Appendix I, sect. 4, 559.

[9] *Ibid.*, line 51.

[10] *Ibid.*, lines 52–4, *ἀσπόρου βεβρεγμένης*. *Cf.* note to the text, and P. Teb. I, 66, 71–9 and note thereto.

wheat[1], and the actual rent which Menches was able to wring from the soil and the labour of the peasants.

The chief item accounting for the difference between this theoretical total of income, as booked at Alexandria, and the actual income, was 911+ *arourae* of land now "unproductive" (*ὑπόλογον*), against which had been placed originally on the books 4593 + *artabae* in grains[2]. This considerable acreage had been recognized as "unproductive" by the central office in the years preceding the 39th year of Euergetes II (131 B.C.) and in the period from the 40th to the 52nd year (130 to 118 B.C.). The government, however, had allowed the old rents to stand on the records against the land, obviously in the hope that it might speedily be again brought under cultivation.

The reports of Menches from Kerkeosiris village, particularly in the earlier years of his tenure of office, must be interpreted out of the disturbed political and economic situation of his time. The starting-point is the great peace proclamation and amnesty decree of Ptolemy Euergetes II, his sister Cleopatra, and his wife Cleopatra, published in 118 B.C. for political and economic reasons, toward the close of the long civil war fought between Euergetes II and his sister, Cleopatra II[3]. This war had been under way for thirteen years and had not yet subsided in 118 B.C. when the decree was published[4]. In the confusion and amidst the destruction of the war the constant tendency toward deterioration of the irrigation system had been accelerated[5]. Those plots which represented the "marginal cultivation" in grains[6], under the intensive and forced system of grain production prevalent in Ptolemaic Egypt, had been abandoned. The connection of land abandonment and the civil war is clearly made in one case by Menches in his report of the year 118–17 B.C.[7] As a result of this abandonment many plots had become overflooded (*κατακεκλυσμένη*) or dried out (*κεχερσωμένη*)[8]. To bring these abandoned farm plots again under cultivation was one of the matters which most concerned the newly reconciled rulers, as is evident in their long proclamation.

One method which they evolved was a scheme for reducing the amount of abandoned plots by encouraging their use for vine and orchard planting[9]. This they proposed to do by offering to the peasants on equitable terms the "overflooded" and "dried out" lands which could be reclaimed for this type of production. For the first five years after the planting the peasants were to pay no tax on the newly planted vines and fruit trees; for the years six, seven, eight and nine a reduced tax, which was not to be collected until the ninth year. Thereafter they were to pay taxes on the same basis as those who owned "seed land," *i.e.*, land of good quality. The implication is that they were to own the land. One must be careful not to exaggerate the nature of this concession. Actually it means that the government was attempting to make productive certain idle lands which had badly deteriorated through the fact of disuse. The plots which were thus taken up would become productive

[1] P. Teb. I, 61, 47. [2] *Ibid.*, line 100.

[3] Published as P. Teb. I, 5. [4] PREISIGKE, *Archiv*, V, 301–16. [5] *Ibid.*, 314.

[6] By the plots of "marginal cultivation" I mean those plots which could be made to produce grains by the hardest labour only. In times of confusion and low prices, in what we call "hard times," the tendency would be that the peasants would abandon these lands because they would not repay the excessive labour of cultivation.

[7] P. Teb. I, 61b, 29–31, where the peasants demand release from their obligations on certain lands "because of depreciation in value" or "because it had become dry *during the disturbance*," i.e., during the civil war.

[8] P. Teb. I, 5, 93–8, reprinted by WILCKEN, *Chrest.*, no. 339. [9] P. Teb. I, 5, 93–8.

in two senses; first, by increasing the actual food production of the country; second, by becoming ultimately productive to the state in increased taxes. The tax exemption for a five year period with tax reduction for four more years is not so imposing as it sounds. It must be remembered that a vineyard does not begin to show a profit, when one counts in the cost of the labour involved, until the fourth year, and that the vines come to full bearing capacity customarily in the fifth year[1]. The tax exemption was only an equitable economic adjustment and one that was necessary if the government's proffer was to appeal to the peasants with calloused hands who would have to do the work. Certainly these peasants would understand empirically the relation of labour, cost and profit in viticulture and horticulture quite as well as their modern counterparts do. It is to be recalled that in the *Lex Hadriana*, applied in the provinces of Africa, newly planted vineyards received seven full years' exemption from rent charges; and that olive groves, of the cultivated varieties (as opposed to wild olives) received ten years' exemption[2]. Under the present French law in Tunisia wild olive trees which have been engrafted with cultivated stocks receive fifteen years' tax exemption. In none of these cases did the government involved make any concession beyond that which a reasonable opportunism forced upon it.

This is the general setting for the Menches reports, which are probably typical of the difficulties and the corresponding activities of hundreds of the village scribes of his time. Uncultivated land, unproductive to the state, which it was the duty of the village scribes to bring back under cultivation of some sort, and a deteriorated system of irrigation which must be restored to its full functioning power, are the characteristic features of the picture. An interesting and valuable fact may be obtained from P. Teb. 74, which is Menches' summary made in the year 4 of Soter II (114–13 B.C.), of the unproductive land of his district. Menches states that 596 + *arourae* had been reported as unproductive (*ὑπόλογον*) up to the 39th year of Euergetes II (131 B.C.) and an additional 340 + *arourae* since the 40th year. These are the years of the outbreak of the civil war[3]. The information at hand does not permit us to believe that the 596 + *arourae* of unproductive land reported in the year 131 B.C. actually went out of cultivation in that year. But the increase in the percentage of the "unproductive" type between the years 131 B.C. and 114 B.C. as against the period 170 B.C. to 131 B.C. is sufficiently marked to attract attention. For the earlier 39 year period it was 24 + % (596 + *arourae* out of the total of 2427 + *arourae* of royal domain). For the later period, which is only seventeen years, it was 390 + *arourae*, or 18 % of the *remaining* productive acreage. This calculation, based on the facts as presented by Menches, leaves no room to doubt that those omnipresent forces of deterioration which constantly sap at the efficiency of any irrigation system could not be met during the civil war—a result of the war which we should be compelled to postulate if the facts were not at hand to prove it.

The constant agencies of deterioration of the canal system, which had to be met each year by the labour of a great many peasants under a high system of organization, were, demonstrably in our case, abetted by the weakening of the system consequent upon the war which ended in 118–17 B.C. As is customary in all basin irrigation the chief danger lay in the difficulty of obtaining proper drainage. If this could not be done the land covered with water at the height of the inundation would remain too long under water and become

[1] See the calculation tables in LIBERTY HYDE BAILEY'S *Standard Cyclopaedia of Horticulture*, III, 1380.

[2] Ain-Wassel document, in BRUNS-GRADENWITZ, *Fontes Juris Romani*, 7th ed., 115, III, 8–11.

[3] PREISIGKE, *Archiv*, V, 313–14.

completely soaked, or waterlogged (ἔμβροχος)[1]. This condition was also brought about by seepage through the canal embankments[2], an unavoidable danger in this type of irrigation. Or the land might become too salt (ἀλμυρίς) for cultivation. In one instance reported by Menches, this alkaline condition of the soil was followed by the washing away of the top soil by the waters pouring over it[3]. Presumably in this instance the dike had broken.

A less amount of the land became unproductive for grains by becoming dry[4]. Some of the land might become classified as unproductive merely because it was unsown[5], although entirely capable of producing grain. This is proved by several instances in Menches' reports of the unproductive lands, in which the land is classified as unsown and the additional statement is made that it later became dry[6].

In all probability, also, some of this category of unsown land arose by reversions to the state at the death of the lease-holders. Another way in which such arable land came to lie idle is illustrated in Menches' report of 118–17 B.C.[7], in which he explains the history of 24 *arourae* of unsown land. These 24 *arourae* had once been the allotment of Timotheus, an *ephodus*, and had then been leased to one Amphicles who was tilling it in the 48th year of Euergetes II (123–22 B.C.). In that year Amphicles was relieved of the lease on this allotment because an equal amount of arable seed land around other villages had been assigned against his name. The 24 *arourae* then remained unleased and uncultivated from the year 48 to the year 51, when it was definitely classified as unproductive. In the 53rd year the village scribe made a notation that the land had become dry; and in that year it was leased out at a much reduced rent for pasturage purposes[8]. The amount of land of this type recorded in Menches' reports—land potentially quite productive, but nevertheless unsown—is relatively small. Nevertheless, its appearance in his registers indicates that the government, at the time of the civil war and just after it, was encountering difficulties in getting the necessary amount of farm labour to bring about the maximum production in grain which it desired. As a constant policy it was to the interest of the imperial landlords, the Ptolemies, as represented by their fiscal manager the Dioecetes at Alexandria, to see to it that as much as possible of the land classified as "unproductive" should be brought back under cultivation[9]. The obligation of accomplishing this rested, ultimately, upon the village scribes. One of the conditions of the re-appointment of Menches to his position as village scribe of Kerkeosiris in 119 B.C. was that he should take over the cultivation of 10 *arourae* of the ὑπόλογος, paying upon it the high rent of 5 *artabae* to the *aroura*[10]. In his report of 112 B.C. upon the "unproductive" land in his village area[11] Menches enumerated small parcels of it which were being cultivated by the agents of Marres, the district scribe (τοπογραμματεύς), and Horus, the royal scribe of the Arsinoite nome. The conclusion seems

[1] P. Teb. I, 60, 68, 79, 92, 106, 124; 61 (b), 92–3. See General Index, XII, under ἔμβροχος and compare Appendix I, sect. 9, 574.

[2] P. Teb. I, 74, 38–9.

[3] P. Teb. I, 74, 52; and possibly 72, 78–9, where the "great dyke below Theognis" burst.

[4] P. Teb. I, 60, 74, 93.

[5] P. Teb. I, 74, 15; 75, 47. I judge that the ἄχρηστος land of 74, 36 is the same as the ἄσπορος.

[6] P. Teb. I, 61 (b), 110–14; also line 144, ἀσπόρου τῆς ἐν τῶι μα (ἔτει) [κεχερσευμένης]. The restoration is taken from the corresponding passage in 64b (not included in the publication by the editors).

[7] P. Teb. 61 (b), 110–14.

[8] P. Teb. 72, 35–43.

[9] ROSTOVTZEFF, M., *Studien zur Geschichte des römischen Kolonats* (Leipzig, 1910), 30.

[10] P. Teb. I, 10.

[11] P. Teb. I, 75, 32–3.

to be warranted that they, too, were obliged, as a requisite of appointment, to assume the cultivation of some land of the "unproductive" category.

There was another method of disposing of the unproductive land which accounted for a much larger percentage of the reclamations in the village area of Kerkeosiris. This was the system of letting it out to the peasants at greatly reduced rents for an indefinite period[1]. The village scribes attempted to lease parcels of this abandoned land, without compulsion, to such peasants as they could induce to assume the responsibility of reclamation at such a rental as would, presumably, permit a profit in return for the working of the land[2]. The parcels handled in this way Menches recorded as *δυναμένη εἰς μίσθωσιν ἀχθῆναι*[3]; or he stated that they had been *προσηγμένη* or *προσηγγελμένη*, *i.e.*, "returned" or "announced" to the Dioecetes as having been reclaimed[4]. This announcement was necessary in order that the records sent to the Dioecetes might be clear and because the Dioecetes' office must sanction any lease offered by the peasants on the basis of a reduced rent and sent down to it as recommended by the village scribes. In all questions of reduced rents the ultimate decision rested with the Dioecetes[5]. A difference was made in the amount of rent which the village scribes demanded from this "unproductive" land depending upon whether the land could be "worked down" (*κατειργασμένη*, that is, planted to grains and legumes), or could only be "let out for pasturage and planting to hay crops" (*ἀνειμένη εἰς νομὰς καὶ χορτονομὰς*). In the first case the rent demanded ranged from 1 to 3·3 *artabae* to the *aroura*[6], in the second case the customary rent was generally 1 *artaba* to the *aroura*. In long term leases of this second type the rent sometimes began at $\frac{1}{4}$ or $\frac{1}{2}$ an *artaba* to the *aroura*, remained at that rate for a specified term of years, but was eventually to be raised to 1 *artaba* per *aroura*.

The phrase used for the type of long period lease on the marginal lands which could only be rented as hay fields or as pastures for reclamation purposes was *ἐκ τῆς ἀξίας*. The meaning of the phrase was evidently that a peasant lessee could be found for the land who would take it over "at its (productive) value"; and in all the preserved cases where the crops are given the land so rented was used as pasturage or for hay planting. This meaning of *ἐκ τῆς ἀξίας* is best seen in the use of *ἀξία* in P. Teb. I, 61b, 227. A question had been under discussion for two years in regard to certain lands in the Arsinoite nome held by catoecic soldiers. They should have been assigned land of poorer quality, but had apparently received thoroughly good arable land. Archibius, the Dioecetes, settled the matter by a sensible compromise, leaving the good land in the possession of the *catoeci* on condition that they should be assigned an equal amount of dry land that was unproductive. In his marginal note he makes this decision rest upon the understanding that the original land granted *was* arable land and that no magistrate had, at the time of assignment, signified that the assignment was "contrary to value" (*παρ' ἀξίαν*)[7]. This can only mean "the producing value of the land."

[1] P. Teb. 74, 17–8, *ἐκ τῆς ἀξίας ἐπὶ (μὲν) ἔτη ε ἀνὰ (ἡμισυ) καὶ εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἀνὰ α; cf.* lines 21–6, where the *κουφοτέλεια* cuts the rent down to $\frac{1}{4}$ of an *artaba* per *aroura* for 5 years, $\frac{1}{2}$ an *artaba* for the next five and 1 *artaba* thereafter; no. 75, lines 25–31 and 36–43; ROSTOVTZEFF, *Röm. Kolonat*, 31.

[2] P. Teb. I, 60, 77–80, 81–7; 74, 11–18, 21–6; 75, 25–31, 36–43. [3] P. Teb. I, 74, 21.

[4] P. Teb. I, 60, note to line 69 for the identity in meaning. [5] ROSTOVTZEFF, *Archiv*, v, 299.

[6] P. Teb. I, 60, 77–80, *τῆς κατειργασμένης* at 1, $2\frac{1}{2}$, 3 *artabae*; 61b, 103–6 (average only), 3·3 *artabae*; 72, 64–5 (average only), 3·2+ *artabae* per *aroura*. In the last case the crop is named, being barley, beans and aracus.

[7] I accept here with confidence Crönert's suggestion in *Wochenschr. Kl. Phil.* (1903), 484, of the reading *παρ' ἀξίαν* for the *παρα⟨ι⟩τίαν* of the editors.

The number of cases of land rented ἐκ τῆς ἀξίας which are recorded by Menches for his village district are few. The best example is to be found in P. Teb. I, 74, which is a systematic report by Menches for the year 114–13 B.C. of the unproductive land at Kerkeosiris. Menches was able to deduct from the total of his abandoned ("unproductive") acreage 7½ *arourae* of waterlogged land and 8½ *arourae* of "unsown" which had been leased ἐκ τῆς ἀξίας, on the following terms—for five years at ½ an *artaba* per *aroura*, and for the remaining time at 1 *artaba* (P. Teb. I, 74, 11–17 = 75, 25–9). The next instance of his diminution of the "unproductive" land (*ibid.*, lines 21–6) is noteworthy for our discussion. He is now able to bring to lease as productive land 30 *arourae* which had been unproductive since the year 131 B.C. This also was done under the system of leasing "according to its productive value (ἐκ τῆς ἀξίας) *for pasturage and hay planting*[1]." This lease "on the (production) value" was to run for five years at ¼ *artaba* per *aroura*, for the five following years at ½ an *artaba*, and for the remaining time at 1 *artaba* per *aroura*. In P. Teb. 60, 81–5, the same elements appear for the leasing ἐκ τῆς ἀξίας. The land is rented for rough pasturage and hay cropping at 1 *artaba* per *aroura*. The term of the lease does not here appear.

Menches also records three cases in which proffers to lease ἐκ τῆς ἀξίας had been reported to the Dioecetes' office, but were there being held up for a decision[2]. These cases are recorded in P. Teb. I, 61b, 51–6; 98–100 (= 72, 55–61); and 110–14 (= 72, 35–45). While awaiting the Dioecetes' decision upon the leasing ἐκ τῆς ἀξίας which he had recommended, Menches proceeded to rent out the land in question by a system of arbitrary assignment to a group of peasants for use as pasture land. Presumably this was a temporary measure, resorted to only year by year. The rate paid by the peasants using these assigned lands was 1 *artaba* per *aroura*, which they paid as a group[3]. In all cases of this kind the land was definitely used as pasturage or for hay fields. There is one additional record of a plot listed among those which were awaiting a decision in the Dioecetes' office and meantime assigned arbitrarily to a group of peasants where Menches does not state that the question was whether it should be rented ἐκ τῆς ἀξίας[4]. This was a 15 *aroura* plot. Some other disposition than a long lease on the productive value may possibly have been in contemplation for this particular piece.

The extant materials seem to point to one conclusion, namely, that the farm land rented ἐκ τῆς ἀξίας was abandoned land which had thereby become unproductive of rent to its owner, the state. It is now to be made productive of *some* rent, at least, and ultimately to be reclaimed as grain land, by pasturing cattle upon it or planting it to hay for a long period. The rent demanded from the land is the customary rent for hay crops to be found throughout Menches' reports[5]. The leases are ἐκ τῆς ἀξίας, "based on the actual value," in

[1] Line 22, ἐκ τῆς ἀξίας εἰς ν[ομὰς καὶ .]. ρσνομάς and see the note of the editors. The intention of the scribe εἰς νομὰς καὶ χορτονομὰς is clear.

[2] The technical term for this was ἐν συγκρίσει. See P. Teb. I, Appendix I, 8, 572. My understanding of these two cases is that the Dioecetes' office was not eager to resort to these long term leases at the low rents of pasture land unless the situation absolutely required the application of the ἐκ τῆς ἀξίας lease.

[3] The phrase for this form of pasturing the unproductive land under enforced lease is διὰ τῶν κατὰ μέρος γεωργῶν ἐκ τῆς γενομένης πρὸς αὐτοὺς διαιρέσεως or simply διὰ τῶν κατὰ μέρος γεωργῶν. For the meaning, ROSTOVTZEFF, *Kolonat*, 55 and WILCKEN, *Grundzuge*, 277.

[4] P. Teb. I, 61b, 70–7 (=72, 46–52).

[5] For the 1 *artaba* rent for hay land see the cases of the χέρσος in the Index to P. Teb. I and compare WESTERMANN, *The Dry Land in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt*, in *Classical Philology*, XVII, 34 ff.

the sense that they can be profitably used for pasturage purposes at the usual rate paid upon such land[1]. Rostovtzeff was wrong in his belief that the system of renting ἐξ ἀξίας was the first step on the way to declaring the land to be unproductive (ὑπόλογον)[2]. Just the reverse is true. It was the first step in the process of reclamation, for eventual restoration to grain planting, of land already declared "unproductive" to the state. The customary cycle of events in the abandonment and reclamation of the plots of marginal cultivation was as follows: (*a*) overflooding or lack of water (ἔμβροχος or χέρσος), or abandonment for any sort of economic reason; (*b*) declaration of land as unproductive to the state (ὑπόλογον), or held for decision by the Dioecetes (ἐν συγκρίσει) and then declared ὑπόλογον by him; (*c*) offers of peasants to lease "at the actual value" (ἐκ τῆς ἀξίας) for use as pastures, or enforced cultivation by the peasants proportionally (γεωργούντων κατὰ μέρος) and for the same use; (*d*) final restoration of the land thus reclaimed to full rent as grain-producing land.

One question immediately arises regarding these long term leases based on the production value. Would the peasants, to whom such leases were granted, be permitted to plant grain crops upon them within the period of their lease and still pay the low rate of one *artaba* or less? No direct evidence is at hand upon which an answer may be based. The logical supposition would be that they could not be so used within the terms of the ἐκ τῆς ἀξίας lease. And the evidence of P. Teb. I, 74, 21–6 supports this supposition by its definite statement that the land is rented on its productive value for pastures and hay pastures.

We return to the decree of Hadrian. Between the accession of Hadrian upon August 11th of 117 A.D. and December of the same year, conditions existing in Egypt were such as to induce the Egyptian government, as represented by the Prefect and his bureaucrats[3], to advise that certain portions of the royal, state and crown lands be leased under a system called κατ' ἀξίαν. If this type of lease was to be granted, it would result in an immediate reduction of the wheat rentals of the state on each parcel for which such a lease was accepted. Nevertheless the proposal received the Emperor's sanction and became imperial legislation, with the result that a very considerable number of applications for the new lease terms were received by the Egyptian government. Of these applications we have nine. It is not customary for landlords, whether states or individuals, to make voluntary reductions of rent without good and sufficient reasons. The reasons which are given in the extant leases reflect an unusual condition of inability of the peasant lessees to pay their rent upon the old terms. Why were the lessees of the state domains feeling

[1] It was understood in the higher administrative offices that land rented ἐκ τῆς ἀξίας would be used for pasturage and hay planting. See in P. Teb. I, 35–40, the marginal notation ἀνεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τοῦ διοικητοῦ ἐκ τῆς ἀξίας.

[2] In *Archiv*, V, 299.

[3] In his recent article upon the date of the founding of Aelia Capitolina by Hadrian, in the *American Journal of Semitic Language and Literature* of July 1923, Professor William D. Gray has made use of an "hypothetical" visit of Hadrian to Egypt in 117–18 A.D. His argument is based upon the detailed knowledge of Egyptian agricultural conditions displayed in the decree of Hadrian which we are now discussing. Professor Gray forgets that such legislation is local bureaucratic legislation, founded upon the centuries of experience amassed by the Egyptian governing organization before Hadrian's time. It is this bureau, with the Prefect at the head, which had the knowledge and experience of Egypt which was reflected in Hadrian's legislation. All the legislation, however, emanated technically from the Emperor. The assumption of his presence in Egypt is unwarranted and unsupported.

oppressed by the burden of the rent at the old rate[1]? Obviously we must reckon with the factors constantly operating in the Egyptian system of irrigation which would constantly tend to encroach upon the maximal production in grain desired by the government. Against these factors the application of insistent, unremitting human labour was necessary in order to keep the irrigation system in efficient operation. The constant agencies of disruption have already been explained in dealing with the situation represented in Menches' records of the years 118–111 B.C. The factors of this type which were inherent in the irrigation system had not been obviated or weakened in the period between Menches and Hadrian. There is, moreover, another, and immediate extraneous similarity between the situation under Euergetes II in 118 B.C. and that under Hadrian in 117–18 A.D. Just as the civil war between the Ptolemaic rulers was the background for the unusually large quantity of "unproductive" land reported for the Kerkeosiris district by Menches (and partially the explanation thereof), so the political setting of Hadrian's proclamation of early 118 A.D. was the Jewish outbreak in Egypt, which had begun in 115 A.D. and was not completely put down until after Hadrian had become emperor. For the recent additional information offered by the papyri upon this Jewish war I need only refer to Ulrich Wilcken's presentation of the papyrological material and his convincing reconstruction of the situation[2].

Briefly the facts are these. While Trajan was engaged in the conquest of Mesopotamia the Jewish hatred of Roman rule, engendered by the destruction of Jerusalem[3], broke into flame in his rear. In Egypt, Cyrene and Cyprus the rebellion raged[4]. Beginning as a "movement" (*Ἰουδαίων κίνησις ἀναστᾶσα*) in Egypt in 115 A.D., it took on the proportions of a war (*πόλεμον οὐ σμικρόν*) in the following year[5]. M. Rutilius Lupus, the then Prefect of Egypt, was allowed to remain in office. But the command of the war was handed over to Marcius Turbo, a tried and capable commander. The Jews were successful at first in Upper Egypt, especially about the city of Heptakomia[6], which is the provenience of the proffers of lease of the year 118 A.D. There is no question about the severity of the war. The sending of an entire legion into Upper Egypt was necessary as a supporting force to the skeleton organization (probably the two legions, III Cyrenaica and XXII Deiotariana) still remaining in Egypt[7].

The effect of the Jewish war upon agricultural conditions in Egypt is shown in interesting fashion by the request of Apollonius, strategus of the Apollonopolite nome, directed to the Prefect of that time, that he be granted leave of absence from his duties as strategus

[1] Rostovtzeff, followed by Kornemann in P. Giss. 24, believed that the peasants affected by Hadrian's decree were only the holders of land under compulsory lease. I find no proof for this view and consider it very unlikely that the state would have restricted the operation of the law to them alone.

[2] See Ulrich Wilcken, *Zum Alexandrinischen Antisemitismus*, in *Abh. Sachs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 1909, 792–99, and *Grundzüge*, 64–5, *Chrest.*, 15–18. For the chronology of the events in Egypt, which is now firmly fixed, see Wilcken in *Hermes*, xxvii, 472.

[3] Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, 64. For recent and most interesting evidence upon the Jewish question in Egypt under the early Empire see the publication of a letter of Claudius by H. Idris Bell in his *Jews and Christians in Egypt*, British Museum, 1924.

[4] Schurer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, 4th ed. (1901), i, 662 ff.

[5] Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.*, iv, 2. *Cf.* A. von Premerstein, *Alexandriner und Juden vor Hadrian*, in *Hermes*, lvii, 305 ff.

[6] Wilcken, *Zum Alexandrinischen Antisemitismus*, 798.

[7] Wilcken, *ibid.*

for sixty days[1]. "For not only do all my personal affairs happen to be in a state of neglect because of my long absence (from home); but also because of the attack of the impious Jews nearly all the properties such as I have in the villages of the Hermopolite and in the metropolis have been damaged(?)[2] and they need taking in hand by me." The properties of Apollonius in the villages certainly included agricultural holdings; and probably his farm holdings were on a large scale.

Such was the particular situation existing in Egypt which called forth the bureaucratic decision to rent certain of the state lands *κατ' ἀξίαν*. Rostovtzeff's conclusion that this decree of Hadrian contained a number of paragraphs, and was therefore a collection of "beneficences[3]," is probably correct. Kornemann has attempted to reconstruct a second "beneficence" of the Emperor, out of the request of one of the lessees for release from the rent upon two portions of the small parcels he holds because they were *ἀνύπαρκτα*, "no longer existing[4]." This idea of Kornemann should be abandoned. The peasant lessee, Boblilous by name, here refers to certain shore-lands along the Nile which had been carried away by the flood[5]. The regular administrative system would easily have taken care of such a case, either by striking the land off the books, on proof of the peasant's statement that it was gone, or by declaring it to be *ὑπόλογος*. Boblilous merely takes the opportunity afforded by the fact that he is offering a new lease to notify the authorities that a portion of the state land which he was renting was irretrievably gone.

The similarity of phraseology in the nine extant offers of 117–18 A.D. to lease *κατ' ἀξίαν* does, I think, permit us to re-establish fairly well the ideas, though not the wording, of this particular paragraph of Hadrian's edict. Those who work the "royal, public, and crown lands," in case they are oppressed by the rent required from these lands[6], and the land does not bear so great a payment[7], are permitted to work their fields *κατ' ἀξίαν ἑκάστης*[8]. This *κατ' ἀξίαν* lease is at a fixed rent of $1\frac{1}{24}$ *artabae* per *aroura* (*ἀνὰ ἀρτάβην α κδ ἑκάστης ἀρούρας*).

Rostovtzeff has called attention to the close correspondence of this rate of payment to the normal tax upon land in private ownership (*ἰδιωτικὴ γῆ*) and upon the *catoecic* land under the Roman Empire[9], and has suggested as a conjecture that Hadrian, in this Egyptian legislation, was perhaps consciously beginning to handle the waste lands in Egypt as a subdivision of the military allotments and the remaining land held in complete ownership[10]. I think that the reference to, and the suggested relationship with, the 1 *artaba* tax on catoecic land[11], despite the correspondence of the rate, is misleading. Against

[1] Published by Paul M. Meyer as P. Giss. 41. The date is lost; but the then Prefect was probably Rammius Martialis, and the request for *commeatus*, line 4, is to be dated within the years 117–120 A.D. T. Haterius Nepos is known to have been in office as Prefect on February 18, 121 A.D. See Lesquier's list in *L'armée romaine d'Égypte*, 513.

[2] There is a lacuna in the text at this point.

[3] *Archiv*, v, 299. See Kornemann's introduction to P. Giss. 4–7, p. 23.

[4] KORNEMANN, *op. cit.*, 25–7. [5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Βαροῦμαι τῶι (τοσούτωι) ἐκφορίωι* in P. Ryl. 96; P. Giss. 5; the three leases under P. Giss. 6; and P. Brem. 34.

[7] *Τοσοῦτο τέλεσμα οὐ βαστάζει.(βαστάζουσι)* in P. Giss. 5; 6, I, II, III; P. Brem. 34; P. Ryl. 96.

[8] P. Giss. 4, and P. Lips. Inv. 266. As explained before I understand *κατ' ἀξίαν ἑκάστης* (*ἀρούρας* to be supplied) in the sense "at a fixed rate per *aroura* based upon the actual production value."

[9] In *Röm. Kolonat*, 176. [10] *Op. cit.*, notes 2 and 4.

[11] See for recent conclusive evidence on the 1 *artaba* rent on *catoecic* lands P. Ryl. 188, p. 234.

Rostovtzeff's conjecture, based upon the likeness of rate, I offer the following considerations:

1. There is no question of possible ownership raised in these offers to lease the state's domains.
2. As Rostovtzeff himself saw[1], the rents might be restored, upon the proposal of a new leasing, to the old rate.
3. Had the catoecic situation been in the mind of Hadrian, he would have used the established technical expression therefor, "paying in wheat the *artaba* of the *catoecic* holders[2]." Instead of this the Hadrian leases refer us directly back to the old ἐκ τῆς ἀξίας leases of Menches' time by the use of the phrase κατ' ἀξίαν.

The rent of the Hadrian leases, $1\frac{1}{24}$ *artabae* per *aroura*, is obviously the same as the old rent at 1 *artaba* per *aroura* on land let out for pasturage purposes or cropping to hay, as quoted in the reports of Menches. The additional fraction is to be accounted for as the regular προσμετρούμενα or small additional carrying charges[3]. Since the land rented ἐκ τῆς ἀξίας by Menches could be rented for pasturage and hay crops at a profit, I offer the suggestion that this was still, in Hadrian's time, the implied understanding carried by the phrase κατ' ἀξίαν. In other words the "beneficence" of Hadrian lay solely in the fact that his decree permitted the peasants renting from the imperial domain to plant some parcels, which had formerly paid rent as grain land, to any kind of crop they wished to put in, even growing hay if they desired, or grazing them as rough pasture land, at the reduced rent which the government obtained from hay land. The peasants were relieved of the government *pressure* to plant the crown land in grains. This pressure had been exerted by the fact that the rent was regularly based upon some "old decree[4]" which required from the imperial domain, wherever possible, a rental income reckoned upon the supposition that the crop would be a grain crop. There is no statement in these leases which indicates that the peasants *must* use these plots for pasturage or hay planting. They *could* do so profitably, however. And it is particularly to be noted that the labour cost to the peasants would be greatly decreased should they do so.

There is no indication in any of these new leases permitted by Hadrian's decree that the land under discussion was worn out or potentially less productive than formerly. So far as the documents go these parcels might be of any of the three production categories, of "flooded," "unflooded" (ἄβροχος), or "dry[5]." Obviously, however, these are plots of "marginal cultivation," which by virtue of bad position for irrigation, by poor quality of the soil, or for whatever economic reason, were the least productive to the state peasants from the standpoint of the labour expense which they were compelled to put into their cultivation. In all the complete examples of these leases except one there is a final clause stating that the "unflooded" land will be credited back to the peasants and one-half of the land which has been artificially irrigated. My understanding of this difficult passage is as follows: the peasant lessees protect themselves against the possibility of having to submit

[1] *Rom. Kolonat*, 176, notes 2 and 4.

[2] *Op. cit.*, 91–2 with references, especially to P. Brux. 1 in *Musée Belge*, VIII (1904), 101–17.

[3] ROSTOVTZEFF, *Rom. Kolonat*, 176.

[4] Ἐκ τοῦ παλαιοῦ προστάγματος in P. Giss. 4, 9 and P. Lips. Inv., no. 266 (*Archiv*, V, 245).

[5] All of these leases, except in the one case in which the end is lost, deal with the possibility that some of the parcels may be of the "unflooded" type.

to a re-adjustment of the rent, if the land should be of the "unflooded" type, by the insertion of a "customary clause" (*κατὰ τὸ ἔθος*) that the "unflooded" rate will not be applied to them. In case, however, they should irrigate artificially (*ἐπαντλεῖν*), implying that they would then plant to grains, they agree to pay the half of the "unflooded" rate of rent[1].

The new leases granted *κατ' ἀξίαν* by Hadrian were all granted to state peasants upon land which they were already holding. This was not the case in the leases *ἐξ ἀξίας* in Menches' records, where the plots were abandoned lands. The extant leases under Hadrian's decree are all offers to lease, made by individual request from, and on the definite assertion by, each lessee that the former rent was too heavy. It is clear that the government of Egypt would not accept the new lease at the customary rate of hay lands without satisfying itself by investigation that the peasant's claim to being overburdened by the existing tax was a justified one. In the case of the Ptolemaic *ἐκ τῆς ἀξίας* leases we definitely know that such proffers were duly investigated in the Dioecetes' office; and the necessity of it under Hadrian's decree is to be presumed. This in itself would greatly restrict the operation of the "beneficence" of Hadrian.

One marked difference is to be noted in the legislation which resulted in the *ἐκ τῆς ἀξίας* leases of Menches' reports and the *κατ' ἀξίαν* leases of Hadrian's time. In the Ptolemaic treatment the fields to which the new rent was applied were already abandoned. Hadrian's decree was an *attempt to forestall abandonment.* Complaints of the peasant renters that their fields would not bear the old rent exactions were met by a deep cut in the rent, a concession granted before the fields reverted into the "unproductive" category. This difference in the treatment of the problem of the fields of marginal production is most clearly seen in the decision taken in the Dioecetes' office in 118 B.C. regarding 27 *arourae* of land which no longer produced enough to pay a profit on the rents offered by the peasants in 159 B.C. Instead of meeting the realities of the situation by reducing their old rents, as Hadrian did in his time, the Ptolemaic system allowed the old rents to stand on the books against the land until it was, of necessity, declared totally unproductive. For some time previous to the abandonment it had been known that the rents demanded had overtaxed the power of the peasants to pay, [*ἐν τοῖς ἔμπ*]*ροσθεν χρό*[*νοις κατ*]*ατείνειν* [*τοὺς γεωργούς*][2].

The question will arise whether the form of lease on the production value thus established for the periods 118 B.C. and 117–18 A.D. had been put into operation at any time between these two dates. The question cannot be answered except by the statement that we have no proof that it was resorted to in the intermediate period. If I understand Rostovtzeff correctly[3] he believes that Hadrian had revived, in this type of lease, a purely Ptolemaic land measure, reaching back over the intervening period of 150 years or more for his precedent; and that this type of revival was characteristic of the archaizing tendency

[1] See my explanation of the *ἄβροχος* and *χέρσος* in *Classical Philology*, XV, 120–37; XVI, 169–88; XVIII, 21, 36. There is a statement made by the editors of P. Ryl. 82 (113 A.D.) that certain regions about Ibion in the lesser Apollonopolite nome had fallen upon evil days, "caused perhaps by a succession of low Niles." This cannot be accepted. In point of fact the irrigation officials in this document are reporting a particularly fortunate situation in which there are only 50 *arourae* of "unflooded" land in their district; and they promise to bring all of this under cultivation. The editors have been led astray by a misunderstanding of the *ἄβροχος γῆ*. The low Niles of the last years of Trajan which Pierre Jouguet has accepted in the *Revue des études grecques*, XXXIII (1920), 389, have no other basis than this misunderstanding.

[2] Note the similarity of the reason given in the request for reduction of rent in the time of Hadrian.

[3] *Röm. Kolonat*, 176, note 4.

otherwise noticeable in Hadrian's career. It is difficult to believe this. More reasonable is the supposition that, under stress of similar unusual necessity, the system of lease κατ' ἀξίαν had been used from time to time in the intervening period, and that its application had changed in the details brought out above, just as its technical name had been slightly changed.

If we have stripped the land legislation of Hadrian in Egypt of all claim to praise as a measure of far-reaching social and economic significance, it nevertheless retains its claim to consideration as a piece of sound and enlightened economic opportunism, probably with well-established precedents behind it. This is also, in my judgment, the dominant character of the land legislation of Hadrian, called the *Lex Hadriana de rudibus agris*, applying to the domains in North Africa[1]. The outstanding features of Hadrian's imperial policy were two: the abandonment of the imperialistic expansion so characteristic of his predecessor; and the utmost attention to internal problems, particularly to the financial and general economic welfare of the Empire. The admirable study of the *auxilia* of the imperial armies by G. L. Cheesman, based upon archaeological and epigraphical evidence, gives definite assurance of the policy of "passive defence" adopted by Hadrian and an insight into its methods[2]. The predominant interest of Hadrian in the economic prosperity of the Empire does not need re-stating. The imperial treasury must have been near to bankruptcy when Hadrian took hold, due to the expansionist policy of Trajan[3]. In 118 A.D. the Emperor cancelled arrears in taxes owing to the fiscus amounting to 900,000,000 sesterces[4]. This was a thoroughly realistic and sensible measure. Unrealizable credits upon the state's books were being cleared away as the beginning of a sound financial policy. The application of the κατ' ἀξίαν leases to the marginal lands in Egypt preceded this general remission of back taxes; and it is an expression of the same realistic mind which could accept an immediate decrease in revenue, where such a loss was necessary in order to avoid a greater future decrease in production and revenue by land abandonment.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

The understanding established above as to the general policy of Hadrian and his administrative advisers is borne out by a decree of the same emperor published by P. Jouguet in 1920[5]. This decree, also, applies solely to Egypt. Its original passage is probably to be dated in the spring of 136 A.D. After a series of low Niles and, consequently, of bad returns to the peasants, there had come an abundant overflow followed by heavy crops. Despite this fact the administrative authorities in Egypt obtained the Emperor's sanction for a delay in the payment of the state returns in money for that particular year (τὸν φόρον [τὸν τού⟨του⟩ τοῦ ἔτ]ους [τὸν ἀρ]γυ[ρι]κόν). For the tax-payers of the Thebaid, or Upper Egypt, the moratorium was for five years, for those of Central Egypt (the

[1] BRUNS-GRADENWITZ, *Fontes Juris Romani*, 7th ed., nos. 115–16. I hope soon to present in successive papers, or in book form, my understanding of the meaning of Hadrian's economic legislation in general.

[2] G. L. CHEESMAN, *The Auxilia of the Roman Imperial Army*, Oxford, 1914, 106–16.

[3] *Vita Hadriani*, 6, 5. See also B. W. HENDERSON, *Life and Principate of the Emperor Hadrian*, 1923, 58–62.

[4] *C.I.L.*, VI, 967.

[5] P. JOUGUET, *Un édit d'Hadrien*, in *Revue des études grecques* XXXIII (1920), 374–402.

Heptanomia) for four years, for those of Lower Egypt three years. The document will later have to be treated in connection with the entire group of decrees of Hadrian which have an economic bearing. For the present we merely note that its significance seems to lie in what it does not grant. There is no reduction or delay granted in the payment of the rents and taxes in kind. The wheat rents of the state are unaffected. Second, there is no reduction even in the money revenue of the state, merely a delay in the money receipts. No doubt this moratorium on the money revenues of the one year was acceptable to the peasants of Egypt. But it supports the view that the economic policy of Hadrian's administration was that of a sensible creditor rather than a generous one.

GREEK SCULPTURE IN PTOLEMAIC EGYPT

By A. W. LAWRENCE

With Plates XVIII–XXIV.

It has been said that an Alexandrian School existed with ideals markedly different from those of the rest of the Hellenistic world[1]. This question must be settled if the development of Hellenistic sculpture is to be traced: I have therefore collected what

[1] It might be useful to give references here to a few recent publications of importance for the general study of Graeco-Egyptian art (and indirectly of the sculpture), as Wace's summary is no longer adequate (*B.S.A.*, IX, 1902–3, 211–242). Pagenstecher has produced a theory (*Landschaftl. Relief, Sitz. Heidelb. Akad.*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 1919, 1 Abh.) that there were Alexandrian stucco originals behind the Roman bucolic reliefs whilst the heroic-mythological reliefs began in Asia at the same period. He himself notes the complete absence in the reliefs of anything reminiscent of Egypt, and although the stuccoes might all have perished yet landscape elements should appear in other Alexandrian work, and he can find nothing of the sort except a few imperial terracottas showing apes and negroes climbing palm-trees. Sieveking's idea (text to BR.-BR., 621–630, Postscript) that the bucolic scenes are merely *later* than the mythological seems to me therefore to hold good till further notice. (See also PFUHL, *Jahrb.*, XX, 1905, 154). The so-called Alexandrian Grotesques have been dealt with by WACE (*B.S.A.*, X, 1903–4, 103), and by SIEVEKING (*Terrakotten der Samml. Loeb*, text to Pl. 86) who attributes them to Asia Minor; Pagenstecher's view (*Landschaftl. Rel.*, 39), that they were made everywhere, is more plausible. University College, London, possesses a number of terracotta heads representing men of various nationalities from the foreign quarter of Memphis (PETRIE, *Memphis*, I, 15, Pls. XXXV–XLIV; *Palace of Apries*, 16, Pls. XXVII–XXXIV). The early date proposed for them is obviously incorrect and it is probable that all are Hellenistic; some certainly are (e.g., *Memphis*, I, Pls. XLII, nos. 57–60, XLIII, nos. 61–67; *Palace*, Pls. XXX, nos. 95–97, XXXI, nos. 98, 102, 105, 106). The Greek vases found with them (*Memphis*, I, Pl. XLVI, nos. 5, 6) and the satyr mask (*ibid.*, Pl. XLIX) confirm this dating. The majority of the so-called Graeco-Egyptian terracottas are known to belong to Roman times although some few may be Hellenistic (VALD. SCHMIDT, *Graesk-Aegyptiske Terrakotter*; WEBER, *Äg.-gr. Terrakotten*; K. M. Kaufmann's catalogue of the Frankfort *Äg. Terrakotten* was republished in 1915 under the title *Äg. Koroplastik*). The genuine Hellenistic terracotta is quite different, *e.g.*, some from Alexandria, *Bull. Société d'Alex.*, no. 9 (^{2}II), 58; the one on the top of an urn (Fig. 17) was found with other urns which bore inscriptions of an early Ptolemy, probably Ptolemy III.

In ceramics Alexandria seems to have had a good record, as might have been expected from what is known of the luxury of the city (COURBY, *Vases à reliefs*; BRECCIA, *Alexandrea ad Aegyptum*). The inscribed Hadra vases date between 284 and 249 (POMTOW, *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 1910, 1094, correcting Pagenstecher's publication of them, *A.J.A.*^{2}, XIII, 1909, 387). It is surprising that Graeco-Egyptian jewelry was not of finer quality (cf. *Guide du Musée du Caire*, 1915, 438, a deserved condemnation); a few portrait-gems have been identified as Ptolemies or their queens (FURTWÄNGLER, *Ant. Gemmen*, Pls. XXXI, no. 29; XXXII, nos. 10, 15, 16, 22, 31, 36; LXI, no. 47), and the Tazza Farnese in Naples seems to be second-century work done for the Egyptian market (*op. cit.*, LIV–LV).

The Sieglin excavations at Alexandria furnished Pagenstecher with the material for his researches into the source of the Pompeian mural decorations. (*Alex. Studien, Sitz. Heidelb. Akad.*, Phil.-hist. Kl., 1917, 12 Abh., 20; and the later book *Nekropolis*.) His opinion is that the First Pompeian Style originated in Alexandria but spread quickly and became universal, but that there is no justification for seeing any Alexandrian influence in the subsequent styles: the Second Style does not begin (in Rome and Pompei) till the time of

remains of Graeco-Egyptian work in the round, and I wish people to look at the collection and see that it is bad[1].

In this paper I deal only with objects reputed to have been found in Egypt, and for the majority of the more remarkable ones an Egyptian provenance can be guaranteed. Collections of Hellenistic work from the country may be seen in the museums of Alexandria, Cairo and Dresden, and in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Most pieces are small and obviously of careless execution, which bears out Brunn's remark that one might as well expect to find a school of skating as a school of sculpture in a place like Alexandria where there is no good stone within reach. Schreiber's theory after all is comparatively new and certainly original; as Cultrera[2] puts it, "the general opinion before Schreiber wrote was that Alexandria really had no art of sculpture, and we shall probably have to return to this old opinion."

There is an argument on the other side to account for the paucity of the material from Alexandria itself: the land has subsided, some of the finest portions of the Ptolemaic city are now beneath the sea and the rest of it is so deep down below the modern town that not

Sulla and meanwhile the Hellenic graves of Alexandria had become Egyptianized. Ippel disputes this view (*Bronzefund von Galjûb*, 87), but the pettiness of the available material speaks for it.

Some painted stelae of early Ptolemaic period are given in *Nekropolis*, 32; *Alex. Studien*, Pl. I, and A. J. Reinach, *Galates dans l'art alex.*, *Mon. Piot*, xviii, 1910, 37.

A valuable find (at Memphis) was that of a large number of plaster-casts taken apparently from silver originals of various schools and dates within the limits of 350 and 220 B.C. One piece bears the signature of an artist Epimachus, the handwriting of which is ascribed to the first half of the third century; it and a possible portrait of Ptolemy III indicate the time at which the casts were made (*Arch. Anz.*, 1907, 357; Rubensohn, *Hellenist. Silbergerät in Gipsabgüssen*; some later finds are included in *Denkm. d. Pelizaeus Mus.*, 140). The Berlin Museum has acquired two fine silver plates from Hermopolis with medallion heads of Heracles and a Maenad (Pernice, *Hellenist. Silbergefässe*, 58 Winck. Berlin; he quotes, p. 22, an interesting description by Aristeas of a Ptolemaic dedication at Jerusalem). One may also note a badly-corroded silver cup from the Delta with Bacchic scenes in relief, Hellenistic according to Pagenstecher (*Arch. Anz.*, 1907, 358 and Figs. 3, 4). The Budapest Museum has two examples of gold- and silver-inlay, a *hydria* with a frieze of Egyptian deities and a pan with a crocodile and hippopotamus fighting in a swamp that is full of plants and birds. They were found at Egyed in Hungary, but Hekler and von Bissing date them to the middle of the third century B.C. (*Jahres.*, xxiv, 1909, 28, 40, Pls. III, IV). Egyptian deities were of course still used for decorative effect during the Empire, *e.g.*, on a glass sherd from Germany in the Karlsruhe Mus. (*Der ober-germ.-rätis. Limes*, 39, 18; *Germania romana*, 86, no. 5).

The Greek moulds so common in Egypt mostly belong to early Roman times, but Edgar notes one which shows a fashion of hair-dressing that occurs on coins of the last Cleopatra (*Jahres.*, ix, 1906, 27). I mention them here because a large proportion of the Pelizaeus collection has been rashly attributed to the Hellenistic period (Rubensohn, *op. cit.*, 10; *Denkm. Pel. M.*, 149). A recent visit to Hildesheim convinced me that the majority were demonstrably of imperial age; a very few pieces might possibly be earlier, but none could be definitely proved to be so. The moulds were reported to have come from the same group of ruined houses as the casts, but as they were the product of the oriental looting, no reliable information is available: in any case the view that they must be of the same date is untenable for some are admittedly as late as Antonine and the collection is obviously not homogeneous.

An article in *Art and Archaeology*, Feb. 1924, 43, traces the growth of Greek influence in native architecture.

[1] Objects which I find undatable or unimportant have been omitted, *e.g.*, Prince Rupprecht's head (*Einz.*, 901–3), the supposed queen in Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (Cat. *Tillaeg*, 1925, no. 317a, *Billedtavler* xxii), and other catalogued material.

[2] *Saggi sull' arte ellenistica*, i, xxxiii.



1



2



3



4

1. Male head. *Copenhagen.*
2. Head from the Naue Collection. *Copenhagen.*
3. Small head of Alexander. *Alexandria.*
4. Female head. *Dresden.*

much has been discovered[1]. But there is no reason to suppose that the amount of sculpture there was ever very considerable. It was a cosmopolitan place where most of the inhabitants were not Greeks, and most of the Greeks had no right of citizenship, and the citizenship had little political value[2]. There was no municipal autonomy after the Hellenic pattern; there was not even a *boule*[3]: hence we do not find a *demos* voting the erection of monuments, and the artist's hope of subsistence lay in orders from wealthy residents, who had few uses for sculpture. The royal patronage was chiefly given to native architects and sculptors who worked in the old Egyptian style, and yet it has become a commonplace that in this field "Ptolemaic art is worse every way than Pharaonic[4]," a truth which should not encourage us to expect great things from the Greek sculptors whose livelihood depended on the occasional needs of their fellow-countrymen in Alexandria or the provincial towns. It must be remembered too that the demand for high-class stone monuments and offerings was a relic of the old Aegean life and therefore was bound to disappear in the process of racial and cultural denationalization[5]. The assimilation of Hellenic and native art began quite early: the reliefs from the tomb of Petosiris (time of Philip Arrhidaeus, or *c.* 300 B.C.)[6] have a strong Greek flavour, and in the catacombs of Alexandria we find an Egyptian false-door as early as 200 and a painting of Egyptian manner at about 180[7]. This helps to explain the aesthetic inferiority of the Later Hellenistic statues, grave-stelae[8] and coins.

My aim here will be to trace the history of sculpture in the round from Alexander's conquest to the second century B.C. Works of this period are usually small and poor, but most of them—especially the later ones—have a distinctive character. This applies to objects discovered, and presumably made, in all parts of the country[9], and the designation "Alexandrian" is therefore over-narrow.

In the early years of the Greek occupation a certain number of sculptures seem to have been imported into Egypt, and others too were made there by artists fetched from abroad. The local style which was evolved in the presence of these sculptures naturally owed something to each of the fourth century masters, but it was indebted most of all to Praxiteles. The life and seductiveness of a Praxitelean marble were largely the result of easily-acquired technical methods—a *sfumato* rendering of flesh, a sleek but well-developed body, and rough-blocked hair—and any man who used these devices could be sure of producing a passably life-like effect. The impressionist style was accordingly popular in every Hellenistic country and not least so in Egypt: one of the earliest of these imitations of Praxiteles is a female head from Memphis, which passed from the Naue Collection to the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek[10] (Pl. XVIII, 2).

[1] HOGARTH and BENSON, *Report on Alex., Egypt. Expl. Fund Report*, 1894–5, reprinted for Hellenic Soc.; BRECCIA, *Alex. ad Aegyptum*, French edn., 1914, 54, etc.

[2] BRECCIA, 24; MAHAFFY, *Hist. of Egypt*, IV (Under Ptol. Dyn.), 9.

[3] BRECCIA, 30.

[4] HOGARTH, *Wandering Scholar*, 163–165.

[5] For which see IDRIS BELL, *Journal*, 1922, 139.

[6] Found at Ashmunên in 1919. LEFEBVRE, *Tombeau de Petosiris*; SPRINGER, *Kunstgesch.*, I, 12th edn., (1923), Fig. 780. Other late tomb-reliefs, *Journal*, V, 1918, 280.

[7] PAGENSTECHER, *Nekropolis*, 126, 184.

[8] See Pfuhl's remarks on the history of the stelae, *Ath. Mitth.*, XXVI, 1901, 303.

[9] The finds from the Memphis region are especially rich.

[10] ARNDT, *Zeitschrift d. Münchner Alt.-vereins*, 1897, 1, and lower part of Pl. I (3 views); N.C.G. Cat., no. 330 and (*Billedtavler*) Pl. XXIII; *Bull. Comm.*, 1897, 115, Figs. 2, 3.

It has not the modelling of a first-class work, but the softness of the technique glozes over its imperfections. The languid Dresden head[1] (Pl. XVIII, 4), contemplative and smiling, with half-closed eyes, can also be ascribed to a successor of Praxiteles. It is not unlike a head from Cyzicus in the same museum[2]. But Praxiteles' was not the only influence in the studios of Egypt. Lysippus has to be taken into account (*e.g.*, a plaster head of a youth in Rostock[3]) as well as the various authors of the portraits of Alexander, of whom many heads are found in Egypt[4]. Moreover Pfuhl has shown that the earliest examples of Alexandrian grave-stones are the work of Athenians[5]. As for Bryaxis, the Serapis is the sort of work we might expect from him, but the attribution does not rest on any firm foundation and the statue has even been placed (on external evidence) as late as the reigns of Ptolemy IV or VI[6]. A bearded Zeus (or Asclepius) in the Alexandria Museum[7], too, is of the fourth century "Otricoli" type which cannot be ascribed with certainty to any known artist. The style of Scopas may be recognized in the head of a youth at Alexandria[8], whilst there are traces of both Scopas and Lysippus in another young man at Copenhagen[9]: in him their vigour is combined with a softening pensiveness that comes from the Praxitelean heritage. A like blending of different traditions may be seen in a good little figure of a satyr in the Cairo Museum[10]: this shows Praxitelean influence in the face, but it is more bumpy than a work of pre-Hellenistic times would have been, and the body too is heavy though carefully muscled. This bumpiness is a typical feature in art of the end of the fourth century, and more so in Egypt than elsewhere. We find it in a small Dresden head[11] which otherwise reminds one of both Agias and Apoxyomenos. It has a wide face and flat cheeks, the nose is straight and of equal width throughout its length, the nostrils are deeply set in, and there is a great dimple below the mouth. The brows roll down and heavily overshadow the outer corners of the eyes, while the temples are hollow and there is a prominent lump of flesh above the nose. The hair is not carved and must have been supplied in plaster. A better work of similar tendencies is the head of a bearded god at Alexandria[12] (Pl. XIX, 3), which at a first glance achieves a fine impression of dignity and power, but strikes one as weak on more acquaintance. It has the overhanging brows and the thick nose, the *morbidezza* and the careless

[1] HERRMANN, no. 137; *Arch. Anz.*, 1891, 25 (drawing); ARNDT, *Zeitschr. d. Munch. Alt.-ver.*, 1897, 1, Fig. 3 (photo.); a cast in Ashmolean. Found at Gîzah.

[2] *Rev. arch.*, XXV, 1894 II, Pls. XVII–XVIII; *Arch. Anz.*, 1894, 28, 10; BRUNN-BRUCKMANN, 390.

[3] *Arch. Anz.*, 1918, 112 and Fig. 2. On the Lysippic influence, *Alex. Studien*, Part III.

[4] Collected by SCHREIBER, *Strena Helbigiana*, 277, and *Bildn. Alex.* Cf. sale cat. Coll. Lambros-Dattari, no. 354, Pl. XXXIII, no. 317, Pl. XXXV.

[5] *Ath. Mitth.*, XXVI, 1901, 264.

[6] LEVY, *Sarapis*, *Rev. de l'hist. des religions*, 1913, 61; SETHE, *Sarapis*, 19. Stylistically it goes with the Dionysus from the Thrasyllus Mon. (*Ath. Mitth.*, XIII, 1888, Pl. VIII); the copy to trust is the statue in Alexandria (*Ath. Mitth.*, XXXI, 1906, Pls. VI, VII).

[7] Rm. 12, no. 36; BRECCIA, 203, Fig. 73; text to BR.-BR., 605, Fig. 6; SIX, *J.H.S.*, XLII, 1922, 31, Pl. I, is unaware that it is a replica of the Otricoli Zeus and attributes to Bryaxis; POULSEN, *Coll. Ustinov*, 16 (dealing with a copy from Gaza in Christiania Mus.).

[8] Rm. 12, no. 16; BRECCIA, 191, Fig. 62. Found at Alexandria? By the courtesy of Dr. Breccia I am enabled to publish this and other objects in his museum.

[9] N.C.G. Cat. (*Tillaeg*, 1914 and 1925), no. 262a, (*Tillaeg*) Pl. IV; VALD. SCHMIDT, *Gr.-Aegyptisk Terrakotter*, Fig. 198.

[10] EDGAR, *Cat. Gr. Sculpture*, no. 27447, 9 and Pl. IV; *Arch. Anz.*, 1901, 199, no. 5 and Fig. 2.

[11] *Münchner Jahrb.*, X, 1916/7, 182, Fig. 3 (SIEVEKING).

[12] Rm. 12, no. 37; BRECCIA, 203.



1

Female head.
Alexandria.



2

Colossal head with horns of Isis.
Hildesheim.



3

Head of a god.
Alexandria.

hair—all the stock elements of an "impressive" work of the school—but there is something feeble about those deep-set eyes and the half-open mouth.

The straining after effect, with the consequent exaggeration and distortion of the features, can be dated to the early third century: the coins of Ptolemy I have it so markedly as to look like caricatures. There is a head in Thera[1] which strongly resembles that on his coins, and as its provenance is a Ptolemaic building in an Egyptian protectorate there is every reason to accept the attribution. Unfortunately it is in very poor condition, and in point of fact the best portrait of him is on a plaster-cast from a plaque that belongs to the Memphis find which is now in Hildesheim[2] and is thereby dated to before 220. There is no reason to suppose that the plaque was modelled in his life-time, and it gave in fact an ideal representation.

The original group of Aphrodite and the Triton can be stylistically connected, as Wace has shown, with the "Antioch" of Eutychides, which is probably of 296 B.C. The Dresden copy[3] (Pl. XX) might be almost contemporary; a statuette in the Cairo Museum[4] seems to give a later version of the Aphrodite, who now has become a slim maiden with a quietly beautiful face. The Dresden figure is headless: the body is conventional and somewhat thick. The Triton too is sturdily built, though his muscles are slurred over; but the disproportionate width of the thighs is no doubt a muddle of the copyist's. The face and neck have been drastically cleaned, though we can still see enough to make a description worth while. The forehead is fleshy and he has heavy brows overshadowing the outer corners of the eyes, while the inner corners are very deeply set (so that the place of the eyes is really supplied by shadow), also he has a down-turned mouth with prominent lips and a big dimple below, and fat cheeks into which the nose is sunk.

A head of Alexander in the Alexandria Museum[5] (Pl. XXI) is flatter and more careless, but can be classed with the Triton. It is in fact an ideal work and does not claim to be a portrait. For other specimens of semi-portraiture we can take a head in the Ny Carlsberg collection[6] (Pl. XVIII, 1) and another in the Louvre[7] (Pl. XXII). With these things one feels that the expression was specially assumed for the occasion. It was the fashion then throughout the Hellenistic world for a portrait to look strained and violent, but it shows up worse in Egypt than elsewhere because so often there is nothing in a head from Egypt except the expression. I mean that the facility of their impressionist technique had induced sculptors to neglect detail in their modelling and trust to the soft finish to conceal the fact that they had put no more work than they could help into the different parts of the face but merely made it up of various blank planes. Compare one of these heads with the "Seleucus"

[1] *Thera*, I, 245, text fig., and Pl. XXI.

[2] *Arch. Anz.*, 1907, 368, Fig. 7; *Denkm. d. Pelizaeus Mus.*, Figs. 56, 57; RUBENSOHN, *Hellenist. Silbergerät*, no. 32, Pl. VI. *Cf.* the other head, no. 12, Pl. X. The Louvre marble portrait is dismissed by DICKINS, *J.H.S.*, XXXIV, 1914, 295, in an article which assembles the supposed heads of early Ptolemies and deals fully with the question of facial resemblance.

[3] HERRMANN, no. 196; WACE, *B.S.A.*, IX, 1902/3, 221, Fig. 1; DICKINS, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, Fig. 25. Came from Alexandria, and I do not perceive that it differs at all from Graeco-Egyptian work; I have seen a torso found in the Delta which was of Polyclitan type but similar to the Dresden group in marble, surface and dowel-system.

[4] Cat. no. 27454, Pl. VI; MASPERO, *Guide du Musée* (1915), Fig. 83. Said to be from Alexandria.

[5] Rm. 12, no. 16a; BRECCIA, 191. Found in Alexandria.

[6] N.C.G. Cat., no. 453 and Pl. XXXIII; ARNDT-BR., *Portr.*, 577. From Memphis.

[7] Cat. no. 3168; WALDSTEIN, *Gr. Sculp. and Modern Art*, Pl. XXXIX. Boxer's ears.

bust at Naples[1], the original of which belonged to much the same period but to a different school, and the poverty of the Graeco-Egyptian head will be obvious. The "Seleucus" is done with great attention to all such details as the shape of the mouth, the ears, the furrows in the cheeks, and every bit of it is full of meaning, whereas if the other head were found in fragments it would scarcely seem worth while to fit them up again. Especially noteworthy is the contrast in the eyes, the "Seleucus" eyes so excellently accurate and life-like, and the other's quite empty of intelligence, mere spaces. But in marble with a high polish this kind of sculpture is fairly successful; I give as examples a small Alexander head[2] (Pl. XVIII, 3) which has a surface like melting wax, and that supreme piece of bad illusionist work, the Sieglin Head[3], which is so designed as to require the minimum of modelling and that in straight lines.

There is a queer little group of Bellerophon on Pegasus of which we have a headless example in Alexandria[4] (Pl. XX) and another (of barbarous execution) at Homs of Barbary[5]; a relief at Budapest[6] might go back to the same original. The head at Homs is indeterminate, but the general feel of the thing would incline one to put it in the "violent" period, and the drapery is consonant with such a dating. Further confirmation is afforded by a relief which von Bissing ascribes to the first decades of the third century, and Pagenstecher[7] accepts as Early Hellenistic: as befits a conventional sepulchral subject the treatment is more conventional than in the Bellerophon (*e.g.*, the mane is hogged instead of long and tangled), but the similarity is sufficient to make it reasonable to consider them contemporary.

The faint Lionardo smile of fourth-century women gave place to a passionate intensity of gaze which finds its counterpart in the male heads we have discussed. Such female heads are numerous, especially in the Egyptian museums, but most of them are small and of poor workmanship, and hence unpublished[8]. The hair was usually supplied in stucco[9]; they have a straight nose and a deep long dimple under a pouting mouth. The craftsmen had a trick of tilting the head into some strained position in order to heighten the expression, which as a matter of fact often degenerated in their unskilful hands into one of mere sulkiness. Similar sculpture appears to have been made in other Hellenistic countries (some heads are found in S. Russia[10]), but the better kind of Egyptian work is unmistakable. A statuette of Aphrodite, in the Cairo Museum[11], gives us one of these passionate heads in conjunction with

[1] *Guida*, 890; HEKLER, 68; DELBRÜCK, *Ant. Portr.*, Pl. 22, Figs. 11, 15.

[2] Alex. Mus. Rm. 12, Case B, no. 22; SCHREIBER, *Bildn. Alex.*, Pl. III D, 2 (from a cast).

[3] SCHREIBER, *op. cit.*, Pl. II C; BERNOUILLI, *Darstellungen Alex.*, Figs. 7, 8; *B.S.A.*, XXI, 1914/6, Pl. III, 3. From Alexandria. I regret that I only know it from the photographs and am somewhat vague as to the date of it.

[4] Rm. 16, no. 32; BRECCIA, 224; *Arch. Anz.*, 1896, 93, Fig. 3.

[5] *Notiziario arch.*, III, 1922, 81 and Fig. 10.

[6] *Az antik Plasztikai* (1920), Rm. 11, no. 61, with plate at end.

[7] *Nekropolis*, 5 and Fig. 2. Bought in Cairo, but the material is Alexandrian stone.

[8] For typical examples see *Jahrb.*, XXIV, 1909, 83, Fig. 12; and the head from Lower Egypt, N.C.G. Cat. (*Tillaeg*, 1914 and 1925), no. 330a, (*Tillaeg*) Pl. VI, also ill. VALD. SCHMIDT, *Gr.-Aeg. Terrak.*, Fig 195.

[9] This habit of finishing things in stucco has been put down to a desire to economize in marble, which is not found in Lower Egypt and so was naturally expensive there. But in most cases the quantity saved is infinitesimal, and the practice was employed in other countries where marble was abundant. It seems therefore to have been a device to save labour rather than material.

[10] *Arch. Anz.*, 1913, 215, Figs. 63, 64; 1914, 206, Fig. 1.

[11] Cat. no. 27458, Pl. VI; *Bull. Comm.*, 1897, 113, Fig. 1. From Koptos.



Bellerophon on Pegasus.
Alexandria.



Aphrodite and Triton.
Dresden.



Alexander the Great.
Alexandria.



Head from the Serapeum.
Alexandria.



Photo. Giraudon



Photo. Giraudon

Herakles (?). *Louvre.*

a fleshy type of body. Another, a diademed head of uncertain sex in Rostock[1], goes back to the same original as a Helios copied in the school of Aphrodisias. The finest of them all is a head of a goddess which was discovered in the Serapeum and is now in the Alexandria Museum[2] (Pl. XXI). I have mentioned the Naue Head as an example of what Graeco-Egyptian art was at its beginning; comparison with it will show how far the school had discarded its early ideals in the evolution of a new if eclectic type. If it were safe to judge by a single instance one might say that the new style did not come into vogue until 300, for we have a female statuette[3] which retains the calm and happy face, while its pose inclines to the pathetic, and its drapery resembles the "Antioch" in Budapest and the Themis of Rhamnus.

There is also a group in Alexandria[4] which has been interpreted as Queen Berenice II mourning for her daughter: if this were correct it would have been carved at about 238. But it might equally well be an ordinary sepulchral monument; in style and material (local nummulitic limestone) it is comparable to the stele of two Pisidian women[5] and other early Alexandrian grave-stones. The faces are in a damaged condition, but they seem to have been of much the same type as the Serapeum head, with coarse wide features. The date, judging by the grave-stones, should be somewhere around 238; there are moreover two painted stelae from Pagasae which have similar figures, and Arvanitopoullos says they belong epigraphically to the second half of the century; he is inclined to put one before 225 and the other just after it[6]. Another limestone funerary statue, a half-length female figure in the Egyptian collection at Athens[7], is also paralleled on the Pagasae stelae, but its protruding eyes and blank features suggest that it might be later by a generation or two.

The over-emotional ideals of this school were bound to be modified. A revolt against the violent male type is already evidenced in the later coins of Ptolemy II[8] (284–247). With their help Edgar has identified a limestone statue in Cairo[9] as a portrait of him. The surface is in a bad state, but the figure is evidently that of a king and the face is what might be expected in this reign: there is still plenty of strength there but the exaggerated masculinity of the older work is toned down. It is by no means a realistic portrait, in fact the treatment is analogous to that of the Cairo statuette of Heracles wearing the lion-skin as a hood, a "face of pronouncedly Hellenistic type with lumpy modelling[10]." Dickins identifies the Louvre head called Soter as Ptolemy II[11], and Edgar also recognizes him and his wife in two bronze statuettes in the British Museum[12]. It is good enough stylistically:

[1] *Arch. Anz.*, 1918, 114 and Fig. 3. [2] Rm. 12, no. 20; BRECCIA, 100, Fig. 24, 193.

[3] Cairo Mus., Cat. no. 27464, Pl. VII. Found at Memphis.

[4] BRECCIA, 313, Fig. 196: *Journ. internat. numism.*, I, 1898, Pl. 10; *Mon. Piot*, IV, 1899, 230, Pl. XIX; COLLIGNON, *Statues funér.*, 187, Fig. 114.

[5] PFUHL, *Ath. Mitth.*, XXVI, 1901, 258, Pl. XVIII, 2. For other stelae see elsewhere in the same article.

[6] Volo Mus., Cat. nos. 20, 125.

[7] SVORONOS, *Journ. internat. numism.*, I, 1898, 228, Pl. IX, identifies as Berenice II.

[8] Especially those with heads of Soter and Berenice, and himself and Arsinoe. (B.M. Cat., *Ptol.*, Pl. VII, 1–4; SVORONOS, *Münzen der Ptol.*, 91, Pl. 14, dates them from 271 onwards.)

[9] *J.H.S.*, XXXIII, 1913, 50, Pl. II; better illustrated by MARIANI, *Notiz. arch.*, III, 1922, 13, Figs. 9–11. From Aphroditopolis.

[10] Cat. no. 27446, Pl. IV. Found at Memphis.

[11] *J.H.S.*, XXXIV, 1914, 295, 297, Fig. 1; DELBRÜCK, *Ant. Porträts*, Pl. 23.

[12] *J.H.S.*, XXVI, 1906, 281, Pl. XVIII. PERDRIZET (*Bronzes de la Coll. Fouquet*, 39) doubts their representing Ptolemies, which is rather uncalled-for since the attributes are all in favour of this interpretation (as Edgar says, *J.H.S.*, XXXIII, 1913, 52, n. 4).

the eyes seem rather sharp, the male body is heavy and the other resembles those glazed vases, of Alexandrian manufacture and advanced third century date, which bear figures of queens in relief[1]. It is probably the same king who appears on the "Alexander Cameo" at Vienna[2]: somewhat of the heavy-brow mannerism survives, for both sexes, and his eye is deep-set; on the other hand the intensity of Soter's time is absent and a certain amount of blankness has crept in. The Petrograd cameo[3] I only know from photographs, and I hold no views regarding it. There is said too to be a marble head of Ptolemy II in the Sieglin Collection, but I do not know it.

Of Ptolemy III there may be several portraits extant. The best is a colossal basalt head in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek[4], an open-faced thing and pleasant after its Mussolini predecessors. I have no faith in the clumsy little granite head in the Terme[5]. Breccia adds a head and a bust in Alexandria[6]; their wide eyes with sharply outlined upper lids and the breadth and general emptiness of the faces would suit the period. I do not propose to enter into the question of their resemblance; great latitude must be allowed as the average royal portrait was of course executed from memory and it is doubtful whether a canonical type existed for anybody except Soter. In the case of one of the plaster-casts in Hildesheim[7] we have external evidence in favour of the identification.

I am inclined to put the Young Warrior of the Alexandria Museum[8] at about this time. It is an attempt to achieve an animated expression without distorting the features: "the architectural effect of head and face is obtained by the use of straight lines." The bronze portrait of a lady in Boston[9] also finds its right place here (Pl. XXIII).

To a large extent the artistic movement that produced all these sculptures was a reaction to naturalism. The course of events may be observed on the coins, whose highest pitch of realistic portraiture is attained in the gold pieces struck by Ptolemy IV (221–203)[10]; the beginnings of the naturalistic school can be placed before 250 (on the strength of the coins of Ptolemy II[11]) and by the last quarter of the century it was fully developed. It favoured more pensive types of face than its contemporary, the realistic school of Pergamon[12]. For

[1] Courby, *Vases à reliefs*, 509.

[2] Furtwängler, *Gemmen*, Pl. 53, 1; Bernouilli, *Darstell. Alex.*, 130, Pl. VIII 1.

[3] Furtw., Pl. 53, 2; Bernouilli, 126, Pl. IX 1.

[4] Arndt, *Glypt.*, Pl. 208; accepted as Ptolemy III by Dickins, *J.H.S.*, xxxiv, 1914, 297, Fig. 4. 3, 299.

[5] Paribeni, *Guida*, no. 564; *Arch. Anz.*, 1911, 168, Fig. 5.

[6] Rm. 12, nos. 15, 15a; Breccia, 196, Fig. 67; English edn., Figs. 85–87.

[7] Rubensohn, *Hellenist. Silbergerät*, no. 13, Pl. X. From Memphis. The collection of casts was gathered during this generation, and a large proportion of the original silver-work was probably of contemporary Egyptian make; it might be possible even to ascribe a number of pieces (bust-medallions) to one hand, perhaps that of the master of the shop.

[8] Rm. 12, no. 18; Breccia, 192, Figs. 63, 64. The pupils are indicated, which in Egypt is not a proof of Roman date.

[9] Cat. no. 56; Froehner, *Coll. Tyszkiewicz* (Munich edn.), Pls. XXXXIII, XXXXIV; Chase, *Sculpture in Amer.*, Fig. 160. From Memphis or near it. Photograph by Prof. Clarence Kennedy of Smith College; for the use of it and the views of the other two Boston heads I am indebted to Dr. Caskey and the Museum of Fine Arts.

[10] B.M. Cat., *Ptol.*, Pl. XV; Svoronos, *Münzen der Ptol.*, Pls. LXXV–LXXVII.

[11] Svoronos, as I said above, dates the better coins from 271 onwards.

[12] But terracottas found at Hadra give Pergamene types of Gauls and satyrs (Breccia, 260, Figs. 120, 121; *Mon. Piot*, xviii, 1910, Pl. VIII), and there is a sufficiently Pergamene statuette of a satyr in Cairo, found in Egypt (*Mon. Piot*, 76, Fig. 15; Rayet, *Mon. de l'art ant.*, Pl. 85, no. 7), as well as the famous head



Bronze head from the Tyszkiewicz Collection.
Boston.



Fragmentary female head.
Alexandria.



Ptolemy IV.
Boston.



Arsinoe, wife of Ptolemy IV.
Boston.

pure realism its masterpiece is a wonderful fragment in Alexandria, perhaps the portrait of Berenice II[1] (Pl. XXIII). I should like to remark on the presence here of a number of traditional devices of the Graeco-Egyptian sculptor, the wide face and thick cheeks which reveal no signs of the bone beneath, the lack of detail except in the most significant features, the sketchiness of the less conspicuous parts of the hair. A characteristic of late rather than early times is the prominence and sharpness of the upper eyelid.

A pair of heads in Boston[2] (Pl. XXIV) have been rightly identified as Ptolemy IV and his wife. The woman is interesting; the other is not a good piece of work, but it conveys a correct impression of the miserable man. The "Harpocrates" gem produced by Blum[3] does not look to me as though it resembled him. More supposed portraits, on a mould in Cairo[4] and on the relief of the "Apotheosis of Homer[5]", have been sufficiently condemned by others.

Sculpture in Egypt now begins to go downhill. Coins of Ptolemy V suggest that heads with vacant faces and wide yet carefully-modelled eyes should be put in the first half of the second century, *e.g.*, the Naples bronze which used to be described as Ptolemy II[6]. A head of a goddess in the Berlin Museum[7] may be taken as the corresponding female type. The eyes are large and blank, with the upper eyelid prominent, and are set far back from the nose; the mouth is pouting; nose and forehead run at different angles so that the profile is very unclassic; there is a notable lack of modelling in the face. Somewhat similar is a horned female head in Hildesheim[8] (Pl. XIX, 2) which has been compared to Damophon's work. Here the face is heavy, the nose thick, the upper eyelid prominent; the lips are pushed out and the hollow beneath the mouth is so deep that the chin seems to stick out like a plum. The hair is sketchy and the ears have an unfinished appearance (especially the right). Perhaps a female head in the Warocqué Collection[9] may belong to the same class: I cannot tell from the reproduction.

A half-length funerary statue of a woman from Thera[10], an Egyptian protectorate, has transparent drapery such as was invented towards the middle of the second century; from the stiffness of the pose one would put it before the Cleopatra at Delos, a work of 138/7[11].

of a Gaul which is rumoured to have come from either Thasos or the Fayyûm (SCHREIBER, *Gallierkopf*; *Mon. Piot*, 67, Pl. VII; DICKINS, *Hellen. Sculp.*, Fig. 6).

[1] Rm. 12, no. 21; BRECCIA, 194. A related type occurs on a gem, FURTWANGLER, *Ant. Gemmen*, Pl. XXXI 29; XXXII 34.

[2] Cat. nos. 57, 58; DUTILH, *Journ. internat. num.*, III, 1900, 313, Pls. 15, 16; found in Egypt, probably between Hadra and Canopus.

[3] *B.C.H.*, XXXIX, 1915, 17.

[4] Suggested by HAUSER, *Jahresh.*, VIII, 1905, 83; see Edgar's reply in the next vol., 27.

[5] DICKINS, *J.H.S.*, XXXIV, 1914, 301; Hauser tries a new identification, *Jahresh.*, VIII, 1905, 85, with a coin of Alexander Bala, but Lippold rejects it, *Rom. Mitth.*, XXXIII, 1918, 77.

[6] HEKLER, 73a; WACE, *J.H.S.*, XXV, 1905, 91, Pl. VIII 1, says the style is late 3rd cent.; DICKINS, *J.H.S.*, XXXIV, 1914, 296, points out that it does not resemble Ptol. II; IPPEL, *Bronzefund von Galjûb*, 65, compares coin-portraits of Ptol. V and VI. From Herculaneum.

[7] *K. Beschr.*, 1478. From Egypt.

[8] *Denkm. d. Pelizaeus Mus.*, no. 1776. Island marble: ht. 45 cm.: bought in Egypt. I am much indebted to the Director, Prof. Dr. Roeder, for allowing me to publish it.

[9] Cat. no 161; HAUSER, *Berliner philol. Wochenschrift*, 1905, 70. From Memphis; made out of a column-base.

[10] Nat. Mus., Athens. KAVVADIAS, Cat. no. 780; *Jahresh.*, I, 1898, 4, Fig. 2; COLLIGNON, *Statues funér.*, Fig. 190. Found with sepulchral inscription, *C.I.G.*, XII, 3, no. 873.

[11] *B.C.H.*, XXXI, 1907, 415, Fig. 9; COLLIGNON, *op. cit.*, Fig. 188.

These half-length female figures appear to belong to the Egyptian sphere of influence, thus we have the Athens one from Egypt[1] (which may as well be contemporary with this as earlier) and others from Thera itself and Anaphe, Melos, and Cyrene[2].

For the last hundred years of Ptolemaic rule the coins are of no assistance, except in so far as they lead us to expect that there will be no sculpture of aesthetic value. The Greeks are now losing their sense of nationality; they give Egyptian names to their children, they intermarry with the natives, they adopt Egyptian designs for their votive offerings and their tombs[3]. It would be tiresome to deal at length with the art of such Levantine decadence.

The great blankness of the face is the most distinctive feature of the Antoniades Head in the Alexandria Museum[4]. A second century date is probable for a female head (? portrait of a queen) in Copenhagen[5]. It is also the most likely on various grounds for the Cairo Siren[6]. This strange figure is the only visible member of a monument which lies before the Serapeum at Memphis and consists of eleven statues of famous men and a group of animals and monstrous creatures of unknown import. They were dug up by Mariette, who took some very bad drawings of them and buried them again, with the exception of the Siren. He stated that they were covered with Greek *graffiti*, so it should be possible to determine the age of the monument if it were re-excavated.

The so-called Ptolemy I of Copenhagen[7] should probably come late in the second century. Milne thinks it might be Soter II who reigned in Egypt 116–108 and 88–80. Among the better specimens of Late Hellenistic work are the alabaster head of Alexander in Cairo[8], the bronze Apollo in the British Museum[9], and a female head in Alexandria[10] (Pl. XIX, 1), which is chiefly remarkable for the elaborate ornamentation of the hair: it has the heads of a lion and bull to either side and wears a complicated crown with a crescent on top.

In Ippel's study[11] of the bronze statuettes from Ḳalyûb (the stock of a country goldsmith a day's journey from Memphis), he tries to date them at *c.* 200 B.C. or earlier on the grounds that they show no Neo-Attic or archaistic tendencies and that they are often reminiscent

[1] *Journ. internat. numism.*, I, 1898, Pl. 9.

[2] *Jahresh.*, I, 1898, 5.

[3] *Journal*, 1922, 139; PAGENSTECHER, *Nekropolis*. It is interesting to know that a granite head in Egyptian style has been discovered in Aegina harbour; it bears a hieroglyphic inscription of Ptolemy VI, and one wonders what it was doing there (*Ath. Mitth.*, XII, 1887, 212, Pls. VII, VIII; now in Nat. Mus., Athens). The king may have had a liking for foreign arts, if it is true that he is the man represented on a semi-Parthian gem in Paris wearing the crown of Egypt. (FURTWÄNGLER, *Ant. Gemmen*, Pl. XXXI 25; LIPPOLD, *Gemmen*, Pl. LXX 5.)

[4] Rm. 12, Lge. case A, no. 5; BRECCIA, 195, Fig. 66.

[5] N.C.G. Cat. (and *Tillaeg*, 1914 and 1925), no. 278, Pl. XX; Poulsen identifies tentatively as one of the wives of Euergetes II (127–117); or, he says, she might be a personification of Africa.

[6] Cat. no. 27506, Pl. VIII; MASPERO, *Guide* (1915), Fig. 80. *Bull. Comm.*, 1897, 123, and Cat., 28 n., for the evidence in favour of a second century dating. WILCKEN, *Jahrb.*, XXXI, 1917, 149, gives a long discussion of the whole monument; for the date see 198.—Note that the eyes have the pupils marked.

[7] N.C.G. Cat. (*Tillaeg*, 1914 and 1925), no. 453a, (*Tillaeg*) Pl. VIII; in the 1925 edn. Poulsen says it represents the same man as the head of "Attalus I" from Pergamon and identifies him as Lysimachus of Thrace. DICKINS, *J.H.S.*, XXXIV, 1914, 295, Fig. 2; MILNE, *J.H.S.*, XXXVI, 1916, 98, n. 2; ARNDT-BR., *Portr.*, 853–4.

[8] Cat. no. 27476, Pl. X. "Found among objects of the later Hellenistic period."

[9] Cat. no. 828; *Select Bronzes*, Pl. XLI; BULLE, 81. From Ziftah.

[10] Rm. 12, no. 7; BRECCIA, 195—he believes it to be a queen represented as a goddess.

[11] *Bronzefund v. Galjûb*, 85.

of fourth-century art. It may be pointed out that the archaistic and Neo-Attic styles were certainly not popular in Egypt and probably never existed there, and that the majority of the types represented in the hoard also occur in Romano-Egyptian terracottas[1]. These terracottas have now been adequately studied[2] with the help of excavation results and it is known that the vast majority belong to Late Imperial times, although some few may be Hellenistic. There is a great and acknowledged difference in style between the bronzes and the plaster-casts from Memphis, the last of which are of *c.* 220, but the affinity of the bronzes and the terracottas leaps to the eye. In the face of this evidence I do not see how the Ḳalyûb statuettes can be older than the end of the second century. Their principal value lies in the fact that they enable us to watch the transition from Hellenistic to Roman.

I suppose it is essential that I should say something about the well-known statue of the Nile. The best copy of it, the one in the Vatican, was found in an Isiac sanctuary at Rome together with the Louvre figure of the Tiber[3]. The two river-gods are of unequal workmanship, and it has accordingly been suggested that the Nile is a reproduction of an older Alexandrian statue and the Tiber a counterpart to it produced to order by a Roman sculptor. The reclining type of the deity exists in sculptures and coins, but a seated type is the only one which occurs in the Romano-Egyptian terracottas[4]. This god is seated too in the carvings of the Tazza Farnese[5], which is probably a piece of second-century Ptolemaic work. Personifications were prevalent in Egypt under the Empire, but it is to be noted that none (except two Victoryes) is present among a large batch of clay-sealings from Edfu which Milne dates to *c.* 100 B.C.[6]. This would incline one to believe that the Egyptian type of Hapi was the only image of the god until fairly late in the Ptolemaic period and the Hellenic representation then produced was a seated figure. The pictorial character of the Vatican statue is obvious, and it may well be that its original was a painting executed at a time when Italy took much interest in Egypt and Egyptian cults. The conception is sufficiently paralleled by the Tellus scene of Carthage and the Ara Pacis, and the view that we have to do with a purely Roman type has much to commend it.

A head in Egyptian headdress, now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori[7], has been identified as Berenice II (wherein it has shared the fate of most of the female heads supposed to be "Alexandrian"), though why a portrait of a third-century queen should have been kept in a Roman temple it is difficult to understand. Hekler has since pointed out that the headdress is more suitable for Isis, and he and von Bissing would label it accordingly as an Isis-Nekhbet-Aphrodite, or possibly as a Roman lady so represented. The Egyptian inspiration is evident: it is a marble imitation of a post-Pharaonic granite sculpture. A mould in Hildesheim[8] is remarkably like it, and the date is probably the beginning of the Empire.

In the preceding pages I have endeavoured to present the history of Hellenistic-Egyptian sculpture, from its beginning as the eclectic product of all the artistic currents of the fourth

[1] *E.g.*, the Aphrodite Anadyomene, Eros and Psyche, sphinx, bunch of grapes, snake, the various kinds of Bes, Isis and Harpocrates. The bust of Aphrodite and Eros, no. 60, is paralleled by an early-looking terracotta protome which Ippel notes and illustrates, Fig. 15.

[2] VALD. SCHMIDT, *Gr.-Aeg. Terrakotten*; WEBER, *Ag.-gr. Terr.*

[3] BRUNN-BR., 196 (Nile), 197 (Tiber). [4] WEBER, 136.

[5] FURTWANGLER, *Ant. Gemmen*, Pl. LV.

[6] *J.H.S.*, XXXVI, 1916, 87. One bears the cartouche of Ptolemy X.

[7] *Bull. Comm.*, 1897, 118, Pl. VIII; DELBRUCK, *Portr.*, Pl. 28; HEKLER, *Jahresh.*, XIV 1911, 119 Found in a sanctuary of Isis and Serapis at Rome.

[8] RUBENSOHN, *Hellenist. Silbergerät*, no. 65, Pl. XVII.

century, through its periods of passionate extravagance and subsequently of naturalism, to its decline, when conventionality is only relieved by painstaking workmanship. Later artistic movements in the country are semi-oriental; thus a revival in native sculpture occurred in the first century B.C., when some curious portraits were turned out under Graeco-Roman influence[1]. Hellenism was given new life by political changes introduced after the Roman conquest[2], and accordingly there was an increase in the output of the Greek communities; they found expression not so much in copies of old masterpieces and in imperial portraits as in painted[3] or modelled representations of their dead, in ivories, and in those crude terracottas which were made in such numbers down to Coptic times. But the style of these things connects them with Asia rather than with Europe, and there is little of the Hellenic or Hellenistic spirit there.

[1] Mostly in Cairo (see Cat.) and Munich. Some can be dated by their hieroglyphic inscriptions.

[2] IDRIS BELL, *Journal*, 1922, 148.

[3] The painted portraits do not begin with Hadrian, as Petrie said, but in the first century A.D. (EDGAR, *J.H.S.*, XXV, 1905, 225).

THE CULT OF THE SUN AND THE CULT OF THE DEAD IN EGYPT

By W. J. PERRY

During recent years Dr. Blackman has propounded a theory of the relationship between the sun-cult and the cult of the dead in Egypt that raises an issue of fundamental importance to all who are concerned with the history of early thought. Briefly stated his theory is this. He claims that there was a predynastic Heliopolitan state which dominated the whole of Egypt—that, in fact, there was an united Egypt in predynastic times—and that the state cult was that of the sun. The ruler of predynastic Heliopolis performed every morning certain rites in connection with the cult-statue of the sun-god, the chief element of the ritual being a lustration. In later times this ritual toilet became part of the ordinary temple ritual throughout Egypt: it became of fundamental importance in the ritual of mummification, and it was observed on behalf of the king himself when he himself performed rites connected with the sun-god or with his dead father. The solar ritual was, in fact, the kernel of all the temple and mortuary ritual of Egypt from the earliest times onward. As it is of extreme importance that the bases of this theory should be examined in the closest possible manner, I am offering some remarks in order that Dr. Blackman, and those who agree with him, notably Professor Peet, may have the opportunity of clearing up the situation. I do not propose to examine the problem in all its detail, nor shall I deal with the consequences, as concerns the general theory of thought, of the adoption or rejection of Dr. Blackman's theory. I shall confine myself to some of the more immediate issues that are raised by his various statements.

I have coupled Professor Peet with Dr. Blackman because he has lately taken me severely to task on account of my "incursion" into Egyptology, and has examined my statements from the point of view of a "specialist." In this criticism Professor Peet made certain statements concerning matters that I assumed to be commonly accepted, and has argued in a direction contrary to other authorities in Egyptology. It is in the hope of clearing the situation that I have ventured in this article to indicate, in those instances which are germane to the main theme, the evidence in justification of certain statements to which Professor Peet objects so vigorously. In a review of my small book on *The Origin of Magic and Religion*, in which he comments very vigorously on my views, Professor Peet rejects with vehemence certain statements concerned with the cult of Osiris that have a direct bearing on the theory of Dr. Blackman which he so ardently champions. I assumed, contrary to Dr. Blackman, that the ritual of mummification, and not that of the sun-god, had provided the model for religious cults the world over, and that the ritual of the sun-cult was largely determined by that of Osiris[1]. I was, of course, well aware of the work of Dr. Blackman, and

[1] I may remark here that there is abundant evidence for an underlying unity of ritual throughout the world. *Cf.*, for instance, A. VAN GENNEP'S *Les rites de passage*, 1911, and A. M. HOCART in *The Ceylon Journal of Science*, I, 1924. Professor Peet is a master of the *non-sequitur*. In common with all who have dealt with Egyptian religion I have coupled Osiris with mummification. But apparently I am not allowed to do so by

at one time was inclined to believe with him that the practice of mummification had arisen in connection with a ritual based on that of the sun-god, Rēʿ. But in the end I followed Elliot Smith who, in his *Evolution of the Dragon*, seemed to me to have given a clear statement of the case when he said that "Osiris was the prototype of all gods, his ritual was the basis of all religious ceremonial." I still hold that to be, with reservations, a substantial statement of the truth. I added to the quotation from Elliot Smith: "The Egyptians claimed that all funerary cults originated with Osiris, that he gave them their religious doctrines, their rites, the rules for their sanctuaries and plans for their temples" (*op. cit.*, 34). Professor Peet objects strongly to this, and says "No falser statements were ever made about Egypt." He goes on to say that Elliot Smith and I "seem unaware of the existence of religious cults other than those of a funerary nature in which Osiris figures so prominently. They would do well to study some of Dr. Blackman's latest work, based on the Egyptian texts, in which it is shown that the temple ritual throughout Egypt was almost wholly derived primarily from the cult of the sun-god, the Osirian element being mainly secondary[1]."

Before commenting further on these statements of Professor Peet, I may perhaps be allowed to remark that it is curious of him to have accused Elliot Smith and myself of ignorance of the work of Dr. Blackman, when we have both made such extensive use of it. The reader will find that Elliot Smith has referred to Dr. Blackman's work on pp. 18, 20, 23, 46, 48 and elsewhere in *The Evolution of the Dragon*[2], which, in fact, was based primarily on Blackman's work, while I have made use of his researches in *The Children of the Sun* (pp. 179, 272, 434). Indeed, it is distinctly entertaining, as the author of a book entitled *The Children of the Sun*, to be accused of ignoring the sun-cult!

Having thus absolved both of us from the accusation of ignorance of the work of Dr. Blackman, I can now proceed to explain why I made the statement that Professor Peet comments on so strictly—"No falser statements were ever made about Egypt"—why I said that the cults of Osiris had, in the opinion of the Egyptians, constituted the basis of other cults. Of course everyone makes mistakes, and I have never claimed immunity on that score. On the contrary, I deplore any slips that I may make, for they give those who do not agree with me, or do not wish to agree with me, the chance to ride off on side-issues. But

my critic. He takes a sentence of mine, written when I was comparing Tammuz of Sumer and Osiris of Egypt, extracts a phrase from it, and then proceeds to criticize me with vigour. The sentence was as follows: "The reason for this difference apparently lies in the fact that Osiris was, in Egypt, connected with mummification, a practice that certainly was invented by the Egyptians; he is always represented as a mummy, whereas Tammuz is never represented in art at all." I take that to be an innocent, harmless sort of sentence. But not so Professor Peet. He says: "Here is an instance of a fact which is true but not in the sense in which Mr. Perry uses it. Osiris was only connected with mummification in the sense that he is represented in art as a mummy, as were Ptah and Min, and he is represented as a mummy merely because he is dead. The god who is specially connected with mummification is of course Anubis." (p. 67.) I leave these quotations side by side without remark, for they are sufficient comment in themselves. It is news to me to hear that Min was represented as a mummy. What is the evidence for this? Professor Peet's reference to Anubis reveals a confusion of thought. Anubis was the embalmer and not the embalmed, for no one familiar with the early texts can remain in doubt that Osiris was the mummified king.

[1] See this *Journal*, 1924, pp. 63 seq. Professor Peet does not mince his words: "When Mr. Perry enters the field of Egyptian religion he goes badly astray." (p. 67.) I leave it to the reader to decide who has gone astray.

[2] It is simply amazing that this work should have had so little influence on thought. In it Elliot Smith has laid down the lines on which the investigation of early religious thought must proceed for many years to come.

usually take the precaution of covering myself, and in this case can claim the protection of two Egyptologists, Maspero and Moret. I note that Professor Peet states that Dr. Blackman's work is "based on the Egyptian texts," the inference presumably being that mine was not. Can it be that Professor Peet was not aware that my statement was nothing more or less than a literal translation of a sentence from Moret's work *Du caractère religieux de la royauté pharaonique* (pp. 147–8)? This memoir is based on Egyptian texts, just as much as is that of Dr. Blackman. I may quote another text from the same author's *Le rituel du culte divin journalier en Egypte*:—"Après avoir résumé les rites extérieurs du culte, si nous tentons d'en définir l'idée générale, nous sommes invariablement ramenés à cette constation que le culte funéraire osirien a été en Égypte le prototype du culte de tous les êtres divinisés" (p. 221). In adopting this attitude Moret is simply following Maspero (*Études myth.*, I, 318–24).

May I ask whether the indication of my authority makes Professor Peet any less likely to indulge in such strong language with regard to the cult of Osiris as he used when he evidently was under the impression that Elliot Smith and I were solely responsible for the statements he criticized? Did he suddenly discover when reviewing my book that such a statement was false? Or if he had made the discovery already why didn't he assail Maspero and Moret in terms similar to those used with regard to Elliot Smith and myself? I offer him the statement of Moret just quoted, and ask him if his comment still holds, whether "No falser statements were ever made about Egypt"?

It is now time to inquire what are Dr. Blackman's grounds for adopting this revolutionary attitude towards the problem of the development of ritual in Egypt. Dr. Blackman has put forward his work on the significance of the solar ritual in several places[1]. From them I select some quotations to show on what grounds he bases his conclusions, and why he believes that the solar ritual preceded that associated with mummification and Osiris. In the first place he says:—"A study of the texts that bear upon the subject has convinced me that lustrations in Ancient Egypt, whether undergone by the dead or the living, are closely connected with the Heliopolitan sun-cult. That the sun-worshipping priests of predynastic Heliopolis played a great part in shaping the state religion of historic Egypt, has been indicated some years ago by Professor Kurt Sethe in that remarkable essay of his, *Zur Altaegyptischen Sage vom Sonnenauge das in der Fremde war*[2]." Dr. Blackman therefore relies primarily on the authority of Sethe. He assumes with him that Heliopolis was, in predynastic times, the capital of an united Egypt. Sethe bases his reasoning evidently upon the following evidence[3]:

(1) Heliopolis as the spiritual head of Egypt.
(2) The great ennead headed by Rēʿ, the daily new-born child of Nut and Geb.
(3) Set of Ombos (Ballas) as a scamp and murderer of Osiris.
(4) Horus and Set title.
(5) The Nilometer.
(6) The Calendar.

Sethe presumably relies mainly on the Sothic calendar, for he says "Only in an united state, such as that of Heliopolis, could such a calendrical institution be possible[4]." He also

[1] *Cf.* for example. "The Significance of Incense and Libations in Funerary and Temple Ritual," *Zeitschr. f. ag. Spr.*, 50, 1912: "The House of the Morning," *Journal*, V, 1918: "Sacramental Ideas and Usages in Ancient Egypt," *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, XL, 1918.

[2] *Untersuchungen*, V, 121 seq. [3] *Zeitschr. f. ag. Spr.*, 44, 1907, 26. [4] *Ibid.*

states that the Sothic calendar "must" have been invented at Heliopolis[1], which makes it necessary at this point for me once again to break away from the main course of the discussion, in order to refer to another small matter between Professor Peet and myself.

In his review Professor Peet takes me to task for speaking of the "fact" that the Sothic calendar was invented at Heliopolis. These are his words. "The astronomical evidence, if it is to be trusted, shows nothing more than that the calendar must have taken its rise somewhere about the 30th degree south (*sic*) latitude. There were doubtless several important early Egyptian towns within this limit, and Mr. Perry [does Professor Peet ignore Sethe?] selects Heliopolis merely because it suits his hypothesis and then proceeds to speak of the 'fact' that the solar calendar was invented there. It is no fact, but a fancy of Mr. Perry's, which may or may not be true, but which cannot be proved."

On my part I am ready to admit that my words in *The Origin of Magic and Religion* were somewhat too dogmatic, and I willingly consent to go back to the position I adopted in *The Children of the Sun*, where I said, that "it is probable that the calendar was invented at Heliopolis" (p. 441). It is all too easy, in writing a more or less summary description, to over-emphasize a case. But when Sethe says that the invention of the calendar *must* have taken place at Heliopolis, I feel that I am in very good company, in believing it to be, if not a fact, at least a strong probability, especially as Meyer and Borchardt are evidently of the same mind. Any reader of Professor Peet's review who is not acquainted with the facts, which certainly are somewhat technical, would think that I had read a book on Egypt, formed a theory to suit my beliefs, and then proceeded to manipulate the facts to suit it. He would not know that, in associating the Sothic calendar with Heliopolis, I was simply following Meyer, Sethe and Borchardt, three Egyptologists of the first rank. It was thus no "fancy" of mine, and Professor Peet has no right to characterize it as such, for I give him credit for being acquainted with the works in question, and do not for a moment imagine that he did it in ignorance of the facts.

But the matter does not end there. Professor Peet accepts in full the conclusions of Dr. Blackman, and advises Elliot Smith and me to profit by them. But does Professor Peet realize what his whole-hearted advocacy of this point of view really means? It is certain that Dr. Blackman bases his position primarily on Sethe's hypothesis of a predynastic Egypt under a Heliopolitan king. It is equally certain that this hypothesis involves that of the Heliopolitan origin of the Sothic calendar, which is strongly maintained by Sethe, and was used by me in the elaboration of my theory of the origin of the sun-cult. The matter is clear: Professor Peet accepts Dr. Blackman; therefore he accepts Sethe; so presumably he accepts the Heliopolitan origin of the Sothic calendar, for I know of no place where he has even discussed this matter, and so assume by implication that he accepts this theory. Why, therefore, does he reprove me for accepting the very theory that he himself accepts, or at least does not take the trouble to challenge until I happen to accept it and make use of it? If he is not prepared to accept the Heliopolitan origin of the Sothic calendar—or at least to believe in it as extremely probable—why, if he considers the claim that the Sothic calendar originated at Heliopolis to be a "fancy," does he not apply to Sethe the terms that he chooses to apply to myself when I reproduce Sethe's views? Why does he suddenly discover that something is wrong with the theory when I begin to make use of it to further views that he evidently is extremely unwilling to accept, and will go to

[1] *Untersuchungen*, v, 1912, 5.

any length to discredit? I await an explanation of this extraordinary instance, which is similar to that of Moret and Maspero.

With all due respect to Sethe, Dr. Blackman, Professor Peet and all those Egyptologists who are of the same opinion, I maintain that the statements of Sethe do not constitute proof, or anything approaching proof, of a predynastic Heliopolitan hegemony. There is no reason whatever for believing that Heliopolis must have been a capital in order that the Sothic calendar, which I suppose with Sethe, Meyer and Borchardt, to have been invented there, could have spread over Egypt. None of Sethe's evidence seems to me to have any bearing whatever on the matter. It must be remembered that the available texts date from the Fifth Dynasty at the earliest, and that therefore they may have been edited by the Heliopolitan priests, or by those who had acquired the solar theology[1]. The evidence of Sethe affords no foundation for such a theory. Perhaps Sethe can fortify his position, but until he does so, his theory seems to me to be nothing more than speculation of the wildest character. If that be the case, the theory of Dr. Blackman falls to the ground at once. But instead of assuming the falsity of the theory, it is better to see how it enables Dr. Blackman to substantiate his views with regard to the sun-cult.

What has Dr. Blackman to say in support of his theory of the origin of the solar ritual? It is not necessary to give a full account of the theory, for it must be well known to readers of this *Journal*. I shall simply select those topics on which it seems to me that further light should be thrown. The first is as follows. Dr. Blackman says:—"The priests of the Heliopolitan sun-god Rēʿ-Atum represented him as reborn every morning as the result of his undergoing lustration, his lustrators being, according to one conception, the gods Horus and Thoth. The Pharaoh was regarded as the embodiment of the sun-god, a view that was doubtless held in the first instance about the predynastic king of Heliopolis. The Heliopolitan king would also have been high-priest of the sun-god, and officiated, or was supposed to officiate, in the sun-temple every day[2]." In another place he says: "Owing to the political predominance gained by Buto over Heliopolis in the predynastic age, Horus, originally the local god of Buto, came to be identified with the Sun-god, the local god of Heliopolis (SETHE, *op. cit.*, 5). Since the king was regarded as the embodiment of Horus, he was also regarded as the embodiment of the Sun-god. The king would usually have been the son of the previous king and therefore the son of the embodiment of the Sun-god. In course of time the notion naturally grew up that the king was the son of the actual Sun-god, and from the reign of Isesi of the Vth Dynasty it found general acceptance[3]."

I do not know what Dr. Blackman's authority for all these statements may be. Perhaps he can fully justify them. At the same time I feel a considerable difficulty in following his argument. He wishes to get from the predynastic times to those of the latter end of the Fifth Dynasty, when the kings, apparently for the first time, called themselves the Sons of the Sun, and were the embodiments of Horus, the son of the sun-god. The title of Horus was held by the early kings of Egypt, and it is fairly certain that the late predynastic kings of Upper and of Lower Egypt were also called "Horus" or "Followers of Horus." Since the king was, we are told, the embodiment of Horus from the earliest times, it is presumed that each king of the petty kingdoms of Egypt before it was united under one throne was himself

[1] Indeed, Dr. Blackman himself states that the earliest texts at his disposal contain a mixture of archaic funerary rites, together with an admixture of "later" Heliopolitan solar rites. (*Journal*, v, 1918, 160.)

[2] BLACKMAN, *ibid.*, 153 [3] BLACKMAN, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, XL, 1918, 60–1.

the embodiment of the god of the nome, or, at least, intimately associated with the god of the nome. Therefore the king of Heliopolis, if we accept Dr. Blackman's hypothesis for a moment, was originally the embodiment of the sun-god, and he emphatically was not this after the end of the Fifth Dynasty, when, on the contrary, he was the son of the sun-god. Dr. Blackman was thus faced with a difficulty. He equated Horus to Rēʿ-Atum, the god of Heliopolis, who presumably, according to him, existed in predynastic times, and thus made the king the embodiment both of Horus and of Rēʿ-Atum. But he had finally to make the king the son of the sun-god. This he does by the expedient of causing the people to look upon him as the son of his father, the embodiment of the sun-god, and thus to regard himself as the son of the sun-god. But what has happened to Horus in this case? He was equated to the sun-god: he was equated with the king until the end. How, if he was equated to the sun-god, could he change his status to that of son of the sun-god? It will be remembered that the king of Egypt was also known as the son of the dead king, his father, who as dead king was equated with Osiris[1]. In this way it would be possible to work the transference, but Dr. Blackman obviously does not wish to introduce a factor which vitiates the whole of his reasoning. I therefore take it that there is some incongruity in the facts or in the reasoning, and shall await with interest Dr. Blackman's solution of the puzzle.

Other difficulties at once loom up. The theory of Dr. Blackman demands a continuity in the conception of the Egyptian kingship from predynastic times to the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty. He himself says as much—"In course of time the notion gradually grew up that the king was the son of the actual Sun-god." I should like to inquire what the evidence for this continuity is, for I for one have never heard of it. For instance, the royal tombs of the first four dynasties do not, to my knowledge, reveal any trace of the sun-cult, nor any hint of that connection between the king and the sun-god which is so vital a part of Dr. Blackman's theory. The solar theology only appears in the pyramid tombs of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties, and then it is in close connection with the Osirian theology. The mastaba tombs do not contain any mention of Rēʿ, so far as I am aware, and these mastaba tombs represent the old *régime* before the coming of the pyramid tomb.

I am aware that I must defend myself once again on this point. I have always assumed that the royal tombs of the first two dynasties were mastabas, that is, were provided with a superstructure above ground. Professor Peet contradicts this. "The royal tombs of the first dynasties were not mastabas, as he (Perry) would have us believe" (p. 68). That is emphatic enough. But Professor Peet evidently thought that he had better qualify this

[1] In *The Origin of Magic and Religion* I make a statement concerning the king as Horus which has aroused Professor Peet to strong condemnation. I said "The coming into being of the practice of mummification...caused the king of Egypt to be regarded as Horus, the son of Osiris." Professor Peet comments as follows:—"Ill-gotten gains never prosper, and one false inference has led to a second worse than itself [he refers to the remark that I made about Osiris (see p. 192)]: there is no particle of evidence in reality to show that the conception of the king as Horus, a conception older than our first known mummies, was in any way dependent on Osiris." This comment is beside the point. I said that the king became Horus, *son of Osiris*. On the showing of Dr. Blackman, whom Professor Peet follows so closely, the king was in the beginning Horus, who was identified with the sun-god. In later times the king, again as Horus, was the son of a god. As I have suggested, this might well have come about when the king was looked upon as the son of Osiris, who had to maintain the funerary cults connected with his dead father. It was in this connection that I said that the king assumed the status of Horus son of Osiris. He obviously could not have played that part prior to the elaboration of the rites of mummification. Professor Peet seems very fond of extracting a phrase from its context, and then making an irrelevant comment on it.

dogmatic statement, so he concludes his sentence as follows—"Or, if they were, the mastaba portion has been so completely swept away that no archaeologist has ever claimed its existence." Once again, in this case, Professor Peet is fathering on to me a view that is not mine. He states that no archaeologist had claimed that the early royal tombs were mastabas. In that he is completely wrong, for Dr. Reisner, in his work on *The Early Dynastic Cemeteries of Naga-ed-Der* (p. 5), has made this claim, and has backed it up with solid reasoning. At the end of a long discussion of the evidence, he says, "In view of these considerations, it seems extremely probable that the royal tombs at Abydos were covered with superstructures, probably of mud-brick." Seeing that many early dynastic graves of nobles at Nag' ed-Dêr were mastabas, and that they were erected within sight of the royal tombs of Abydos, it is reasonable to accept this conclusion as justified. Otherwise we should have a reform in tomb building beginning with the nobles and finally being copied by the royal family, a phenomenon completely at variance with the rule in this matter, which is that innovations began with the ruling group and were imitated by the lower orders of the community. So, even in default of the support of Dr. Reisner, I should still believe that the royal tombs of the first two dynasties were mastabas, simply because the tombs of the nobles were mastabas. Professor Peet cannot play fast and loose with facts, and deny what is in accordance with well-established general principles. To deny what follows from the forms of nobles' tombs is to reject such a general principle[1].

Since these early tombs contain, so far as I am aware, no hint of a relationship between the king and the sun-god, such as is claimed by Dr. Blackman, but, on the contrary, are full of ample evidence of Osirian ideas, it is evident that there is a lacuna in his exposition to be filled up. Some evidence must be forthcoming that the king was at some time or other in the early dynastic period regarded as the embodiment of the sun-god, and the reason why he ceased for some centuries so to be regarded must be explained. What is more, it is known that those High Priests of Heliopolis during the Fourth Dynasty whose names are known, were royal princes whose names did not contain that of the sun-god Rē', so that there is no reason for connecting them with the sun-god at all.

It is possible to go still further, and to draw attention to the remarkable story of the fatherhood of the sun-god, which is told in connection with Khufu of the Fourth Dynasty. This story is well known. It was predicted that the kings of the Fifth Dynasty would be the Sons of the Sun, born of the wife of the high priest of Heliopolis. We know that with the coming of the Fifth Dynasty the kings included the name of Rē', the sun-god, in their protocols, and that the eighth king of the dynasty, Zedkerē'-Isesi, called himself Son of the Sun, a title henceforward borne by the kings of Egypt. If, as Dr. Blackman claims, the king of Egypt was already associated with the sun-god, in that he was his embodiment, what is the meaning to be assigned to this strange story? There is no hint here of any idea of the king having previously been regarded as the son of the sun-god: it is in connection with Osiris that the king is looked upon as a son. Dr. Blackman's scheme conflicts with this doctrine of solar theogamy, henceforth so characteristic a feature of the Children of the Sun throughout Egyptian history.

In the first four dynasties of united Egypt, therefore, there is, so far as I am aware, no

[1] Professor Peet remarks: "I am bound to say that I have often a difficulty in recognizing Egypt of Old Kingdom times in the garb in which Mr. Perry has dressed her up." If Professor Peet chooses to ignore the opinions of recognized authority, I do not see that he has any cause of complaint when I accept those opinions. It is no fault of mine if Professor Peet chooses to turn Egyptology upside down.

mention of any direct connection between the king and the sun. Certainly the king does not seem to be the sun-god's embodiment. In the early royal tombs, which persisted as those of the nobles during the Pyramid Age, there is no trace of the solar theology, the ideas being all "Osirian": only in the pyramids themselves are solar ideas to be found. Only one possibility occurs to me of a solar connection before the time of the Fifth Dynasty, and I have already stressed this point in *The Children of the Sun*, namely, that several kings of the Third and Fourth Dynasties and one king of the Second Dynasty, had names compounded with that of Rēᶜ. Moreover pyramid building began in the Third Dynasty. Thus the possibility of solar influence can be pushed back to the Second Dynasty, but simply in the matter of royal names and tombs. I do not know of any other evidence bearing on this point. It is remarkable that royal names should include that of Rēᶜ at a time when the solar type of monument, the pyramid, was being built. It all suggests a great forward movement of the solar theology of Heliopolis that culminated in the Fifth Dynasty, when the Heliopolitan ideas triumphed, and the king henceforth was Son of the Sun. It suggests, therefore, that the solar theology was intruding on an older body of belief—that centred round Osiris—and was working toward the culmination at the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty, when the solar cult became the state cult, in my opinion, for the first time.

It is not necessary to examine Dr. Blackman's work on ritual in detail. He deals mainly with the lustrations, libations and fumigations that form the chief features of the ceremonial animation of statues, whether of gods or men. It is evidently possible to argue that transference took place either way, from the god to the king or from the king to the god. The process may have begun with the animation of the statue of the god or of the king, for the ceremonies in both cases are practically identical, a fact that has been brought out clearly by Dr. Blackman. Moreover, the officiant himself went through the same process of toilet, which adds still further to the force of Dr. Blackman's arguments concerning the underlying unity of the ceremonial. There are, however, at least two points where his thesis of the priority of the solar ritual seems to be in danger of breaking down. I shall refer briefly to them.

In the first case the ceremonial toilet of the god's statue consisted, we are told, of lustrations and fumigations. Why it should be thought that the ceremonial toilet was the fundamental conception at the back of the animation ceremony is not revealed by Dr. Blackman. What is more, it would seem that some other conceptions were at work. For instance, in one place Dr. Blackman states that the aim of the ritual connected with the body of a dead man is to restore the fluids and odours of the living. "The general meaning of these passages is quite clear. The corpse of the deceased is dry and shrivelled. To revivify it the vital fluids that have exuded from it must be restored, for not till then will life return and the heart beat again. This, as these texts show, was believed to be accomplished by offering libations to the accompaniment of incantations" (*Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr.*, 50, 71). That means to say, the ceremonial toilet of the statue of the sun-god was adapted to the body of a dead king, with the aim of restoring him to life. The sun-god was supposed to die each night and to be reborn with the aid of these ceremonies. Out of the ceremonial toilet of the dead arose, so Dr. Blackman would assure us, the practice of mummification. But how comes it that the body of the sun-god was itself supposed to be dry and shrivelled "and needing its moisture restored to it" (*ibid.*, 73)? Is that a transference from the Osirian ritual of mummification, connected with the dead king, or is it the original idea connected with the sun-god? If the latter, it is indeed remarkable that the ideas asso-

ciated with the sun-god are those which inevitably would be associated with a dead body, all dry and shrivelled. Surely it is easier to believe that the ceremonial associated with the statue of the sun-god was based on the ritual of mummification, which arises out of natural phenomena, than to believe that the Egyptians imagined their sun-god to die each night and to be reborn by exactly the same processes as were used for the practice of mummification? But we can go further than that, with the aid of Dr. Blackman himself. For has he not shown that the libations offered to the body of the dead king in the first place consisted of the products of decomposition? In support of this he quotes several texts that leave no room to doubt of their meaning, of which I reproduce a few here. "These thy libations, Osiris! These thy libations O Unas, which have come forth before thy son, which have come forth before Horus. I have come I have brought to thee the Horus-eye that thy heart may be cool possessing it.....I offer thee the moisture that has issued from thee, that thy heart may not be still possessing it.....O Mernere, thy water, thy libation, the great flood that issued from thee.....O Osiris Pepy I offer to thee these thy libations, in thy name of *Pr-m-ḫbḥ*. I offer to thee natron (*ntr*) that thou mayest be divine. Thy mother Nut has caused thee to be a god unto thy enemy in the name of 'God.' I offer thee the moisture that has issued from thee[1]."

Later on the fluids that issued from the body become identified with the water of the Nile, the flood that issued from Osiris. "The offering of libations. Thy water belongs to thee, thy flood belongs to thee, the fluid that issued from the god, the exudation that issued from Osiris" (*ibid.*, 70). That is to say, if we are to follow Dr. Blackman, the ceremonial toilet of the statue of the sun-god in predynastic times included libations of water. Then came the application to the living, and to the dead, with the subsequent development of the ritual of mummification, based on the solar toilet, and, like it, intended to convey life. In the course of this development the products of putrefaction of the dead became substituted for the water of life. But finally a further transition was made back to the lustration by water. In addition, it was believed that the body of the sun-god was dry and shrivelled just like a corpse, and had to be revivified. So evidently ideas of death and re-birth ran through the ceremonial toilet of the statue of the sun-god. Surely this is an amazing sequence of events? We are asked to believe that the ceremonial toilet of the sun-god in some marvellous way anticipated the ceremony of animation of the dead body of the king and also of his portrait statue. We are not told why the sun-god should be supposed to be subjected to this ritual toilet. It simply happens. Evidently it is not thought worth while to consider whether the whole process may not have worked the other way round, that it began with the attempts to reanimate the dead and then was transferred to the statue of the sun-god himself. Otherwise how are we to explain the obvious fact, insisted upon by Dr. Blackman himself, that, in the case of the dead king, the offering of the products of putrefaction preceded the offering of libations? The sequence of events is almost inconceivable. Moreover, I should like to inquire what evidence Dr. Blackman has of the existence of statues of the sun-god in those early times that might be animated? It is probable that animation of life-size portrait statues of the dead arose in conjunction with mummification, perhaps as late as the Fifth Dynasty[2]. Can Dr. Blackman or Professor Peet give us any hint of evidence of statues of gods in earlier days that were in temples and the objects of ritual performances such as are described by Dr. Blackman? It certainly

[1] *Zeitschr. f. ag. Spr.*, 50, 69-70. *Cf.* also *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, XL, 55, 64.

[2] Although there is some reason to believe that this practice was in vogue in the Third Dynasty.

is true that these ritual performances took place in the Fifth Dynasty and later, but it would be interesting to know what evidence there is concerning earlier times. Moreover, it is of crucial importance to the Blackman-Peet theory that the existence of these statues be established. You cannot perform the toilet of a statue that does not exist! So far as I am aware there were no such statues prior to the Pyramid Age, with the exception of the enigmatical statues of Min of Coptos. On the other hand, if it be assumed that the toilet of the statue of the sun-god came after the invention of mummification with its attendant practices, all is clear and simple. For the natural presentation to the dead body of the products of putrefaction would be transformed, under the influence of logical theories of the Egyptians concerning the animating powers of water[1], into libations, and then, when the statue of the sun-god was subjected to a like ritual, water would naturally be used[2]. In that way all is clear, but the contrary theory raises hosts of difficulties, some of which appear to me to be practically insuperable, though perhaps Dr. Blackman can show the way out of the maze.

I suggest that if we reject the leading of Dr. Blackman and Professor Peet and follow the lead of Maspero, Sethe and Reisner, we shall be guiding our steps along the true path of development of religious thought in Egypt. The ritual practices of lustration began in connection with the cult of the dead, and were intensified in the ritual of mummification associated with Orisis. The solar ideas were elaborated by the priests of Heliopolis at some unknown date, and they gradually permeated the religious thought of the ruling group during the early dynasties. At the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty the solar cult for the first time became the state cult of Egypt, and was so until the end. In the Pyramid Texts we have the expression of this cult at its point of greatest influence The Heliopolitan priests had "solarised" the old Osirian cult of the dead and were temporarily triumphant. But their triumph did not persist. Slowly but surely the older, more "natural," ideas associated with death asserted themselves, and Osiris gradually regained the position from which he had been displaced temporarily by the sun-god. So far as I am aware there is nothing to be said against this view. It does not demand the use of statues of the sun-god in predynastic times; it accounts for the distinction between the inscriptions in mastabas and pyramids: it accounts for the king as son of the god; it accounts for the idea that the body of the sun-god was like that of the dead: it accounts for all details. The theory of Dr. Blackman, on the other hand, is founded on a very doubtful hypothesis of Sethe, and it meets with difficulties at every turn. It explains nothing, and no attempt has been made, either by Dr. Blackman, or by Professor Peet, who so confidently advises Elliot Smith and myself to follow Dr. Blackman, to discuss the difficulties that it raises.

[1] *Cf.* ELLIOT SMITH, *The Evolution of the Dragon.*

[2] According to Blackman (*Journal*, v, 158, 161, 163), "libation" was a modification of "lustration logically there seems to be no essential difference between the two practices.

OSIRIS OR THE SUN-GOD? A REPLY TO MR. PERRY

By AYLWARD M. BLACKMAN, D.Litt.

I have been asked to write an answer to Mr. Perry's very interesting paper which appears in this volume of the *Journal*. Owing to pressure of other work I have not been able to make this answer as detailed and systematic as I should like it to be; but I hope that what I have to say in reply to some of his more important statements will suffice to show that Mr. Perry's efforts to disprove my theory—and it is only a theory—of the origin of the Ancient Egyptian temple liturgy and kindred rites have miscarried.

I think it will be noticed by any one who cares to make a careful study of my articles on Egyptian temple and funerary ceremonies, that Mr. Perry is inclined to twist round and misinterpret statements of mine, especially on pp. 198–9, where he criticizes what I have said on the subject of lustrations and libations.

The whole trouble with Mr. Perry is, I feel sure, that he is out to prove a theory that is very dear to his heart, is indeed almost a religion with him, namely that all organized cults are derived from the cult of the dead Egyptian king, that Osiris in fact was the first "god," and that before the cult of the dead king and Osiris had been instituted, there was nothing which can be regarded as institutional religion and organized temple worship.

I do not feel myself hampered by any such prejudice. If I thought that Mr. Perry's theory was correct and that it was the best solution of the problems connected with the origin of the rites in question, I should accept it gladly. As a matter of fact I myself originally inclined to the view that the Egyptian temple liturgy, the rite of the House of the Morning, the rite of Opening the Mouth of a statue, and the other kindred rites, were all Osirian in origin. It was not till I had immersed myself in these studies and tried, for a long time in vain, to work out their connection, that I found that the solution of the whole question as to why they are all so similar fundamentally lay in the fact that they are all ultimately based upon the ceremonial toilet of the Heliopolitan king and the supposed daily matutinal ablutions of the sun-god.

First let me reply to Mr. Perry's remarks about Monsieur Moret's interesting book, *Du caractère religieux de la royauté pharaonique*, a book that I have no hesitation in saying has been of great service to myself in my work on Egyptian religious ceremonial. But suggestive and useful though it is to scholars who have a sound working knowledge of the Egyptian language and are thoroughly conversant with Egyptian religious texts, it is dangerous for those who do not possess such an equipment. As Dr. Kees has shown both in his *Opfertanz des ägyptischen Königs* and elsewhere, Monsieur Moret, in his interpretations of Egyptian texts and representations, is inclined to let his sometimes too vivid imagination run away with him.

On p. 195 Mr. Perry maintains "that the statements of Sethe do not constitute proof, or anything approaching proof, of a predynastic Heliopolitan hegemony. There is no reason whatever for believing that Heliopolis must have been a capital.....None of Sethe's evidence seems to me to have any bearing whatever on the matter."

Here I feel that Mr. Perry's lack of knowledge of the language and of Egyptian texts in general stands him in bad stead. As Sethe has shown[1], Atum of Heliopolis was known as "Lord of the Two Lands of Heliopolis" and as such wore the crown of Upper and Lower Egypt. Similarly Ptah of Memphis, the capital during the Old Kingdom, was "King of the Two Lands," Ḥarshef of Herakleopolis Magna, the capital during the Ninth and Tenth Dynasties, was "King of the Two Lands, Ruler of the Lands," and Amenrēʿ of Thebes, the capital during the Imperial Age, was "King of Gods, Ruler of the Ennead." This designation of the sun-god, and the undeniable position of Heliopolis as the intellectual and spiritual centre of the whole country, can only be accounted for by that city having once been a capital[2]. Other important evidence in support of this claim is also adduced by Sethe[3].

Here let me state that against Professor Peet (as quoted by Mr. Perry), I still hold to the view that the Calendar originated at Heliopolis, though I fail to see that, even if that view had to be abandoned, the disproval of a predynastic hegemony of Heliopolis would necessarily follow; there is too much other evidence in favour of the theory. One piece of such evidence is comparatively new. On the top line of the recto of the recently discovered fragment of the Palermo Stone seven predynastic kings are shown whose crowns are still visible. Of these the first, second, and seventh, wear the crown of Upper Egypt, the third that of Lower Egypt, but the fourth, fifth, and sixth, all wear the double crown, indicating a union of both lands before Menes[4].

May I also point out that important evidence that the temple liturgy (with which the rite of the House of the Morning, the Opening of the Mouth of statues, and the funerary liturgy etc. are so intimately connected) and the temple cult-accessories are fundamentally solar, is to be found in my article "Worship (Egyptian)," in HASTINGS, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, XII, 777 ?

On p. 196 Mr. Perry, if I understand him rightly, makes the surprising statement that the Pharaoh was emphatically not the embodiment of the sun-god after the end of the Fifth Dynasty. But the truth is that though he was assigned the title "Son of Rēʿ" towards the end of that Dynasty, the Pharaoh still continued to be regarded as the embodiment of the sun-god and was indeed spoken of and addressed as such throughout Egyptian history[5]!

[1] *Untersuchungen*, V, 5, n. 6.

[2] SETHE, *Zeitschr. f. ag. Spr.*, 44, 26.

[3] *Ibid.*, and see also *Untersuchungen*, ibid.

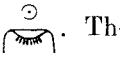
[4] *Journal*, III, 144–145.

[5] The following passage from ERMAN's *Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, English transl., 37, might well be quoted here :—"The king is described as the sun-god on earth, his palace is *the horizon*; when he shows himself *he arises*, when he dies *he sets*. Thus he wears as his diadem the fire-spitting serpent, which the sun-god bears on his forehead, and which destroys his enemies."

Accordingly, when Ammenemes I died it is said that *the god entered his horizon* (*Sinuhe*, R, 6). Amōsis I is *the image* (𓇋𓊪𓅓𓏏) *of Rēʿ whom he* (Rēʿ) *hath fashioned* (*Urkunden*, IV, 14). Tuthmōsis III is spoken of as *appearing as king in the ship of millions of years* (the sun-god's boat) *as occupant of the seat of Atum like Rēʿ* (*Ibid.*, 291). Amenrēʿ, the sun-god, is represented as saying to Ḥatshepsut *Welcome, welcome, in peace, beloved daughter of my body,.....my living image upon earth* (*Ibid.*, 279). In another inscription Ḥatshepsut is designated *the daughter of Amūn of his body,.....the good goddess mighty of arm, the likeness of Amenrēʿ, his living image upon earth* (*Ibid.*, 275), and she is similarly called *his* (i.e. Rēʿ's) *living image* on one of her obelisks at Karnak (*Ibid.*, 362). It is said of Ḥoremḥeb. *he is a god, the king of gods,.....he is Rēʿ, his body is the sun* (DUMICHEN, *Hist. Inschr.*, ii, XL e, 15 ff.). On the *Kuban Stela*, lines 17 and 18, we find it said of Ramesses II, *If thou sayest to the water "Come upon the mountain," the*

Mr. Perry's difficulty in accepting this lies in the fact that he does not make sufficient allowance for the characteristic inconsistency and lack of logic of the Egyptians in all matters appertaining to their religion. Egyptian religious texts are full of inconsistencies and contradictions. Thus in the Pyramid Texts, to which Mr. Perry often refers, the dead king is at one time the sun-god's son and at another time is identified with that divinity, or is even spoken of as stronger than he[1]!

Another equally astonishing statement is made on p. 196, namely "the royal tombs of the first four dynasties do not, to my knowledge, reveal any trace of the sun-cult, nor any hint of that connection between the king and the sun-god which is so vital a part of Dr. Blackman's theory." But Neter-khet (=Zoser!) of the Third Dynasty, Snefru, and almost certainly all the kings of the Fourth Dynasty, were each buried beneath a pyramid, which was the emblem of the sun-god, or rather one of his manifestations, for, as we read in the Pyramid Texts, *Thou* (i.e. the sun-god) *didst appear as the benben* (pyramidion) *in the House of the Phoenix* (the sun-temple) *in Heliopolis*[2]. It is hardly likely that the Pharaoh would be thus closely associated with the sun-god after death, if he were not equally associated with him in his life-time. In this connection it might be pointed out that Kheops' pyramid was named "Horizon," than which no more emphatically solar designation could be found!

It should be pointed out, moreover, that not only all the kings of the Fourth Dynasty except Sōris (*Šȝ-ḫrw*) and Kheops bear solar names, but also several of the kings of the Third Dynasty. The name of the second king of that dynasty, Nebka, is possibly solar, for the possession of a *ka* or *kas* was essentially a characteristic of Rē^{c} the sun-god (GARDINER, *Proc. Soc. Biblical Archaeology*, XXXVII, 257 ff.). Neter-khet, the third king, the builder of the famous step-pyramid at Saḳḳârah, had certainly a solar name, *viz.* . The fourth king again is named Nebkerē^{c}, and Snefru, the last king of the dynasty, has the throne-name of Neb-mē^{c}et, Lord of Right, which is beyond question solar; his pyramid, too, is called , *ḫ^{c}*, distinctly a solar designation, for the verb *ḫ^{c}y* means "to rise," "appear," used primarily of the sun, then of the king, the sun's embodiment, and of divinities equated with the sun.

Other connections of the kings of the Third and Fourth Dynasties with the Heliopolitan sun-cult may here be noted. Snefru's eldest son, Kanefer, was superintendent of his pyramid

flood comes forth speedily after thine utterance, even as thou art Rē^{c} in body, Khepri in his true form. Thou art the living likeness of thy father Atum of Heliopolis; Authoritative Utterance is in thy mouth, Understanding is in thy heart, the place of thy tongue is the shrine of Mē^{c}et (right and truth personified as a goddess), *the god sits on thy lips*. It should here be pointed out that Authoritative Utterance (*Ḥw*) and Understanding (*Sȝ*) are attributes of the sun-god, personified as divinities, and are intimately associated with him (GARDINER, *Proc. Soc. Biblical Archaeology*, XXXVIII, 43 ff.), they are in fact *those gods who are in the presence of Rē^{c}* (NAVILLE, *Todtenbuch*, Ch. 17, line 30). Understanding again is he *who is on the right hand of Rē^{c}* (*Ibid.*, Ch. 174). Also when the sage Ipuwer addresses his feeble sovereign (probably one of the weak Pharaohs of the Seventh or Eighth Dynasty), he says reproachfully to him, *Authoritative Utterance, Understanding, and Right are with thee* (in thy capacity of king and therefore embodiment of the sun-god on earth), *but confusion is what thou puttest throughout the land* (GARDINER, *Admonitions*, 12, 12–13). It is not surprising, therefore, in view of all this, that the Pharaoh's subjects were called upon to *give him praise like Rē^{c}* (*Urkunden*, IV, 20).

[1] On this see BREASTED, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, 122–129.

[2] *Pyr.*, § 1652.

Khaᶜ and also *Chief of the Seers of Heliopolis*, i.e. high priest of the Heliopolitan sun-god[1]. Another king's son, Rēᶜḥotpe, whose parent's name is not given, but who must, according to Professor Griffith, have lived in the reign of Snefru or at the latest in that of Kheops, was also a high priest of Rēᶜ of Heliopolis[2], as was likewise Merib, a superintendent of all the works of the king and a prophet (*ḥm ntr*) of Kheops[3]. It might also be noted that two *Superintendents of the Two Pyramids (called) Khaᶜ of Snefru*, a father and his son, bear respectively the solar names Duarēᶜ and ᶜEnkhmaᶜrēᶜ[4].

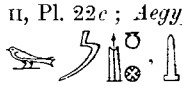
But two kings of the Second Dynasty also bore names compounded with Rēᶜ, Reᶜneb and Karēᶜ (or Neferkerēᶜ). Though the tomb of Khasekhemui, the last king of the dynasty, is at Abydos, there are indications that this line of kings had associations with the region of Heliopolis and with the Heliopolitan sun-cult apart from the fact that two bore solar names. There are grounds for supposing that the tomb of Ḥetepsekhemui and that of Reᶜneb were situated at Saḳḳârah[5]. Also, Kaiechōs the second king of the dynasty (supposed to be the same person as Reᶜneb) established, according to Manetho, the worship of the Apis bull at Memphis and the Mnevis bull at Heliopolis[6]. We can thus trace the association of the Egyptian kings with the sun-cult back to the Second Dynasty. This does not necessarily mean that the sun-cult was now just beginning to exercise an influence on the state religion, but rather that owing to the Thinite kings having, for political reasons, to make their official residence on the dividing line between the northern and southern kingdoms, the sun-cult began once more to gain that religious and political ascendancy which it seems to have lost when the Thinite kings first acquired control of Lower Egypt and still regarded This (Abydos) as their capital.

Other possible evidence of a close connection between the Second Dynasty Pharaohs and the sun-cult is to be found in an inscription on the very early squatting granite statue in the Cairo Museum. Here in front of the names of the first three kings of the dynasty is depicted what looks very much like a rough carving of a heron (the phoenix) seated on a pyramidion[7]. At first I was inclined to regard the bird's perch as a pole supported by props, such as is to be seen, for instance, in the relief from the funerary temple of Amenophis I[8]. But in that and similar representations the pole projects some way above the props. If my suggestion is correct, it is another important link, for the pyramid, as we have seen, and of course also the phoenix, are intimately connected with the Heliopolitan sun-cult.

One of the First Dynasty entries on the Palermo Stone, which refers to a pool attached to the temple of Ḥarshef at Herakleopolis Magna, may also have some bearing on the point at issue, for the two pools belonging to this temple were, according to the Book of the Dead, closely associated with the sun-god[9].

[1] *Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum*, I, Pl. 4. I possess a collation of this inscription by Mr N. de G. Davies.

[2] PETRIE, *Medum*, 37, Pls. X, XII—XV.

[3] LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, II, Pl. 22*c*; *Aegypt. Inschr. aus den königl. Museen zu Berlin*, I, 100. The title should undoubtedly read , being a mistake in both Lepsius' and Schäfer's copy of the inscription, and indeed there is a pencilled marginal note to that effect in my copy of L., *D.*, made by a previous owner.

[4] MASPERO, *Mémoires Miss. Archéol. Franç. du Caire*, I, 190.

[5] PETRIE, *A History of Egypt*, I (tenth edition), 29 f.

[6] *Op. cit.*, 30; *The Cambridge Ancient History*, I, 274.

[7] *Musée égyptien*, I, 12 and Pl. XIII.

[8] *Journal*, IV, Pl. IV.

[9] BLACKMAN, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, XL, 89 f.; see also *Rec. Trav.*, XXXIX, 75.

What grounds has Mr. Perry for saying, as he does on p. 197, that the royal tombs at Abydos "are full of ample evidence of Osirian ideas"? So far as I can discover neither the name nor any representation of that god occurs on any object found in the royal tombs of the first two dynasties, and it might be pointed out that the old mortuary god of Abydos was in early times not Osiris but Anubis[1]; also, as will be seen below, a record of the making of a statue of Anubis was actually found in the tomb of ʿAḥa, a king of the First Dynasty.

On pp. 197 f. Mr. Perry again asserts that "in the first four dynasties of united Egypt..... there is, so far as I am aware, no mention of any direct connection between the king and the sun. Certainly the king does not seem to be the sun-god's embodiment. In the early royal tombs, which persisted as those of the nobles during the Pyramid Age, there is no trace of the solar theology, the ideas being all Osirian[2]: only in the pyramids themselves are solar ideas to be found." He then proceeds to admit that pyramid building began in the Third Dynasty and that the solar names of kings can be traced back to the Second Dynasty. But he adds, "the possibility of solar influence can be pushed back to the Second Dynasty...simply in the matter of royal names and tombs." This is surely a very important admission! As I have pointed out, the fact that the king was buried beneath a pyramid, the embodiment or manifestation of the sun-god, only shows how closely the king must have been associated with that god, indeed suggests that he was even then regarded as the god's embodiment.

Now for the assertion that there are no instances of solar theology in the tombs of nobles during the Pyramid Age, but that the ideas expressed there are all Osirian.

Nobles of the early Pyramid Age with solar names have already been mentioned on p. 204. As has been pointed out by Breasted[4] and myself[5], righteousness and truth are in the first instance associated with the sun-god, who is the god of righteousness and truth *par excellence*. He is said to "live on righteousness," and Mēʿet, Righteousness personified as a goddess, is his daughter[6]. The fact that there were priests of Mēʿet, anyhow as early as the first half of the Fifth Dynasty[7], points to the antiquity of this belief.

Again there is but little doubt that the "great god" by whom the nobles of the Pyramid Age, as far back as the Fourth Dynasty[8], assert that they are "honoured," *imȝḫ*, is the sun-god[9], and as late as the Sixth Dynasty the "great god" by whom they expected to be judged after death was still Rēʿ and not Osiris[10], who only usurped this position during the First Intermediate Period[11].

Osiris, on the other hand, does not figure in any way in the tombs of the nobles and

[1] MEYER, *Zeitschr. f. ag. Spr.*, 41, 97 ff.

[2] *Development*, 165–176.

[3] See my article "Righteousness (Egyptian)" in HASTINGS, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, XI, 795 ff.

[4] GARDINER in *op. cit.*, X, 791.

[5] Ptaḥshepses, who was born under Mykerinos and was still living in the reign of Neuserrēʿ, is the earliest holder of that priestly office known to me.

[6] *E.g.*, LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, II, 15*b*; *Urkunden*, I, 9.

[7] See *Pyr.*, § 760*c*.

[8] BREASTED, *op. cit.*, 170 ff. When a certain Meni of the time of Mykerinos says:—*Be the crocodile at him in the water, the serpent at him on land, him who shall do aught to harm this tomb! I have never done aught to harm him. God shall decide (between us)*, the god he mentions is undoubtedly the sun-god (*Urkunden*, I, 23).

[9] BREASTED, *op. cit.*, 176.

high officials until the latter half of the Fifth Dynasty, when his name begins to appear in the *ḥtp dy nśwt* formula, but only then as secondary to Anubis. Until that time Anubis, not Osiris, was the funerary god, and he appears as such in the tomb of the Third Dynasty official Methen.

Accordingly in the private tombs of the Pyramid Age we do not find the solar theology ousting Osirian ideas, but rather we see Osiris beginning to appear on the scenes as a funerary god during the latter half of the Fifth Dynasty, and finally during the First Intermediate Period becoming the god of the dead *par excellence*.

From his statements on pp. 198 f., Mr. Perry seems to have got a wrong conception of what I wished to express in my articles dealing with Ancient Egyptian religious ceremonies, that is to say in my articles published after the one on incense and libations in *Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr.*, 47[1].

As can be seen in my article in Vol. XL of the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* and elsewhere, it is remarkable how closely the sun-god is associated with washing and purity. Everybody and everything approaching him or brought into close contact with him must be "clean" or had to undergo purification. Thus the king, during his life-time, had to be washed in an adjunct of the temple (originally the Heliopolitan sun-temple), called the "House of the Morning," before he could enter the actual temple at dawn to officiate. When he was dead he had to be washed before he could enter the sun-god's kingdom.

The sun-god himself was supposed to wash every morning before he appeared above the horizon, and there were sacred pools, actual or mythical, where these lustrations were supposed to be performed.

According to a very old conception, the sun-god was reborn every morning from the womb of the sky-goddess, a conception originally quite distinct from, and doubtless much more ancient than, the idea that he daily underwent lustration at dawn. But owing to the association of these two conceptions, the theory arose that the god was born as a result of being washed[2]. Such a theory was particularly liable to arise in a country like Egypt, where life and the production of life are so obviously associated with water, and where the lack of water means certain death.

As has been stated, the king underwent lustration before he could officiate in the sun-temple, later in any temple. Since he was the embodiment of the sun-god, the idea naturally arose that he was reborn[3] as the result of lustration, like his divine prototype. The king was not only washed in the "House of the Morning," but was subjected also to an elabo-

[1] For the sake of scholars who care to examine more closely the evidence for and against Mr. Perry's and my theories, I herewith give a list of these articles :—

"Some notes on the Ancient Egyptian Practice of Washing the Dead," *Journal*, V, 117 ff.; "The House of the Morning," *ibid.*, 148 ff.; "On the Position of Women in the Ancient Egyptian Hierarchy," *ibid.*, VII, 8 ff.; "The Rite of Opening the Mouth in Ancient Egypt and Babylonia," *ibid.*, X, 47 ff.; "Sacramental Ideas and Usages in Ancient Egypt. I. Lustrations and the Heliopolitan Sun-God," *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* XL, 57 ff., 85 ff.; "II. Osirian Lustrations," *Rec. Trav.*, XXXIX, 44 ff.; "Purification (Egyptian)," in HASTINGS, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, X, 476 ff.; "Righteousness (Egyptian)," *ibid.*, XI, 792 ff.; "Worship (Egyptian)," *ibid.*, XII, 776 ff.; "The Sequence of Episodes in the Egyptian Daily Temple Liturgy," *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*, 1918–19, 26 ff.

[2] The Pyramid Texts are full of allusions to this theory.

[3] An old lustration formula used in the Osiris Mysteries at Edfu, Philae, and Denderah, identifies the water with the primaeval ocean, out of which the sun-god was born in the first instance, and speaks of it as "giving birth to the king like Rēʿ every day" (JUNKER, *Die Stundenwachen in den Osirismysterien*, 67).

rate toilet. He was fumigated with incense, his mouth was cleansed with natron, he was anointed, clothed, crowned, and given his insignia of office, and then seems to have been presented with a repast.

A word on the "House of the Morning." In view of the evidence brought together in the article bearing that name in *Journal*, v, 148 ff., it can hardly be denied that the "House of the Morning" is anything else than a toilet-chamber, originally the chamber where the Heliopolitan king's toilet was performed before he entered the sun-temple at dawn—hence its name "House of the Morning."

The image of the Heliopolitan sun-god would also have been washed every morning in imitation of the washing which the god was supposed to undergo in the sacred pool. But the sun-god, owing to his close association with the king, was himself regarded as a king, the prototype in fact of all Egyptian kings. Naturally, therefore, the same toilet ceremonies were performed for him as for the Pharaoh, and the ideas about the god and the Pharaoh and the ceremonies performed on their behalf, acted and reacted on one another.

Owing to the mystical virtue of the lustral water and the value ascribed to the ceremonial toilet ceremonies as a whole, the same rite, with certain special additions, was employed to animate a statue, originally a statue of the sun-god and his embodiment the Pharaoh, later any statue or image. This rite was performed at dawn, as we learn from the biographical inscription of Khentemsemti[1], which speaks of that person as being *great* šḫm *in the House of Gold* (the sculptor's workshop) *when the god* (the god whose statue was to be animated) *is born in the early morning* (m nhp)[2].

It is significant that the place where the Opening of the Mouth was performed could also be designated the "House of the Morning[3]."

As we have already seen, it was believed that the dead king could not enter the realms of the sun-god unless he was "clean." Accordingly, before he was buried, he underwent exactly the same purification as that daily undergone by him, when alive, in the "House of the Morning," or as nearly similar as was possible. As a result of this lustration the dead king was thought not only to be purified but to be reborn. The place in the embalmer's establishment where this purification took place might also, it would seem, be called the "House of the Morning[4]," *i.e.*, it too was given the same name as the ancient Pharaoh's toilet room.

Finally the directions for the celebration of the funerary liturgy in the tomb of Petamenōpe are preceded by the following line of text: "*Formula: the House of the Morning, what the offering table requires*[5]*, the purifying of the banquet-table for the* ka.....*of* Petamenōpe[6]." Thus a recognition of the fact that the purificatory ceremonies in the funerary liturgy were derived from the corresponding ceremonies in the royal toilet is preserved even in funerary inscriptions of the Saite period[7].

When the Osiris cult became the powerful factor in the state religion that we see it to have been in the Fifth Dynasty, and the dead king was identified with Osiris, its influence was not confined to the funerary liturgy, but it affected all the related rites as well.

[1] *Journal*, v, 155.

[2] The fact that this rite was performed "in the early morning," *i.e.*, at dawn, shows that it was essentially a solar and not an Osirian rite, Osiris having nothing whatever to do with the sun-rise!

[3] *Journal*, v, 159.

[4] See *Journal*, v, 148, 157. [5] See Gunn, *ap.* ENGELBACH, *Harageh*, 21. [6] *Journal*, v, 162.

[7] All this forms an effective reply to what Mr. Perry has to say on pp. 198 f. about the ceremonial royal toilet and its connection with the temple liturgy and kindred rites.

The Pharaoh, as we have seen, was regarded not only as the embodiment, but also as the son, of the sun-god. Owing to the political influence of the Heliopolitan god and his cult, other important Egyptian gods were identified with him by their priests in order to enhance their prestige. The king was thus regarded as the son of these gods also, and finally was looked upon as the son of all Egyptian divinities male and female. Now the living king was Horus, and Horus, according to the Osiris myth, was the son of Osiris. Under the influence of the Osiris myth the relationship of the king with any god or goddess was conceived of as that of Horus with Osiris, and so every divinity was treated as an Osiris for cult purposes, and for that matter every object of a cult, whether a person or an image. Thus the temple-liturgy and all the kindred rites were completely Osirianised. But, as I have pointed out in my article "Worship (Egyptian)" in HASTINGS, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, XII, 777, Egyptian worship and all its accessories are plainly Heliopolitan in origin.

The idea of the king being the son of all divinities is obviously a result of solar and not Osirian influence. The great local gods were as a rule not funerary divinities, and accordingly it was not with Osiris that they were identified but Rēʿ, of whom the king was the son[1].

What I have been trying to maintain in my articles—a point that Mr. Perry does not seem to grasp, judging from what he says on p. 198—is that the formulae recited at the performance of what were originally solar rites and in no way concerned with restoring moisture to a dead and shrivelled corpse, were, owing to the enormous influence exercised by the Osiris-Horus myth on the imaginations of the Egyptians, very largely or completely Osirianised, the external forms of the rites, however, remaining unchanged or practically unchanged. Thus all the lustration- and libation-formulae, which identify the water with putrescence and exudations from the corpse, are Osirian, replacing the older solar formulae, of which examples, however, survived, and were in use even as late as Graeco-Roman times.

On p. 199 Mr. Perry remarks that "it is probable that animation of life-size portrait statues of the dead arose in conjunction with mummification, perhaps as late as the Fifth Dynasty. Can Dr. Blackman or Professor Peet give us any hint of evidence of statues of gods in earlier days that were in temples and the objects of ritual performances such as are described by Dr. Blackman?...Moreover it is of crucial importance to the Blackman-Peet theory that the existence of these statues be established. You cannot perform the toilet of a statue that does not exist! So far as I am aware there were no such statues prior to the Pyramid Age, with the exception of the enigmatical statues of Min of Coptos. On the other hand, if it be assumed that the toilet of the statue of the sun-god came after the invention of mummification with its attendant practices, all is clear and simple."

Unfortunately for Mr. Perry the Palermo Stone records the making of statues of divinities[2] at as early a date as the First Dynasty. The earliest statue thus recorded is one of Anubis (not of Osiris be it noted!)[3]. Other statues are also recorded on this monument as having been fashioned by the orders of kings of the First Dynasty, *viz.* a statue of the goddess *Bmt*[4], statues of the "Two Children of the King of Lower Egypt[5]," a statue of

[1] A point to be noted too (and this goes against Mr. Perry's theory), is that Rēʿ was never equated with Osiris in the way that some of the great local gods were equated with Rēʿ.

[2] See Gardiner's remark in *Journal*, III, 145.

[3] SCHAFER, *Ein Bruchstück altägyptischer Annalen*, 15. [4] *Ibid.*, 16. [5] *Ibid.*, 16 and note.

Min[1], another statue of Anubis[2], a statue of the god Sed[3], and of the goddesses Seshat and Mafdet[4]. It is not until we come to the Second Dynasty that the Palermo Stone records the fashioning of the statue of a king[5], though of course it must be remembered that only a fragment of this once large monument survives.

Also tablets found by Petrie at Abydos record the making of statues of divinities during the reign of ʿAḥa of the First Dynasty[6], these divinities being Anubis, *Ỉmy-wt*, and a hawk-god.

As has already been pointed out, Osiris does not appear in the private tombs till the latter part of the Fifth Dynasty, by which time, judging from the Pyramid Texts[7], his cult was more and more influencing the funerary ideas and beliefs of the governing classes. Yet in the Third Dynasty tomb of Methen the rite of Opening the Mouth is both mentioned, and depicted as taking place, and this long before there seems to have been any connection between the dead nobles and Osiris! On the other hand there is evidence direct and indirect that the sun-cult was exercising a great influence on the governing classes both then and earlier. The Opening of the Mouth of the statue of Methen was therefore probably performed in what I maintain was its original, *i.e.*, solar form.

Again both the making and the Opening of the Mouth of a statue of Horus of the Gods, a solar divinity mentioned in the Pyramid Texts, are recorded on a fragment of an annals-tablet, similar to the Palermo Stone, the entry apparently belonging to the reign of Kheops of the Fourth Dynasty[8].

As stated in footnote 7, the earliest version we possess of the Pyramid Texts dates from the very end of the Fifth Dynasty, by which time the funerary liturgy was entirely dominated by Osirian ideas, and of course also Osiris figures very prominently in many of the other "utterances" comprising this great compilation; during the Sixth Dynasty we see the texts being more and more Osirianised at the hands of the priestly editors.

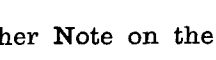
As it was not till the latter half of the Fifth Dynasty that Osiris begins to appear in the private tombs at Gîzah and Saḳḳârah—the very time when the Osirianisation of the funerary liturgy of the Pharaohs seems to have begun to take place—we can only suppose that all this was a new development in Egyptian religious thought; at any rate it is clear that the Osiris myth had not previously exercised any great influence upon the court and upon the state religion.

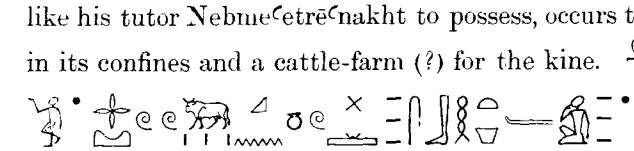
This is apparently also the conclusion to which Dr. Roeder came, after studying the great mass of material that he had collected for his article "Usire" in ROSCHER'S *Lexikon*, for he says (p. 126, Lieferung 92/93):—"Die Verbreitung des Osiris wurde gefördert, als er und seine Familie in die Neunheit von Heliopolis aufgenommen war."

[1] *Ibid.*, 17. [2] *Ibid.*, 17. [3] *Ibid.*, 21.
[4] *Ibid.*, 21. [5] *Ibid.*, 27 and see SETHE, *Journal*, I, 233 ff.
[6] PETRIE, *Royal Tombs*, II, Pls. III, X, XI.
[7] The earliest version of these texts that we possess is that found in the pyramid of King Unas, the last king of the Fifth Dynasty.
[8] GARDINER, *Journal*, III, 145.

PHILOLOGICAL NOTES

By AYLWARD M. BLACKMAN, D.Litt.

1. A Further Note on the Word , *k'-r'-św*, in *Papyrus Lansing*, verso, 1, 9.

In his description of the estate which the young scribe Wenemdyamūn says he would like his tutor Nebmeʿetrēʿnakht to possess, occurs the following passage :—"Many stalls are in its confines and a cattle-farm (?) for the kine.  There are many goats, capering kids, and many lowing oxen" (*Pap. Lansing*, verso, 1, 9).

As Erman points out in *O.L.Z.*, 1925, 5, the word *k3-r3-św*, in view of the determinative , must mean to "skip," "dance," or the like, adding that the way the word is written shows that it is foreign. He suggests, therefore, that it corresponds to the Hebrew גלשׁ, *galaš*, which is also associated with goats in two verses of the *Song of Solomon* (ch. IV, v. 1, ch. VI, v. 5). In the *Authorised Version* the passage in either verse is rendered "Thy hair is as a flock of goats that *appear*[1] from mount Gilead," and in the Septuagint *τρίχωμά σου ὡς ἀγέλαι τῶν αἰγῶν αἳ ἀπεκαλύφθησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ Γαλαάδ*, "Thy hair is as flocks of the goats which were *revealed* from Gilead."

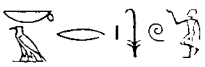
Budde (see Budde, Bertholet, Wildeboer, *Die fünf Megillot*, Freiburg, 1898, p. 20) comments on this passage as follows :—"The individual waves of the loosened locks are compared to the individual animals of the dusky herd; also their movement is included. With this agrees גלשׁ = in late Hebrew 'to bubble,' 'foam up,' of boiling water." He would, therefore, it is to be presumed, translate the passage "Thy hair is as a flock of goats that surges up from mount Gilead."

The Hebrew word *galaš* only occurs twice in the Bible, namely in the two above-quoted passages, though it apparently occurs not uncommonly in late Hebrew texts with the already stated meaning "boil, bubble up." As *galaš* seems to be the same word as the Egyptian *k3-r3-św*, and as it is also like *k3-r3-św* associated with goats, Erman suggests that it likewise should be rendered "dance," "skip," or "leap," which is quite obviously the meaning of the Egyptian word.

According to him, therefore, the passage is to be translated: "Thy hair is as a herd of goats that skip from mount Gilead."

When I transcribed and read through *Papyrus Lansing* shortly after the appearance of

[1] The *Revised Version* translates "that lie along the side of mount Gilead," with "or appear on mount Gilead" in the margin.

the great British Museum publication[1], and some considerable time before Erman's note came out in *O.L.Z.*, I myself, directly I encountered , put it down as a Canaanite loan-word and equated it with the Arabic رقص "to dance," the Egyptian word *rꜣ-kꜣ-św* showing metathesis of *r* and *k*. I discussed the matter with Professor Langdon, who informed me that the same verb for "to dance" occurs in Babylonian in the form *raḳātu*.

Professor Langdon entirely concurred with my equation *raḳātu*, رقص, *kꜣ-rꜣ-św*, but for that very reason he was at first inclined to doubt the possibility of Erman's equation *kꜣ-rꜣ-św*, *galaš*, as it is difficult, he said, to account for the Arabic ص and Babylonian *ṭ* being represented by *š* in Hebrew, the Hebrew *š* always representing the Babylonian *š* and Arabic س. His note, here appended, which contains his considered conclusions, seems satisfactorily to remove these objections:

"The Arabic *raḳaṣ*, 'to dance,' is certainly connected with the Babylonian *raḳātu*, 'to dance,' generally written *raḳādu*, for Babylonian frequently reduces the emphatic surds to the corresponding unemphatic sonants, as *ḳ* > *g*. Undoubtedly the original Semitic word is *raḳaṭ*, as in Babylonian. The Arabic *raḳaṣ* is an example of the forward influence of the liquid *r* upon the dorsal-alveolar surd *ṭ*, changing it to the palatal dorsal surd *ṣ*, a species of partial dissimilation; for *ṣ*, a palatal spirant, is farther from the phonetic position of *r*, an alveolar liquid, than *ṭ*, a dorsal alveolar. This influence of *r* causing a change of *ṭ* > *ṣ* is illustrated by *raṭan*, Arabic and Syriac, 'to murmur,' > *raṣan*, Babylonian; *ḳaṭar*, 'to bind,' > *ḳaṣar*, Babylonian; and Hebrew *rûṭ*, 'to run,' > *rûṣ*, secondary form in Hebrew.

"The Egyptian *kꜣ-rꜣ-św* is, I suppose, an example of metathesis followed by a reduction of the surd emphatic *ḳ* to velar surd *k*, a process common in Babylonian. If, as Dr. Blackman asserts, it is a loan-word in Egyptian, the *ś* would be represented both in Babylonian and Hebrew by *š*. In that case it should be borrowed from a pre-Hebrew Canaanite word *karaš*, if I understand the principles of Egyptian transcriptions of Semitic words correctly.

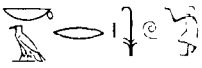
"Now late Hebrew *galaš* does seem to bear the same meanings as the Arabic *raḳaṣ* and Babylonian *raḳaṭ*, *raḳad*, the original Semitic *raḳaṭ* becoming *ḳaraṭ* by metathesis of *ḳ* and *r*. The change *ḳ* > *g* may be explained by dissimilation of the two emphatic letters *ḳ*—*ṭ* in this word, producing *karaṭ* and then *garaṭ* by partial assimilation of surd *k* to sonant *r*. Assuming a medial form *garaṭ*, a spontaneous sound-change *galaṭ* is easily explained by comparison with many such changes in words having a dental or velar sound as Babylonian *birku* > *bilku*, 'knee'; *attaraḫ* > *attalaḫ*, 'I will journey'; *uttakkaru* > *uttakkalu*, 'they are hostile'; *edir* > *edil*, 'he was sorrowful.' It is probable that the final *ṭ* was palatalised, when the form still retained the letter *r*, that is *garaṭ* > *garaš* > *galaš*; but to cause this palatalisation a following vowel *a* or *î* would be necessary, *garaṭa*, *garaṭî*, and the change may have come about in some inflected form of the verb which had one of these vowels at the end.

"By assuming a Semitic root *raḳas*, the Arabic *raḳaṣ* could be readily explained by partial progressive assimilation of emphatics. This by metathesis would be *ḳaraš* in Canaanitish-Hebrew, and *galaš* would follow normally. But then the Babylonian *raḳātu*, *raḳādu*, would be completely unaccountable."

It is to be noted that the Arabic رقص, *raḳaṣ*, according to Hava, *Arabic-English Dictionary*, p. 246, means "to dance," "flicker," "ferment" (of wine), and "prance" (of a

[1] Budge, *Facsimiles of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, second series, Pls. XV–XXX.

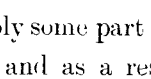
horse). The meaning of *galaš* in late Hebrew, "boil up," "bubble up," coincides, of course, with the secondary meaning of رقص, "ferment," and is probably also secondary, the primary meaning "dance," "leap," "skip" (that is to say, if Erman's interpretation is correct) being preserved only in the two passages in the *Song of Solomon*.

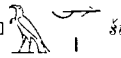
The material put together here will, I hope, be thought to show beyond doubt that the Egyptian word  is a Canaanite loan-word, whose Arabic and Babylonian equivalents are رقص and *raḳāṭu*, and also to afford good ground for supposing that it has an equivalent in Hebrew in the word *galaš*, the primary meaning of which is "dance," "leap," or "skip," and the secondary "boil up," "bubble up."

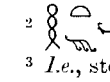
2. A Note on the Word  *nḫ3w* in *Papyrus Westcar*, 5, 15 foll.

One of the tales preserved in the famous *Papyrus Westcar* relates how one day King Sneferu, by way of a diversion, was rowed about a pleasure-pool or lake by a party of beautiful maidens. "They rowed to and fro," we are told, "and the heart of his majesty was glad at seeing them rowing. Then one who was at the steering-oar (??)[1] got caught (?)[2] in her side-lock, and a *nḫ3w* of new turquoise fell into the water, and she became silent[3] and ceased rowing[4], and her side[5] became silent and ceased rowing."

The word *nḫ3w* has always somewhat puzzled scholars, and it seems to occur nowhere apart from this and subsequent passages in the *Tale of King Sneferu and Dadam'onkh*. Erman in his recently published *Literatur der Aegypter*, 68, merely renders the word by "Schmuck," stating in a footnote that "some special, to us unknown, object of adornment is meant," and that "it probably got caught in her hair with the oar." Maspero, however, in his *Popular Stories of Ancient Egypt*, English transl. 1915, 28, renders the word by "fish," explaining in a footnote that he so translates the word because of the fish-determinative, and expressing the opinion that it is "a talisman in the shape of a fish, to which the Ancients, the Romans and Greeks, as well as the Eastern nations, attributed all sorts of marvellous virtues." As we shall see, Maspero, as often, has made a very good guess.

The narrative seems plainly to state that the girl got entangled somehow or other with her side-lock,—probably some part of the steering-contrivance, or whatever the  is, got caught in it, and as a result of this entanglement the *nḫ3w* fell into the water. Evidently then the *nḫ3w* and the side-lock are closely connected.

[1]  *šti.w*. The word, so far as I can discover, occurs nowhere else. The meaning here assigned it is a mere guess on my part. But this girl seems to have been the leader on her side  of the boat, and such boats seem always to have had two steersmen, one on the starbord and the other on the port side of the stern, who may well have acted as leaders to the two lines of oarsmen and set the time by singing; see below, note 3.

[2]  is a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον. The context and the sign for hair, , suggest entanglement.

[3] *I.e.*, stopped singing, for these girls, like the Nile boatmen of to-day, no doubt sang at their rowing to help them to keep time.

[4] Lit. "without rowing"; a negative adverbial clause, for which see GUNN, *Syntax*, 155 (125).

[5] *Rmn* with a different determinative is used below, 6, 9, to denote one "side" of the waters of the lake.

Now in the frescoed tomb-chapel of Ukhḥotpe, son of Ukhḥotpe and Ḥeni the Middle, at Mêr (C, No. 1)[1] there is a scene depicting the great man spearing fish (see fig. 1). As usual he is accompanied by some of his ladies, one of whom squats at his feet holding in

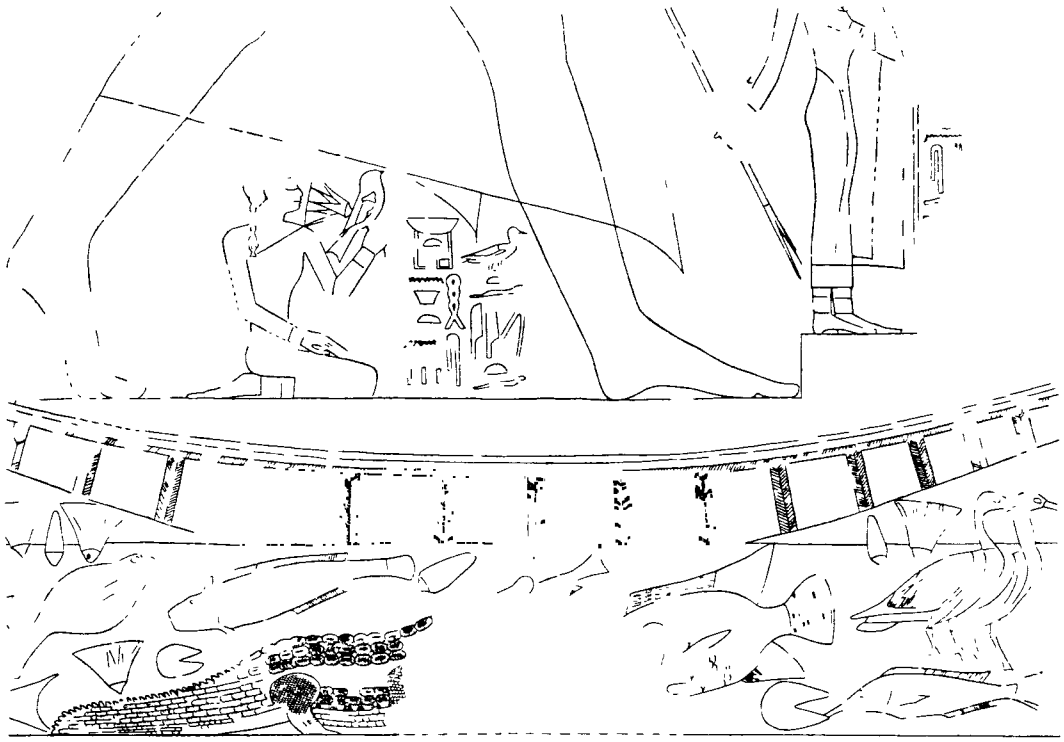


Fig. 1.

one hand a lotus flower and a tame singing-bird. This lady wears a side-lock, a typical *ḥnskyt*[2], from which dangles a fish-pendant. This surely can be nothing else than the *nḫ3w* of the *Papyrus Westcar* story, and be it borne in mind that this lady is one of a *boating*-party. In this particular instance the colour of the fish-pendant is white, and presumably is meant to represent silver. But such an ornament may well have been made of turquoise, *i.e.*, silver, or gold, or copper, inlaid with turquoise. A number of such fish-pendants, it might be pointed out, in various coloured glazes, semi-precious stones, and metals, are figured in PETRIE, *Amulets*, Pls. XLIII, XLVI.

3. A Note on Three Passages in the *Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage.*

I suggested in *Discovery*, III (1922), 36, and again in *Luxor and its Temples*, 42, that some of the best known works of the classical period of Egyptian literature are of Herakleopolitan origin and date from the Ninth to Tenth Dynasties, a suggestion that has been noted with approval by Professor Erman[3] and also by Herr Pieper[4]. Three passages

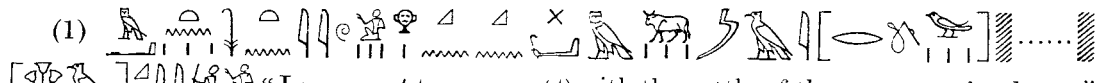
[1] See BLACKMAN, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, I, 9, 17.

[2] See SETHE, *Zeitschr. f. ag. Sprache*, 57, p. 18.

[3] *Die Literatur der Aegypter*, 3.

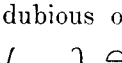
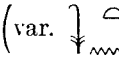
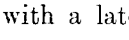
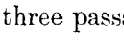
[4] *O.L.Z.*, 1925, 227.

in the *Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*[1] indicate, I think it will be granted, that this famous work, which almost certainly dates from the First Intermediate Period, was written in Herakleopolis[2] or in Herakleopolitan territory. The passages in question are as follows:—

(1)  "Lo, *nywswt* transgress (?) with the cattle of the poor.....plunderers" (*Admonitions*, 8, 10–11).

(2)  "Lo, *nywswt* transgress (?) with geese. They are given ⟨to⟩ the gods instead of oxen" (*Ibid.*, 8, 12).

(3)  "Lo, noble ladies go hungry; the *nywswt* are sated with what should have been (?)[3] prepared for them" (*Ibid.*, 9, 1–2).

As can be seen from his note on p. 64 of his publication, Dr. Gardiner is extremely dubious of the meaning "butchers" that he has assigned to the word  (var. ), *nywswt*, which he transcribes *stnyw*[4] and connects very hesitatingly with a late verb . There can be little doubt that the word in question is the plural of *nyswt*, "king of Upper (or perhaps rather 'Middle') Egypt," and means "kings." Though the rendering "kings" in the ordinary sense of the word makes no sense in these three passages, yet, as a matter of fact, *nyswt* "king," written , appears elsewhere as the title of an important priest, possibly the high priest himself[5], of Ḥarshef, the local god of Herakleopolis[6], and I would suggest that this is the significance of the word here. That the *nywswt* of the three *Admonitions* passages were also sacerdotal functionaries of some sort is indicated by the statement that the geese in connection with which they commit a trespass (*ḳnḳn*) are "given to the gods." The occurrence of the title in the plural means either that it was borne by more than one member of the hierarchy at Herakleopolis or that the plural is used in a general sense. This title, be it noted, seems also to occur in its priestly significance in the *Berlin Leather Roll*[7]. If my interpretation of the use of *nywswt* in these three passages is correct, then there certainly would be some ground for including the *Admonitions* among the literary works composed within the borders of the Herakleopolitan kingdom.

[1] ALAN H. GARDINER, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*, Leipzig, 1909.

[2] I had already noted the significance of these three passages when I wrote the article in *Discovery*, and therefore assigned the *Admonitions* to an Herakleopolitan writer as well as the *Instruction for Merikarē*, and the *Eloquent Peasant*.

[3] Prospect. pass. partic. ?

[4] This work was published before the appearance of SETHE's art. in *Zeitschr. f. ag. Spr.*, 49, 15–34, on *Das Wort für König von Oberägypten*.

[5] It is the first of the three priestly titles enumerated in this connection.

[6] BRUGSCH, *Dict. géogr., Supplément*, 1377.

[7] See *Journal*, x, 196.

Granted the correctness of my suggestion, it becomes evident that an important duty of the priestly officiant who bore the title of "king" was the slaying, or the supervision of the slaying. of the victims brought as offerings to the temple of Ḥarshef, which was also no doubt the function of the pre-dynastic ruler of Herakleopolis, the original *nyswt*, in his capacity of high priest of his local god. It is to be supposed that when in very ancient times the Middle Egyptian king, the *nyswt*, became ruler of an united Lower and Middle Egypt and his activities could accordingly be no longer confined to Herakleopolis, a priestly substitute was appointed to perform his sacerdotal functions in the temple and was designated *nyswt* (*cf.* the priestly βασιλεύς at Athens, and my article "Priest, Priesthood (Egyptian)" in HASTINGS, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, X, 294), or possibly, as already suggested, there was more than one such substitute.

There is another point of interest connected with temple-usages in the third passage (*Admonitions*, 9, 1–2). The statement that the *nywswt* are sated with what should have been prepared for the ladies indicates that in the Herakleopolitan temple of Ḥarshef the offerers were supposed to partake of the flesh of the victims they presented to the god. It was evidently regarded as a sign of the prevailing disorderliness of the age that the *nywswt*, taking advantage of their sex, should seize on the portion that ought to have been assigned to these pious ladies, in addition to that which no doubt was regarded as Ḥarshef's portion or possibly as their own portion in their capacity of that god's priests[1].

[1] *Cf.* HASTINGS, *op. cit.*, X, 299.

A BRONZE DAGGER OF THE HYKSOS PERIOD

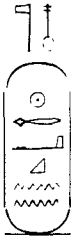
By WARREN R. DAWSON

With Plate XXV.

I am indebted to Mr. H. A. Corble for permission to publish the dagger which is the subject of this note. Mr. Corble, then on military service in Egypt, purchased it from a Luxor dealer in 1916, but was unable to obtain any information as to the exact locality or the circumstances in which it was found.

The dimensions of the object are as follows:—total length 41·3 cm., length of handle 12·2 cm., width of the semi-circular top of the handle 5 cm., width of the shoulder at the base of the handle 4 cm The handle was originally inlaid, but there are no rivet-holes as is often the case when the filling was of wood or bone. A mid-rib extends down the whole length of the blade, and the entire surface of the weapon has now become eroded and has patinated to a brilliant green colour.

The greatest interest of the object, however, is the very rare cartouche engraved upon it. The signs which read as under

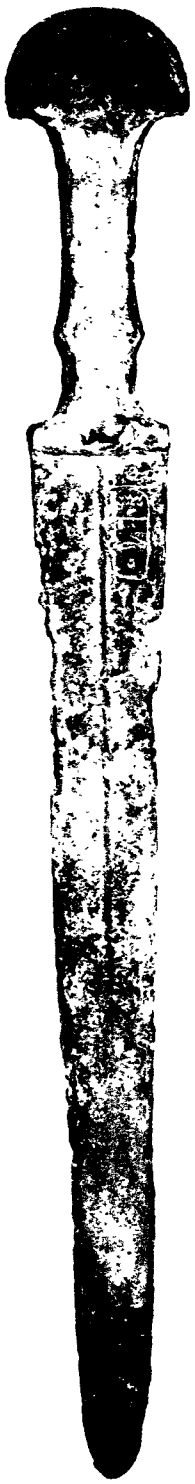


are deeply incised upon the right side of the broad end of the blade immediately below the handle, and are upside down when the dagger is placed in a vertical position with the point downwards. The cartouche is the prenomen of one of the Hyksos kings Apophis, *ʿOḳenenrēʿ*, known to us from a few monuments, the principal of which is the altar published by Mariette[1]. It is most probable that this Apophis is the one mentioned by his nomen only in Papyrus Sallier I, who was a contemporary of the Theban king Seḳenenrēʿ Taʿoḳen of the Seventeenth Dynasty. The Hyksos were imitators of all things Egyptian, and ʿOḳenenrēʿ Apophis modelled his prenomen on that of his Theban contemporary, as several writers have suggested[2].

In the British Museum there is a bronze dagger, which, except for the fact that it is uninscribed, is an exact duplicate of the Corble weapon. It is numbered 5425 and was acquired, as Dr. Hall informs me, in 1837 and once formed part of the celebrated D'Athanasi collection. The two specimens are identical in measurements, but the B.M. specimen is in

[1] *Mon. divers*, Pl. 38. For the few monuments datable with certainty or with probability to this reign, see GAUTHIER, *Livre des rois*, II, 141 ff.

[2] *E.g.*, HALL, *Anc. Hist. Near East*, 6th ed., 223.



Bronze dagger with cartouche of Apophis I.

Scale rather less than one half.

almost perfect condition and has its handle entire. The filling of the handle is of ivory (hippopotamus-tooth ivory, according to a note made by the late Dr. Birch) and bears a high polish, the whole weapon having apparently been repolished in modern times. The ivory is kept in position, not by rivets, but by the inward bending of the edges of the handle-framing. A similar method of fixing the handle was resorted to in the Corble dagger, which also lacks rivet-holes.

The B.M. dagger, which can now be dated approximately, was published in *Archaeologia*, LIII, 92, and by Petrie in his *Tools and Weapons*, Plate XXXIII, fig. 29. It is exhibited in the Fifth Egyptian Room, Table-case A. It was engraved by Visconti in the rare folio volume describing the principal antiquities in the D'Athanasi collection. The engraving is very accurate and shows the weapon in its natural size. In the description of the plate on the flyleaf opposite is the following note. "A dagger of bronze with the handle inlaid with ivory. This was found at Thebes, and is the largest and finest specimen hitherto discovered[1]."

[1] *A Series of Engravings...of the Collection of Antiquities...of Giovanni D'Athanasi.* London, 1837, Pl. XII, fig. 5.

F.O. 1. The fragments make about two-thirds of the circle of a large vessel D. 26 of smooth buff ware. Their total length following the curve is 53 cm. The only possible loss from this fine ostrakon is at the lower right-hand corner, and that is doubtful. Large early writing. (Pl. XXIX, 5, sc. nearly 3 5.)

(1) mlewês : winqerems abelte : mn : arbte : (2) trêzes-lw 22 : atr 6·3 : teperet zê (3) lẖlik : abelte : 12·1 alêẖ : ant-mnês 1·3 (4) tpelêqe ·4½ asqere 1·6 azeqe : bl 2·9 tr 2·8 (5) abwês

Compare the short text *F.O.* 2.

l. 1. *malewês*, cf. the title *maleyés K.I.*, *M.I.* 129, *F.I.* 4·3; *abelte* also in l. 3 and *F.O.* 16: *arbte F.O.* 3, 7, 14, *B.O.* 3, perhaps = *ἀρτάβη*, see *Journal*, III, 23.

l. 2. *trêzes F.O.* 3; *lw* appears to be an adj.; *apête-lẖ*, *apête*, *apête-lw* probably "chief envoy," "envoy," "minor envoy." all in *M.I.* 129; *teperet B.O.* 1, *K.O.* 3.

l. 3. Or omit *·1*; *alêẖ F.O.* 4; *ant mnês* "of the prophet of Manê(?)": *mnês F.O.* 2, *mnê St. Akin.* l. 27, *cf.* perhaps *ant mnêteslke St. Akin. ibid.* (*Journal*, IV, 171); or *1·1* :.

l. 4. *azeqe F.O.* 6, an element in names of men *Sh.I.* 10, *M.I.* 60; *bl* cf. *bli*, *blẖe F.O.* 4, 5. It is not clear whether *tr* 2·8 or *tré* 1·8 should be read.

F.O. 2. Buff, reddish outside. Complete. (Pl. XXVI, 13.)

mlewês : azẖblês 33 mnês 25.

See *F.O.* 1/1, 3; cf. *azẖite*, *St. Akin.* ll. 5, 10, 12 (*Journal*, IV, 166.)

F.O. 3. Red inside and out. Probably complete except left top. (Pl. XXVII, 13.)

arb[te] : trêze[s] li : tḳiñ-lw ·9 ·2 (*sic*).

Cf. *F.O.* 1/1–2; the last two spots seem best explained as additions to the original ·9, producing a total which would have been properly expressed by 1·1.

F.O. 4. Coarse, red inside and out. Left top corner lost. (Pl. XXVII, 16.)

ašitbre : a...arenês 4 : ...slimnê : alêẖ : bli :

alêẖ F.O. 1/3. Traces of more writing at bottom edge.

F.O. 5. Apparently complete. (Pl. XXVI, 10.)

mẖzi : šmeñtêñ blẖe 125 : qêleb : timlêqes : abet 3 :

mẖ F.O. 24. *qêleb* plural, *St. Akin.* ll. 5, 10. 14–17 (*Journal*, IV, 167).

F.O. 6. Buff. Probably complete. Writing finely incised. (Pl. XXVIII, 2, Pl. XXX, 2.)

qê li keñ azeqe 2·6.

F.O. 7–11 begin with the same words: *qê-li F.O.* 7–15, 17–19/7, perhaps the singular of *qêleb*.

azeqe F.O. 1/4. The second line is written smaller than the first, but probably by the same hand, see *F.O.* 12.

F.O. 7. Red, thick resin inside. Complete. (Pl. XXVI, 3.)

qê li keñ arbte zliketel ·4½.

arbte F.O. 1/1.

F.O. 8. Two lines, imperfect at each end. (Pl. XXVI, 8.)

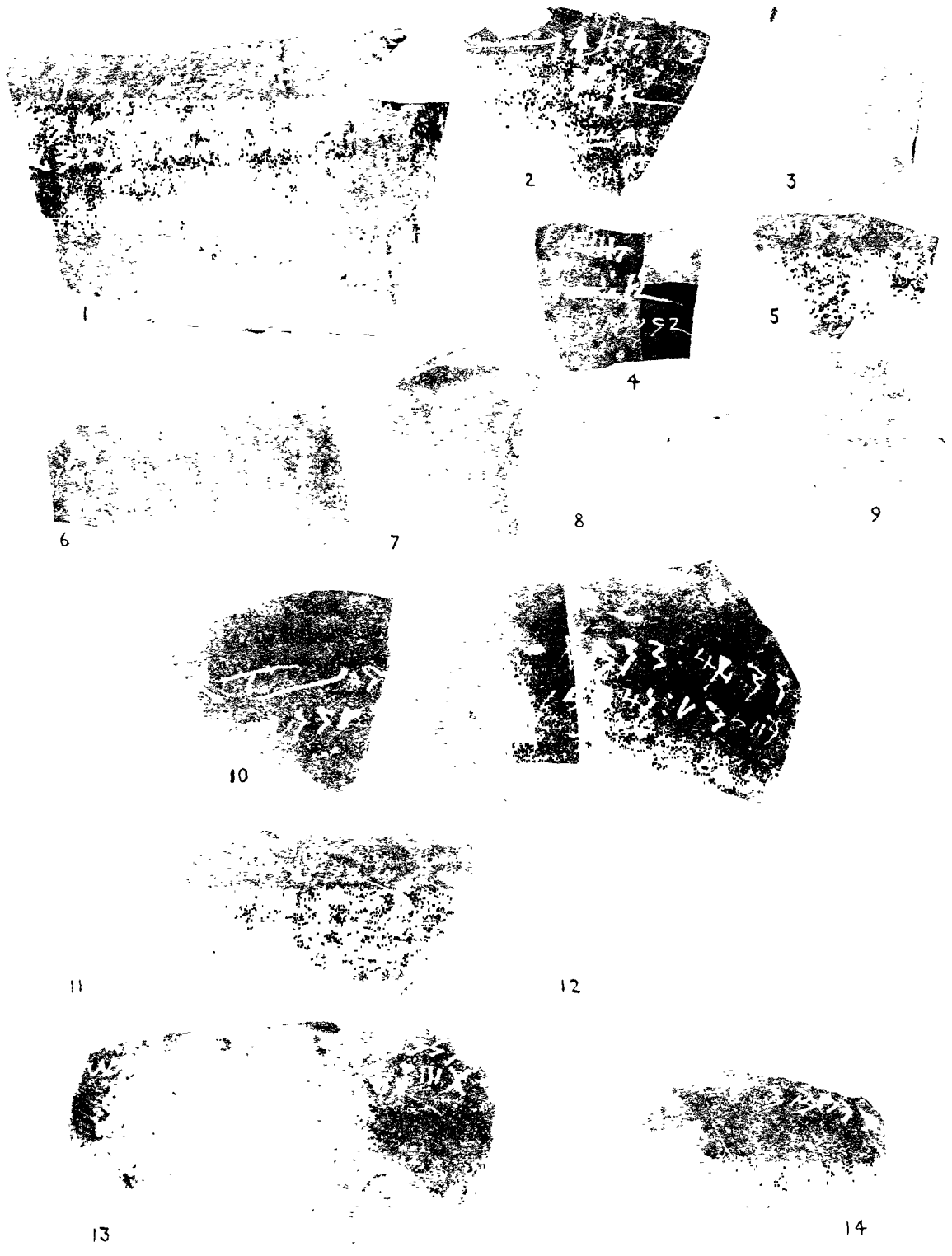
[qê li k]eñ : šrẖi te 40(?) ·9

For the rare numeral(?) see *F.O.* 22; a line is visible above *·9*.

F.O. 9. Pink. Right edge injured, left end lost. (Pl. XXVI, 7.)

qê li keñ ẖlw 𐄇 ·7 ẖr :*artepê

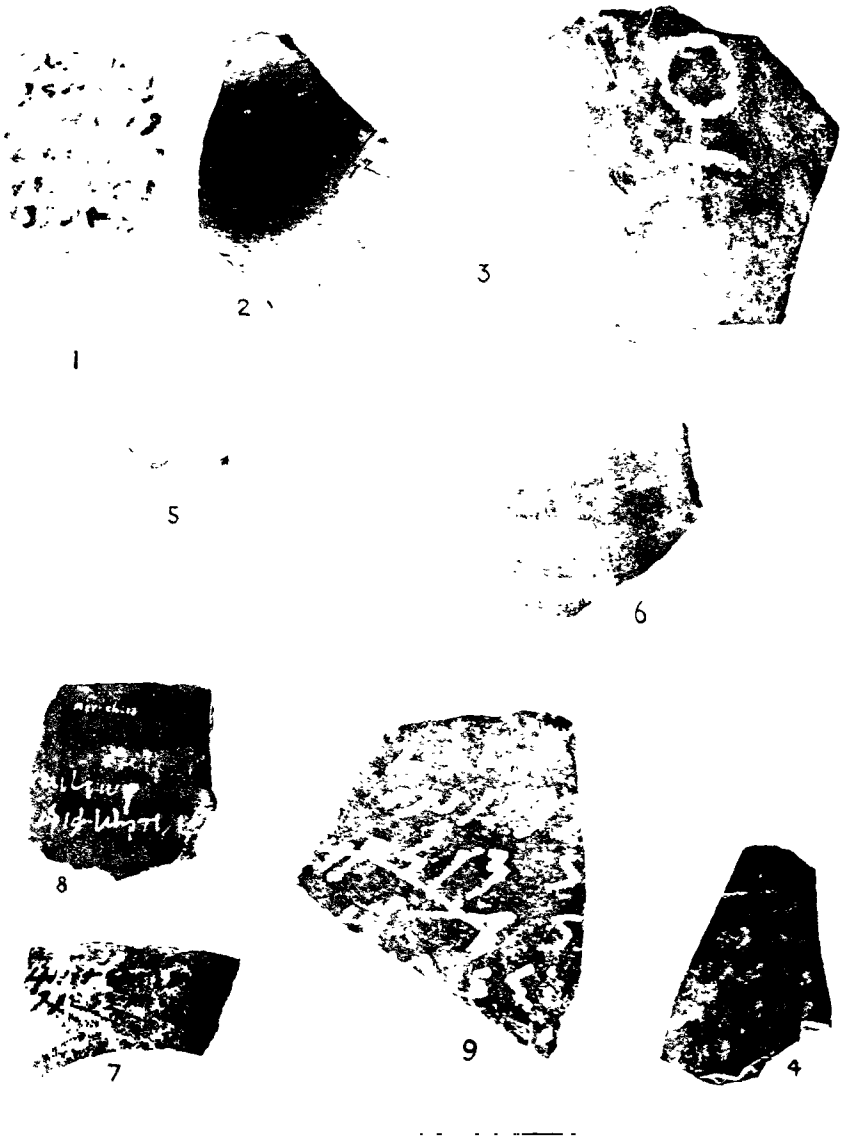
ẖr F.O. 14, *K.O.* 3. The last word is in a different hand, see *F.O.* 12, 13.



Meroitic ostraka from Faras.



Meroitic ostraka from Faras.



Meroitic and other ostraka from Faras.

F.O. 10. Left end probably imperfect. (Pl. XXVII, 8.)
qê li keñ abinte ·l̤ ... 𐦟 bz̤ yete 𐦟 11·6 bek....
The sign like a branching tree or ear of corn may be only a variant of the rectilinear symbol in *F.O.* 11–16, 19, *B.O.* 1, *K.T.*, Pl. 18/1. These are clearly not numerals: *cf.* the sistrum symbol in the jar-inscription, Liverpool *Annals*, XI, Pl. LXXII.

F.O 11. Red, dark inside. End of second line perhaps broken away. (Pl. XXVII, 6.)
qê li keñ 31 𐦠 *a . ṭ .. ḳ : qe l̤·3.
The second line is in the thin second hand (marked by *), see the next.

F.O. 12, 13. Two closely similar and apparently complete. (Pl. XXVI, 2, 4.)
F.O. 12. qê li 𐦠 10·1 5·8 *ḫ ·4½ ariketê 2.
F.O 13. qê li 𐦠 5·5 *ḫ ·6 ariketê.
The next begins in the same way, and the same phrase occurs in the middle of F.O. 15.
The upper spot after 10 may be accidental but looks like ink. The second hand with thinner writing appears on each of these ostraka at *ḫ*, see also *F.O.* 6(?), 9 11, 16, 26.

F.O. 14. Buff, inside red. Probably complete. (Pl. XXVI, 5.)
qê li 𐦠 3 ḫr : arbte : antlis-lw 1 : šimetê.
ḫr F.O. 9. The middle may mean "the small artaba of the prophet."

F.O. 15. Perhaps complete. (Pl. XXVII, 17.)
ḫmṛkeli : šbil : mḫwi : qê li 𐦠 2·7½ tḫ-lw : qe kḫê.

F.O. 16. Left side lost. (Pl. XXVII, 2.)
abel ... lw 𐦠 1·1 ... 3·2 ... 𐦠 a ... *pe....
abel[*te*] *F.O.* 1/1. The last line in a different hand, see *F.O.* 12, 13.

F.O. 17. Buff, outside red. Original edge on left. (Pl. XXVII, 3.)
qê li qê li l̤i ñte : ṃlḫl ·9 wztr 2·2.
mlḫl name of woman *F.I.* 25.

F.O. 18. Buff, outside red. Top left perhaps lost, left end perhaps complete. (Pl. XXVI, 6.)
qê l[i] lerke : tkiz : ššimetele ṭẹ · 6·3½ wi.
tkizye woman's name *K.I.*, *tkizmni* personal name *M.I.* 60: *ššimete* may be the title *F.I.* 4/13, *K.I.*, etc.

F.O. 19. Sherd from large vessel, outside pink, inside black with resin. A triangular fragment missing from right-hand top: the only loss, for otherwise the top is complete since the writing follows the fracture exactly, and though at the left end l. 3 looks imperfect, ll. 1 and 4 are cramped to fit the space. (Pl. XXVI, 1.)
(1) .. rêli : tñ : zêtke : bêqe (2) .. 𐦠 10·1 tmñteke 1·3 (3) .. l̤lkze ·3 blilemê (4) ṃe ·4 mrêñli 1·5 mkšḫi (5) ze ·5 abṛṭnli ·4½.
(6) qê mêškze 3 *ap*.
(7) qê li ·2 mksy ·3 (8) wi 15·5½.
l. 1. *tñ F.O.* 21/3.
l. 2. *tmñ*, place name *F.I.* 37/4.
l. 4. *mkšḫize*, cf. the title *mkešḫe K.I.*, *šḫi M.I.* 117.
l. 6. *ap* is in the thin second hand, see *F.O.* 12, 13.

l. 8. *wi* "total(?)." see *F.O.* 20 3, also *B.O.* 3, *K.T.*, Pl. 20 1A, *St. Akin.* ll. 25, 26, 42 (*Journal*, IV, 171), *M.I.* 101. This entry looks like a summation, but the sum of the preceding numbers is 18·0½. It is unlikely that a number has been lost in the fracture, otherwise we might have added ·5 from it and read the last figure as 18·5½: 15·5½ can only be reached by complicated omissions or subtractions affording no safe argument.

F.O. 20. Red inside and out. Right edge lost. (Pl. XXVI. 12.)

(1) ... en : ašeris 9 (2) ... nite 10 8 tnr (3) ... 3·6 wi 19·3.

The large figure at the end again looks like a summation.

l. 1. "of Osiris."

l. 2. *tnr* place name *F.I.* 3 6.

F.O. 21. Red, inside blackish with resin. Right and lower edges lost. Early style in a thin hand. (Pl. XXVI, 11.)

(1) ... knr : abḫe : btewi (2) ... qḕ 1 mnqer : arteli : qe (3) ... ite : tebezekiz : tns 2 (4) ... erqête 1 abḫ-lḫ 2 : mete (5) ... ḷi : zbṛš ...

l. 1. *abḫe*, "great *abḫ*" in l. 4.

l. 2. a horizontal line crossed by a short oblique line at the end.

l. 3. *tns*, cf. *tn F.O.* 19 1.

l. 4. *. erqête* cf. *. erqété F.O.* 22. *mete* a frequent title in *F.I.*, *M.I.*, and *K.I.*

F.O. 22. Left edge complete. (Pl. XXVII. 5.)

.... yẹ̀ ... mleqe 2 ... erqêtè.

F.O. 23. Apparently complete. (Pl. XXVII, 4.)

aq : zwi zête 15 6.

F.O. 24. Red, blackish resin inside. Imperfect on right. (Pl. XXVII, 18.)

.. ẓ : šer ... ḷ·3½ šḭk 1·3½ ... ar .. ḭ : mḫ ... ·7½ ... ḷw 15 ... etês ·1 ... ze : ylz.

F.O. 25. Resin inside. Top and left side broken away. (Pl. XXVII, 1.)

. rêb .. nte : ḫ ... ibres ... sḳes 1 ḷ ... mêle 10 ... s ḷ.

With 10 is the tail apparently of another sign deleted.

F.O. 26. Buff, outside red. Apparently broken away all round except at the top. (Pl. XXVI, 9.)

...yik eb : yḫ me // l // yl 9 *eti ...

The last line in thin writing, see *F.O.* 12, 13.

F.O. 27. Reddish inside and out. Lines imperfect at each end. (Pl. XXVII, 7.)

...ḫḫ : teñ a..... te 14ḷ s 2.

F.O. 28. (Pl. XXVII, 15.)

... ệs 1 ... eḫltê ... mrke 1 ... li ḳe.

F.O. 29. Peg bottom of wine-amphora. (Pl. XXVII, 14.)

... peṣ zệ 8.

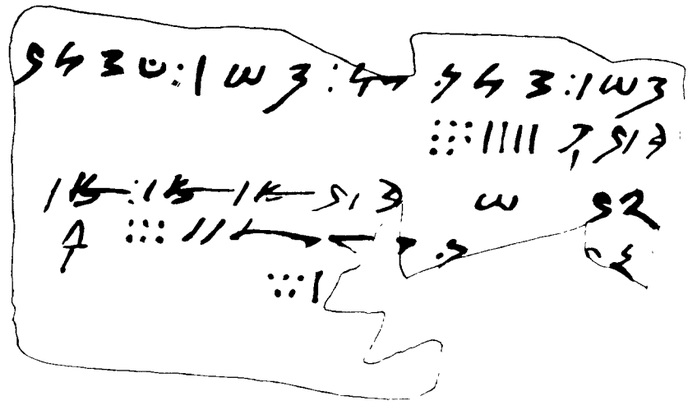
F.O. 30. Complete unless at right end. (Pl. XXVI, 14.)

(y)eqêqebli-šê.

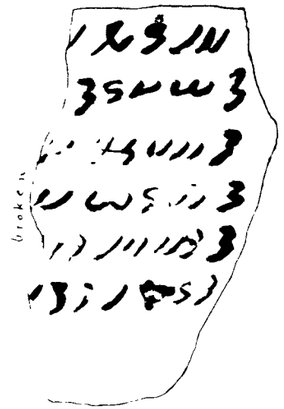
šé postposition, *F.O.* 31–33, *B.O.* 4, the jar in Liverpool *Annals*, XI, Pl. LXIX, 4, and references there; it occurs also on jars found by Prof. Sayce in a tomb at Meroë.

F.O. 31. Black resin inside. (Pl. XXVII, 9.)

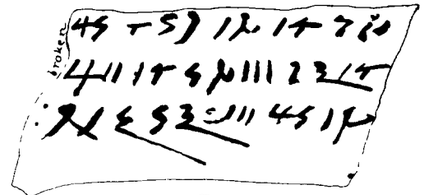
.. qêrli-šê.



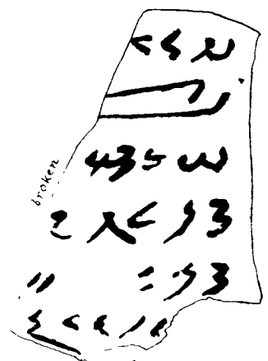
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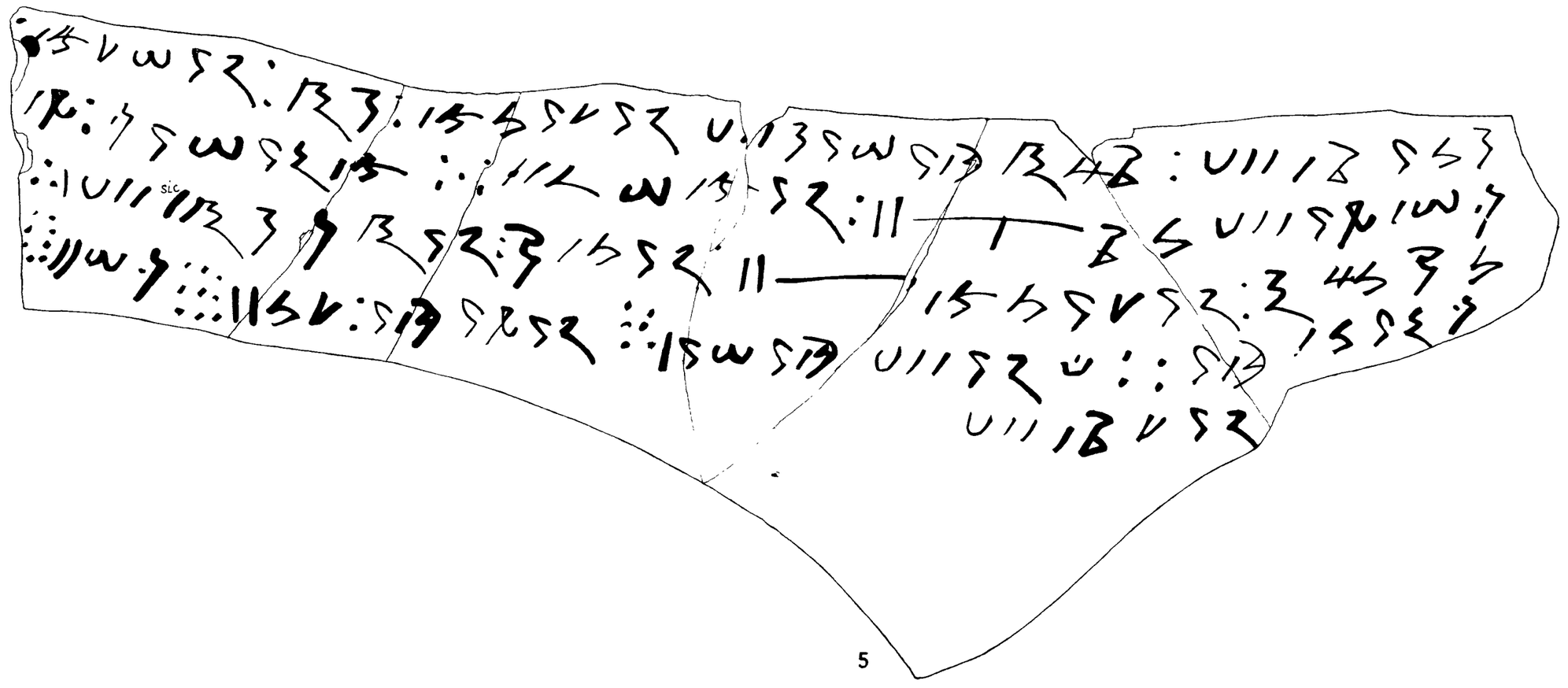
2



3



4



5

Meroitic ostraka; 1 from Buhen, 2–5 from Faras.

F.O. 32. Resin inside. (Pl. XXVII, 10.)
wiṃ ... ịz-šê.

F.O. 33. (Pl. XXVII, 12.)
... ṭiñ-šê * $\frac{1}{2}$.
The figures have been added in a smaller hand, see *F.O.* 12, 13.

F.O. 34. Resin inside. (Pl. XXVII, 11.)
... ṃimnli ...

F.O. 35. Very thick, coarse red. Left edge lost. Writing in white, of late style; remains of white writing on inside also. (Pl. XXVIII, 1, Pl. XXIX, 2.)
yezê .. šrbeḫ msliy .. šẓerb .. šqêymê .. metemšê.

F.O. 36. Buff, resin inside. Writing in white, late style. (Pl. XXVIII, 5.)
..... me telḫ ...

The above are all from the "Western Palace." With them were found three other ostraka which may illustrate the period.

Pl. XXVIII, 3. *ʿankh* and uraeus. Thick, outside pink, inside black with resin.

Pl. XXVIII, 6. *παονατε*, the Egyptian name Pa-wate, *i.e.*, "belonging to the Horus-eye(?)": *cf.* *Παονᾶθις* and variants in PREISIGKE, *Namenbuch*. According to Professor Hunt, the style of writing is that which prevailed from the second century B.C. to about 50 A.D. The latter date would probably fit the age of the earlier Meroitic ostraka from the place.

Pl. XXVIII, 8. Writing of style of the fifth century A.D. (Hunt). This is probably later than any of the known Meroitic inscriptions. The site was occupied in Christian times.

F.O. 37. Red inside and out. Writing white. Late style. (Pl. XXVIII, 7, Pl. XXIX, 3.)
(1) zetezêmeṭêli (2) tekẹ 3 zeteyi (3) zêlí ṣ kepêñ : (4) ..
kepéñ. Cf. the name *Kepéñke*, *F.I.* 24 3.
From the northern Meroitic House.

F.O. 38. Fragment of large late pot with purple bands on shoulder. From N.E. end of Meroitic cemetery. Late style. Liverpool *Annals*, XI, Pl. LXXII, 16.

F.O. 39. Buff. (Pl. XXVIII, 4, Pl. XXIX, 4.)
zle ... 110 ... reši ... štḫñ ... štḫ ḫê . ep ...
From the site of the church in the south-west of the Enclosure.

F.O. 40. Faint, but probably complete. (Pl. XXX, 1.)
(1) .. ẹ ḷ ṣr 2 n (2) s 2 šr 2 tṣnê (3) ṃtẹ : klmes 2.
In the Philadelphia collection from MacIver, Woolley and Mileham's exploration at Faras.

B.O. 1. Large ostrakon (in nine fragments), apparently from a large jar or wine-amphora with shiny red surface, pinky buff body, inside glazed black with resin. (Pl. XXIX, 1.)
mrê : šltli : mr 1·2$\frac{1}{2}$ šle qe 74·8.
a .. r . qetete : tepe[re]t 16·6 $\frac{1}{4}$ 1·5.
mrê B.O. 3, cf. *M.I.* 79(?). *šleqen* is a title in *K.I.*, *Sh.I.* and *F.I.* 10/4 : possibly *šleqeñ* 4·8 should be read here, *cf.* *ñ*(?) in *B.O.* 2/4; if not, the doubtful sign may be a 10-numeral.
teperet, see *F.O.* 1/2; the broken sign should be a 10-numeral or some special symbol.

B.O. 2. A similar fragment showing parts of two lines with probably the same words (1) ... li ṃr ... (2) ... šle ..., the tail of the *m*(?) very short.

B.O. 3. Thick grey ware, reddish inside and out. Complete. (Pl. XXX, 5.)
ṃze : š . re : ṭêlis : ty 3 : mrê 4·4 wi arbte : meñtel w 7 qêli ỉ (y)ereke.
meñtel M.I. 87 ; *yereke St. Akin.* 5.

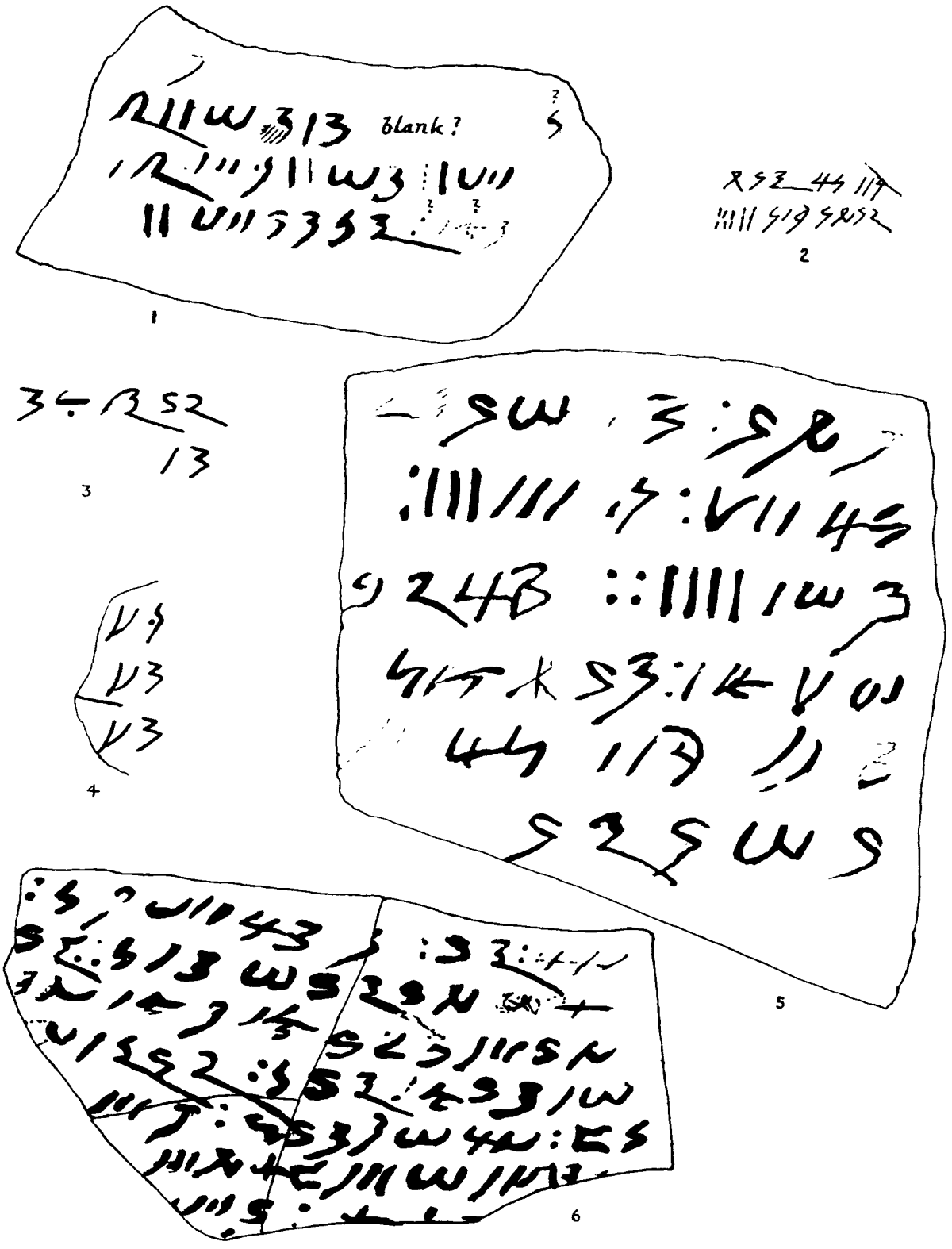
B.O. 4. Thick pinkish ware, outside red, inside glazed black with resin, inscribed outside in two lines, black ink. Complete, rather early style. (Pl. XXX, 3.)
antêš-šê.
Cf. *F.O.* 30.

B.O. 5. Buff, outside reddish, inscribed in red ink. (Pl. XXX, 4.)
tb...šb...šb...

The above 1–5 are Philadelphia No. 10938, *Buhen*, 238, found west of the South Temple.

B.O. 6. Coarse reddish, inscribed in late style. Right edge and lower left lost. (Pl. XXVIII, 9.)
...ḫtê-lw : ... qêr ... e : ḫelni ... e 10 ẏ : pe...
Philadelphia No. 10939, *Buhen*, 238, found south of the North Temple.

D.O. 1. Thick pinkish, outside red. Not early. Bottom edge lost. (Pl. XXX, 6.)
(1) ḅi : ke : tšisml : (2) ṭêrzekeršêl 2 pe (3) zeyẹ wete mte ḅê (4) rê metekel : apêẓ (5) ḫ : birṃḫetê : ṭy (6) .. bêryḫi zẏ ṭêḳes (7) ...
From Dakkah (W. E. Crum).



Meroitic ostraka ; 1, 2 from Faras, 3–5 from Buhen, 6 from Dakkah.

THE LEGEND OF THE CAPTURE OF JOPPA AND THE STORY OF THE FOREDOOMED PRINCE

BEING A TRANSLATION OF THE VERSO OF PAPYRUS HARRIS 500

By T. ERIC PEET

An apology is perhaps needed for attempting a new translation of these well worn texts[1]. For several years past I have been reading them with students, and the teaching of others not only clarifies one's thoughts but also induces or should induce that meticulous attention to detail which many of us are too apt to shirk when reading for our own pleasure or instruction. Furthermore, since writing the review of Mr. Blok's book[2], published later in this volume, I have collated the original in the British Museum, and I find that what may be called the current transcription of the texts is far from perfect. These circumstances must excuse this new rendering.

Egyptologists have often been blamed, and perhaps justly, for producing wooden and unreadable translations, which give the world but a poor idea of the value of Egyptian literature. Yet this has its reason. Our knowledge of the language is still very incomplete and the difficulties of interpretation are often so appalling that the conscientious translator, anxious to justify his rendering to others by showing exactly how it is obtained, is apt to be intensely literal. It is then of course easy for the mere adaptor with a smattering of the language and an ignorance of and consequent contempt for grammar and syntax to produce from this, and often tacitly claim as his own, a more readable but far less accurate translation, thereby gaining the plaudits of the crowd and an indulgent smile from those who toil and who know. In the present case, partly because the texts are comparatively straightforward, and partly because this rendering is intended for the layman as much as for the scholar, I have tried to translate just as literally as is consistent with simple and readable English, inserting, however, the numbering of the lines, which saves so much time to anyone working over the translation with the original. Most of my readings and renderings will be found justified in the review previously mentioned, which may easily be consulted by any who find themselves sufficiently interested. Square brackets [] enclose words now damaged or lost: pointed brackets ⟨ ⟩ enclose words omitted in error by the scribe.

PAPYRUS HARRIS 500.

The papyrus is written on both sides, containing on the recto the London Love Songs and on the verso two texts, The Capture of Joppa, incomplete at the beginning, and the story of the Foredoomed Prince. The malice of fortune has destroyed the name of the writer of this particular copy, a scribe of the army, which stood at the end of the first story.

[1] See MASPERO, *Contes populaires*, 4th ed., 196 ff.; GRIFFITH, *The World's Best Literature* 5250 ff. ERMAN, *Die Literatur der Aegypter*, 209 ff., 216 ff.

[2] *De beide volksverhalen van Papyrus Harris* 500 *verso* (see below, 336–341).

1. The Capture of Joppa.

An incident, probably legendary, in one of King Tuthmosis III's campaigns in Syria.

(Page 1, line 1) 120 warriors after the manner of bundles. (2) to Dhouti.....troops of Pharaoh (3) their faces. Now after their hour of drunkenness Dhouti said to (4) together with wife and children ⟨to⟩ your own town. Let the warriors bring in [the horses] (5)[give ?] them food, or let an Aper[1] pass (?) (6) them. And they caught the horses and gave them food. And (7) King Menkheperrēᶜ. Now they came to tell it to Dhouti. Then (8)[the Prince] of Joppa said to Dhouti, My desire is to behold the great club of King Menkheperrēᶜ (9) whose name is Tiutnefert: as the *ka* of King Menkheperrēᶜ endures it is in thy hands[2] this day. (10)[Tiut]nefert and bring it. And he did so and he brought the club of King Menkheperrēᶜ (11) [and concealed it beneath] his cloak. He stood over (?) him saying, Look on me O Prince of (12) [Joppa. This is the club (?) of] King Menkheperrēᶜ, the fierce lion, son of Sekhmet, and Amūn his [good father] has given him [strength] to wield it[3]. And he smote the forehead of the Prince of Joppa, and he fell (Page 2, 1) stretched out before him. He placed him in.....leather. (2) He.....the piece of copper which.....destroyed.....of this (3) Prince of Joppa, and they placed the piece of copper of 4 pounds (?) on his feet. Then he caused to be brought (4) the 500 baskets which he had provided for the purpose and he made 200 soldiers enter them. (5) They filled their arms with fetters and handcuffs and fastened them in (6) with locks (?). They gave them their sandals and their (7) *ỉtrr*-clubs. They set all the best of the soldiers to carry them, 500 men in all. (8) They said to them, When ye have entered the city ye shall release your (9) companions and seize every man who is in the city and straightway put them ⟨in⟩ fetters. (10) Then they went out and said to the groom of the prince of Joppa, Thus says thy master, (11) Go tell thy mistress, Rejoice, for Sutekh has delivered ⟨unto⟩ us Dhouti with his wife and children. (12) Behold my hand has enslaved them. So shalt ⟨thou⟩ say to her concerning these 200 baskets which are full of men (13) in handcuffs and fetters. And he went before them to inform his mistress (14) saying, We have captured Dhouti. Then the fortifications of Joppa were opened before the soldiers, (Page 3, 1) and they entered the town. [They] (2) released their companions and seized [every man who was in the] (3) town both young and old, and they placed them ⟨in⟩ (4) fetters and stocks immediately. So the victorious might (5) of Pharaoh captured the town. (6) And at night Dhouti sent to Egypt to (7) King Menkheperrēᶜ his lord saying, (8) Behold Amūn thy good father hath delivered unto thee the Prince of Joppa (9) with all his men and likewise his town: (10) send men to take them (11) captive, that thou mayest fill the temple of thy father Amūn King of the Gods (12) with men slaves and female

[1] It is unfortunate that this reference to the puzzling people called *Aperu* should be rendered totally obscure by reason of the lacuna which follows. There seems to be little reason for their suggested identification with the Hebrews. See Driver, *Exodus* in the *Cambridge Bible Series*, p. xli.

[2] Since King Tuthmosis III was himself in Egypt, as the sequel shows, he must have sent his club to the Syrian campaign in charge of his commander-in-chief Dhouti, perhaps by some magic means to act as his representative.

[3] The word "it" is here masculine and the word for club is feminine, and therefore my restoration of the beginning of this line cannot be quite accurate. It is difficult, however, to see how the general sense can be much different from that suggested.

slaves who are fallen beneath thy feet (13) for ever. It has come happily to its end[1], by the hand of (14) the scribe skilled with his fingers, the scribe of the army.....

2. The Foredoomed Prince.

A fairy story.

(Page 4, line 1). It is said that there was once a king to whom no male child had been born. [He] begged for himself a son from the gods of his time (2) and they decreed that one should be born to him. Now on that night he slept with his wife and [his wife] conceived. And when she had fulfilled the months (3) of childbirth a son was born. The Hathors came to decree for him a destiny. They said, (4) he shall die either by the crocodile or the snake or the dog. And the people who were about the child heard it and told it (5) to his majesty. Then his majesty became exceeding sore at heart. And his majesty caused to be built [for him a house] of stone (6) on the desert, equipped with servants and with every good thing pertaining to a royal house, and the child was not to go outside it. Now when the child (7) grew up he went up on to his roof and saw a greyhound following a man who was (8) walking on the road. He said to his attendant who was beside him, What is that which is following the man who is coming along the road? And he (9) said to him, It is a dog. Then the child said to him, Let there be brought to me one like it. And the attendant went and told (10) it to his majesty. His majesty said, Let a little puppy be taken to him lest (?) his heart be grieved. So they took (11) him the dog.

Now when many days had gone by the child grew in body and in mind[2]. And he (12) sent to his father saying, What boots it that I sit here. Behold I am delivered over to Fate. Let me be released (?) (13) that I may do after my own desire; the god will surely do what is in his heart. They hearkened to him. They ordered (?) that there should be given to him a chariot furnished with (Page 5, 1) every kind of martial equipment, and his [servant] followed him by way of esquire. They ferried him over to the east bank (2) and they said to him, Go where thou wilt. Now his dog was with him. And he fared northward following his heart's desire, upon the desert, living upon the choicest of every kind of (3) game of the desert. And so he reached the chief of Naharin. Now there had been born to the chief of (4) Naharin no child save a daughter. And ⟨he⟩ (?) had built for her a house whose window was at a height of (5) fifty-six (?) cubits from the ground. He had summoned all the sons of all the chiefs of the land of Syria and said to them, (6) He who shall reach the window of my daughter shall have her to wife.

Now when many days had gone by, (7) as they were at their daily occupation the youth came by them. And (8) they took the youth to their house and washed him and gave fodder to his (9) horses. They did every service for the youth: they anointed him and swathed his feet and they (10) gave food to his attendant. And they said to him by way of converse, Whence comest thou, beauteous (11) youth? He said to them, I am the son of an officer of the land of Egypt. My mother died and my (12) father took to him another wife, a stepmother. But she began to hate me and I came away in flight before her. Then they (13) embraced him and kissed him repeatedly[3].

[1] The formula which the scribe usually inserted at the end of a copy.

[2] Literally "in all his body." Here is a case where literal translation is absurd. Compare the use of the same phrase in 5, 13 and 6, 7.

[3] Literally "in all his body."

Now when many days had gone by he said to the (14) youths, What is this which ye do.....[And they said to him, We have been] here for months past, (Page 6, 1) spending our time in flying, and he who shall reach the window of the daughter of the chief of Naharin. he will (2) give her to him to wife. And he said to them, Would that she might be mine. Could I but enchant my legs, I would go to fly (3) with you. Now they went to fly after their daily custom, but the youth (4) stood afar off watching. And the glance of the daughter of the chief of Naharin was upon him.

Now when many days had gone by (5) the boy came to fly with the children of the chiefs. And he flew (6) and he reached the window of the daughter of the chief of Naharin. She kissed him and embraced him (7) repeatedly. Now they went to inform her father and they said to him, A man has reached the window (8) of thy daughter. The chief asked him saying, The son of which of the chiefs? And they said to him, (9) An officer's son, who has come as an exile from the land of Egypt before the face of his stepmother. But (10) the chief of Naharin grew exceeding wroth and said, Shall I give my daughter to the exile (11) of Egypt? Let him take himself off again. They came to tell him saying, Get thee back to the place from which thou didst come. (12) But the daughter seized him and made an oath saying, As Rēʿ-Horus-of-the-Horizon lives, if they take him away (13) from me I will neither eat nor drink, and I will die straightway. Then the messenger (14) went and told her father all that she had said. And the chief sent men to slay him (15) on the spot. But the girl said, As Rēʿ lives, if they slay him, when the sun sets I shall be dead: (16) I will not outlive him by an hour. They [went] to tell it to her father. And the (Page 7, 1) daughter. Then....., and awe of him (2) entered into the chief. He embraced and he kissed him repeatedly. He said to him, Tell me thy condition. Behold (3) thou art to me as a son. He said to him: I am a son of an officer of the land of Egypt. My mother died and my father took (4) to himself another wife. And she began to hate me and I came away in flight before her face. Then he gave him his daughter to wife, and he (5) gave him a house with land likewise and all manner of goodly cattle.

Now when many days had gone by the youth said to (6) his wife, I am ordained to three fates, the crocodile, the snake or the dog. She said to him, Let the dog (7) which follows thee be killed. But he said to her,.....I will not have my dog killed whom I reared (8) when he was a puppy. So she began to watch over her husband very closely, not allowing him to go out alone. (9) Now behold the.....the.....[1] the land of Egypt to retreat (?). Lo, (10) the crocodile of the lake.....It came over against him in the town in which the (11) youth was. lake. Now there was a water-spirit[2] in it and the water-spirit would not suffer (12) the crocodile to go out. But when the crocodile slept (?) the water-spirit went forth to take a walk. But when the sun shone (13) they stood fighting (?) the two of them daily for a space of two whole months.

Now (14) when many days had gone by the youth sat down to enjoy himself in his house. And when night (15) came the youth slept on his bed and sleep took possession of his body. But (Page 8, 1) his wife filled a [bowl with].....and another bowl with beer. There came forth [a snake from his] hole (2) to sting the youth. But lo his wife was sitting beside him wide awake. The..... (3) the snake. It drank, it became drunk

[1] The facsimile flatters one into believing that the original will be decipherable. My repeated attempts to read it, however, have all been vain.

[2] See *Zeitschr. f. ag. Spr.*, 57, 148.

and went to sleep on its back. Then his wife caused it to meet (4) destruction by means of her axe. She woke her husband (5) him. She said to him, Behold thy god hath delivered one of thy fates into thy hand, he will [also deliver the others in like wise]. He (6) made offering to Rēʿ, praising him and glorifying his might daily.

Now when many days had gone by (7) the youth went out to take a walk on the banks (?) in his domain (?) without going outside..... (8) Now his dog was following him, and his dog received power of speech[1].....and he (9) ran away from it[2]. He reached the lake and went down into the [lake to escape from his ?] (10) dog. The crocodile seized (?) him and carried him off to the place in which the water-spirit lived. Then the (11) crocodile said to the youth, I am thy fate who has been pursuing thee, and (12) [for many days] past. I am about to fight with the water-spirit and behold I will release thee. But if..... (13) to fight.....and thou shalt applaud (?) me when the water-spirit is killed (?)[3]. And if thou see..... (14) see the.....

Now when day dawned and the second day came,.....came.....

[1] What else could *ṯ3i tp-r* mean? But the bearing of this phenomenon on the story is quite obscure.

[2] Or of course "it ran away from him." The destruction of the context accentuates the ambiguity inherent in the pronoun.

[3] Or "thou shalt extol for me the killing of the water-spirit," though we should expect *p3* or *p3i·i* (my) before *ḥdb*.

A CUNEIFORM VOCABULARY OF EGYPTIAN WORDS

By SIDNEY SMITH and C. J. GADD

During the excavations at Akhetaten conducted by Professor Peet in the season 1920–1 a cuneiform tablet was found in the house O. 49. 23 This find was reported in the *Journal*, VII, 175, where the tablet is said to have been found in rubbish that filled a room. Similarly in PEET-WOOLLEY, *The City of Akhenaten*, I, 17, the tablet is mentioned as having been found in a corridor south of the Central Hall of the same house, and a photograph of the reverse of the tablet may be found on Plate X, fig. 7. The date of the tablet is therefore certain; it can only have been written during the reign of Amenophis IV. It was not part of the royal archive which dated back to the reign of Amenophis III, but the private property of an individual. The tablet is now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and is numbered "Tell el Amarna 1921, 1154." We have to thank Dr. Hogarth, Ashmole's Keeper, for kindly giving us permission to publish this tablet.

The nature of the text as a vocabulary was clear to us from the photograph of the reverse, and hence it was described by us in 1921 as a list of objects made of wood (see *Journal*, ibid.). The precise character of this vocabulary is determined by the obverse, ll. 7–15. In ll. 8–9 on the right stand the cuneiform numbers 3, 4. On the left are words which prove to be the corresponding Egyptian numbers spelt phonetically, and in the subsequent lines the Egyptian numerals are continued up to the number ten. This is, then, a vocabulary in which the left-hand side is devoted to Egyptian words, at any rate in part; on the analogy of other vocabularies of this kind in cuneiform (the Kassite and Hittite may be instanced), we are entitled to assume, unless the reverse can be proved, that all the left-hand side of the tablet is devoted to Egyptian words. This is the first known cuneiform text which gives a list of Egyptian words; a few fragments of vocabularies were found at Akhetaten by Sir Flinders Petrie, but they are very fragmentary, and do not offer any clear resemblance to the present tablet (see KNUDTZON, *Die el-Amarna Tafeln*, nos. 342, 343, 351, etc.).

This text being, then, a vocabulary containing Egyptian words, what is its purpose? This involves a consideration of the right-hand side, which is for the most part broken away, the remainder being much damaged. It will immediately be noted that most of what remains consists of ideograms, which may be read in any manner required. It does not certainly follow therefore that this is an Egyptian-Akkadian vocabulary. But in Obverse 3, the word *aḫiutum* is certainly Akkadian, while in ll. 5 and 6 there are the beginnings of words which are most probably Akkadian. This again is not absolutely conclusive, since in the Hittite texts, for example, Akkadian words are used as ideograms. The fact seems to be that anyone who thoroughly understood the right-hand side would be capable of writing cuneiform which would be understood by scribes anywhere in Western Asia. On the whole, it seems reasonable to assume that the scribe actually read the right-hand side as Akkadian; in any case such an assumption will not vitiate our conclusions, since the right-hand side is simply of use in elucidating the meaning of the Egyptian words. Now for what purpose did the scribe make this list of Egyptian words

and cuneiform equivalents? This will depend on his nationality. (*a*) He may have been an Asiatic scribe learning Egyptian by expressing in phonetic characters the Egyptian words corresponding to the cuneiform writings with which he was familiar. The fact that the scribe on the right-hand side writes the numbers 2, 3, 4, etc. without spelling them is perhaps in favour of this view, while the circumstance that the Egyptian words come first is no objection to it, since the syllabaries frequently adopt this order. (*b*) He may be an Egyptian, who had already mastered the principles of phonetic writing in cuneiform and is teaching himself what is on the right-hand side, *i.e.*, the normal manner of writing in cuneiform. On this second hypothesis, the scribe may be (i) either teaching himself to write cuneiform in a manner readily understood throughout Western Asia, or (ii) making notes on Egyptian words for the purpose of translating a cuneiform document into Egyptian. On the whole there is good reason to believe that, of the above alternatives, (*a*) is preferable. It is rendered almost certain by a consideration of the epigraphical evidence.

An examination of the list of signs used in the correspondence of the Western Asiatic princes as given by Schroeder, *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler*, XII, 75–94, shows that there is a considerable divergence between the forms used by Egyptian scribes and those found on the present tablet. On this latter the distinctive signs , , , ,  are purely Assyrian in form, not Babylonian, and most closely resemble the usage of the Mitanni scribes in Schroeder's list. The letters from Egypt on the other hand show quite different, more Babylonian, forms of the signs. It would seem therefore that the tablet was most probably written by an Assyrian or Mitanni scribe, and that an Egyptian would have been trained to use rather a different hand.

An examination of the tablet has revealed the fact that the scribe was careless. Thus he omits a perpendicular wedge of  in Obv. 4, and apparently a horizontal of the same sign in Obv. 1. In Rev. 4 he appears to have slipped in writing *da* and in Obv. 11 the first sign should be *šu*,  but has a strange form. In Obv. 2, Rev. 7 and 11 he writes a peculiar sign to which we can adduce no parallel, and he may intend the same sign in Obv. 5. It must be remembered that Assyrian scribes of the second millennium were both careless, as is proved by certain texts published by Ebeling, and used peculiar forms of signs. Thus in the monumental inscription of Tukulti-Ninurta I, published by King, *Records of the reign of Tukulti-Ninib I*, there is a form of *ta* (Obv. 6) unexampled elsewhere. In all probability then this text was written by a scribe trained in the Assyrian schools.

The contents of this text appear, so far as they are intelligible, miscellaneous, as is not unnatural in a vocabulary. But it is possible that the various objects, made for the most part of wood, belong to an inventory or list of presents with which the scribe had to deal. Such lists are of course to be found in the royal letters, and it is conceivable that the scribe had such a document before him. The insertion of the numerals must then be interpreted as a help to the scribe when counting objects in the inventory. On the other hand, if our interpretation be correct, the sequence "house," "door," "bolt," "postaments," "chair," "bed," may be due to mere association of ideas, of a type common in syllabaries.

As to the transliteration of this tablet, in most cases there can be no doubt whatever as to the correct phonetic value of the signs; but certain points need mentioning.

(1) *š*. The various signs here transliterated with *š* as an element have that value in

Akkadian (Babylonian). A theory has been advanced about the change of sibilants in the Assyrian dialect, and some would maintain that in the northern speech the signs involving *š* were pronounced with *s* and vice versa. Further, in Hittite writing scholars are inclined to transliterate the signs with *š* by *s*. It may therefore be that in this tablet the scribe is using the *š* signs for the *s* sounds, and vice versa.

(2) *m*. In transliterations from cuneiform this letter represents both (i) the ordinary nasalised labial, and (ii) a pure labial without nasalisation. In the latter cases it would perhaps be better to represent it by *w* (the Continental *u̯*) in writing, as indeed is frequently done in cuneiform. In the phonetic spelling of Egyptian words the *m* of the cuneiform transliteration may represent either of these two quite different sounds.

(3) *d* and *ṭ*. Several signs in cuneiform involve both these values. In the transliteration below these values are therefore practically interchangeable.

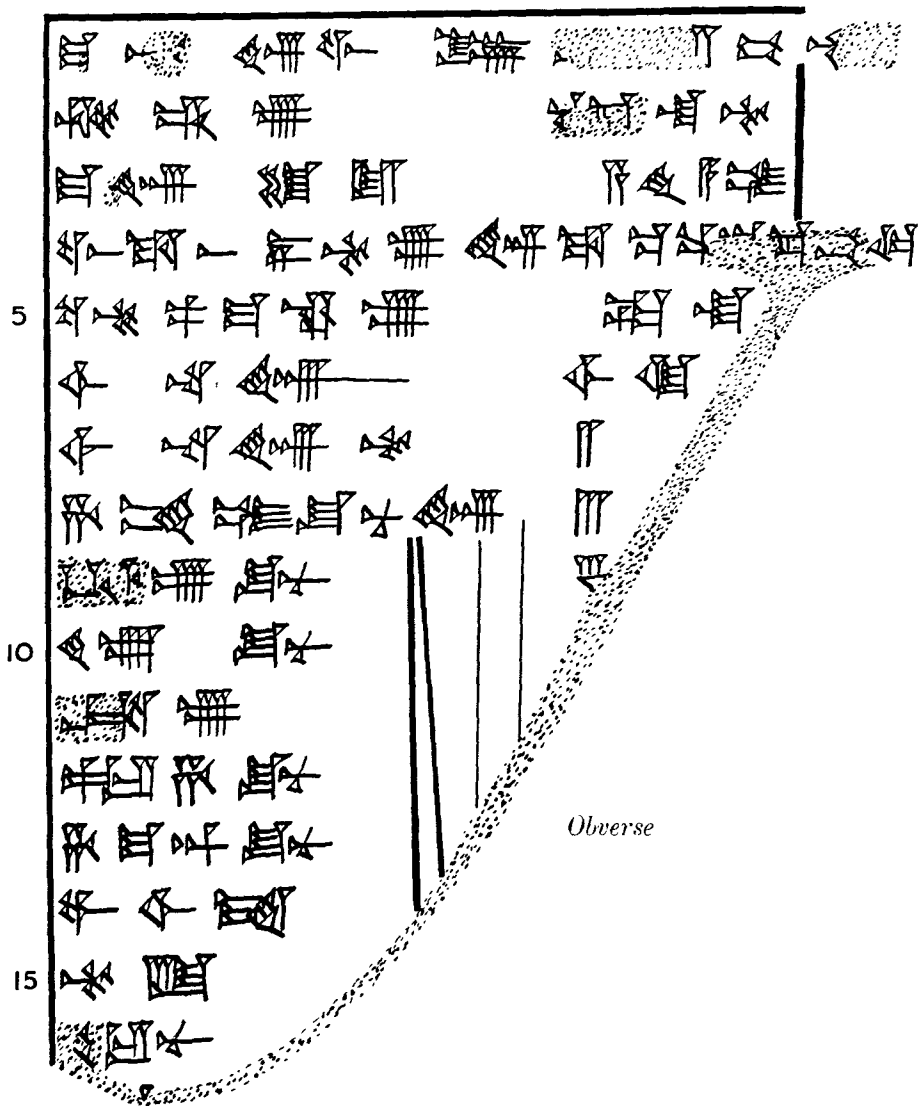
(4) . In the correspondence found at Akhetaten commonly (but not always) has the value *wa*. The present scribe uses it four times, always, we believe, with the value *pi*.

(5) . In some of the letters a clear distinction is made between the signs *aḫ, iḫ, uḫ* and , the glottal stop, but not in all. In the present tablet the scribe certainly employs this sign for the glottal stop. The transliteration -' is conventional. In some cases it may represent *'a. 'i, 'u.*

We have had the advantage of discussing all the suggestions advanced in the notes with Dr. H. R. Hall, the Keeper, and Mr. S. R. K. Glanville, of the Department of Egyptian Antiquities; Dr. Hall suggested to us the identifications of *piparu* and *sbiu* actually adopted, and supplied us with certain references. But the blame for errors must lie entirely with ourselves. Professor Peet has made some interesting suggestions which will be found in a separate note.

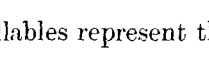
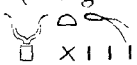
OBVERSE.

1.	*ma-'-pi*	LUGAL*bi-mu* (?)
2.	*nam-?-u*	. *-la-mu*
3.	*ma-'-tu-lu*	*a-ḫi-a-tum*
4.	*pi-ṭa-aš ni mu-u-'-da*	*giš qa-* .. .*di*
5.	*u(d)-mu-pa ma-?-u*	*šak-la-*
6.	*ši-na-'*	*ši-ki-*
7.	*ši-na-'-mu*	2
8.	*ḫa-am-tum šu nu '*	3
9.	*-u šu nu*	4
10.	*ṭi-u šu nu*	
11.	. . *-u*	
12.	*šap-ḫa šu nu*	
13.	*ḫa-ma-an šu nu*	
14.	*pi-ši-id*	
15.	*mu-ṭu*	
16.	. *-ib-nu*	



Notes.

1. The second sign has been erased by the scribe, and can perhaps be neglected. The last sign is *mu*, to judge from its commencement; *mu* occasionally has the value *ia*. The sign in front of *bi* may well have been *si*, 𒋗𒊑. Between LUGAL and *si* there would be room for two short signs or one long sign. It is therefore possible to suppose that we have to restore [*in-s*]*i-bi-ia*, Eg. . This would mean that the scribe wrote the ideogram for "king," LUGAL (*šarru*) and then gave the Egyptian title. What then is the meaning of *ma-'-pi*? It can hardly be a personal name of a king, for the only kings likely to be mentioned in this document are Tuthmosis IV, Amenophis III and IV. Did the scribe write *ma-na-aḫ-pi*? Then why has the *na*(?) been erased? And could *ma-na-aḫ-pi* be the (*m*)*Manaḫbia* of KNUDTZON, *Die el-Amarna Tafeln*, no. 51, Obv. 4, who is clearly the (*m*)*Manaḫbiria* of no. 59, Obv. 8, Tuthmosis IV (or Tuthmosis III, as Ranke has

argued, *Zeitsch. f. äg. Spr.*, LVI, 73 ff.)? But *ma-'-pi* is the reading indicated by the erasure, and in view of the nature of this document, it seems tempting to suppose that these syllables represent the Egyptian , "in lists, inventories." Or if *ma'pi* represents a pronunciation like *wa-pi* (the glottal stop being introduced to mark a syllable ending) the word may simply be [1].

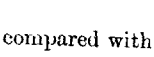
2. The second sign has a peculiar form, which is exactly similar to that given in Rev. 7 and 11, for which we are unable to quote an exact parallel. It has a superficial resemblance to , *al*, but is a stroke short. It is unlikely that the sign is to be read *al* in the case of Obv. 2 and Rev. 7, the collocations *nam. al. u* and *al. hu. lu* being very awkward; but in Rev. 11 a reading *al* would be very suitable. In Rev. 7 again there is some reason for supposing the sign may be , *du*, one horizontal having been converted into a vertical: and a reading *du* in the present case would give an acceptable reading, *nam-du-u*. The right-hand side is equally uncertain owing to damage. The last sign is probably *mu*; *gab* is possible but unlikely. There appear to be two signs in front of *la*, but they cannot be identified certainly. If the word on the left be *namdū*, it is hard to think of any likely equivalent in Egyptian other than , "the words."

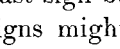
3. *aḫiatum*. If reliance could be placed on the ending *-um* this word would necessarily be singular; but *tum* may stand for *tu*, and there is no known singular of this form. *aḫatu*, "sister," is never so written. *aḫiatu(m)* must be either (1) plural of *aḫitu*, "side," perhaps used in the sense of "surrounding districts," see DRIVER, *Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts*, Vol. III, 58, no. 92[1]; or (2) pl. fem. of the adjective *aḫū*, "strange." A plural form *aḫiatu* occurs once in a business document, in an uncertain sense, MEISSNER, *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht*, no. 78, note 3; the renderings of Meissner, "Gewinn," and Schorr, "Geschäftsanteile," are not indisputable, but the word is certainly a technical business term, the New Babylonian *aḫatu* discussed by Fossey in *Journal Asiatique*, Série XI, Tome 9, 490. It is therefore not the word here in question. *aḫitu* also has the meaning "misfortune," "calamity," "evil fate," see *A.J.S.L.*, XXVIII, 90, KLAUBER, *Assyrisches Beamtentum*, 70[5], WEIDNER, *Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien*, 13[5], but again this cannot be the word intended for it does not consort with the nature of the text. The most reasonable interpretation is that *aḫiatum* is the fem. pl. adj., "strange." The Egyptian *ma'tulu* may possibly be an adjectival phrase beginning .

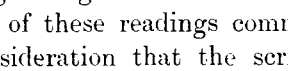
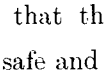
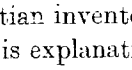
In favour of the series of conjectures put forward above, it may be said that they give an indication of the scribe's intention. As no explanation is given at the end of the text he may have given some at the beginning. The conjectures, summarized, read as follows:—

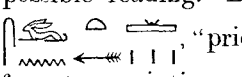
In the list OF THE KING [=] *insibia*
the words [illegible]
ma'tulu STRANGE (*i.e.*, foreign, meaning Egyptian').

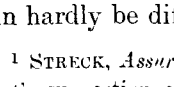
All this is mere conjecture, and against this interpretation may be urged the facts (1) that no Akkadian word ending in *-la-mu* meaning "words" is known; one would expect *amatu*; (2) that *ma'tulu* cannot be shown to be an Egyptian equivalent for "strange," "foreign."

[1] From the same Egyptian root the form  has been compared with the *u-pu-ut*, *u-pu-te* of the Letters (RANKE, *Keilschriftliches Material zur altägyptischen Vokalisation*, 26).

4. The right side is much damaged. It began with the determinative for wood, then came *qa*. The third sign must be *ab* or *ad*, the fourth sign is quite uncertain, the fifth ends like *bi* or *ga*, and the last is certainly *di*. A possible reading perhaps is (*iṣu*) *qabzu gadi*. The word *gadu* denotes an animal, a special kind of young ram or kid, (Heb. גְּדִי, Arab. جدى), since it is equated with . *qabzu* is not known to us.

piṭaš ni mu'da. We would suggest for this . For this last word see ERMAN-GRAPOW, *Handwörterbuch*, 60: "Kleine Tiere die man in Kasten trägt." For *d* =  compare *pidati* = . Doubts have been expressed to us as to whether *pdś* indicates the kind of box in which the *mšwḏ* were carried, and the latter word apparently occurs only in Old Kingdom texts. *mu'da* might also be transliterated *muḫda*, a not impossible rendering of , "antelope," but it would be difficult to make this agree with the Akkadian *gadu*.

5. On the right-hand side *šak la* is certain. Almost the only restoration which suggests itself is *šaklalu*, presumably an irregular variant for *šuklulu*, "complete." On the Egyptian side the last sign but one is an impossible form. Could it be divided (which is improbable), the signs might be read *aš ru*, or, in conjunction with the previous sign, *gal ru*, but neither of these readings commends itself. In view of the Akkadian word we suggest for consideration that the scribe intended something like *uwup(ʃ) wadā* , "it was safe and sound, (complete)." The remark was perhaps a note entered in the original Egyptian inventory opposite the entry concerning the "box," as to the condition on receipt. This explanation of course assumes that the questionable sign is to be read *du*: the scribe has then written his peculiar form of *du* carelessly.

6. The word on the right-hand side may be restored *šikittu*, "a thing made," "creature," "image or representation," etc.[1] corresponding very closely in its various meanings to the Egyptian and Coptic root CHT. The word sometimes denotes an object made of wood, on which perhaps one sat or put things (*šakanu*). There is apparently no Egyptian word *šina'* which has this sense. It is just possible that *šiki...* may be the beginning of a derivative of *šaqalu*, "to pay." Thus, if *šaqilu*, *šaqiltu*, "paid" could be so spelt, *šiqilu* is a possible reading. Even so it would be difficult to find the Egyptian parallel for *šina'*; , "price," would require an *m* to represent the *w*, to judge from the other cuneiform transcriptions, and is therefore ruled out. On the whole, *šikittu*, "a wooden object," is the most probable restoration.

7. *šina'nu* means 2.... That is, either (1) two, (2) second (restoring 2 KAN), or (3) two objects. If it means "two," then it is intended for the masculine dual form. But see Professor Peet's note below.

8. *ḫamtum*, Eg. . The first *m* therefore is the nasalised, the second the pure labial, unless, as is possible, *tum* is used for *tu*. *šu nu'* presents considerable difficulties; it can hardly be different from the *šu nu* of Obv. 9, 10, 12, 13. The last sign must therefore

[1] STRECK, *Assurbanipal und seine Nachfolger*, II, 86, 87, translates *šikittu*, "Lage." Compare Professor Peet's suggestion of *šnʿ* for *ši-nu-'*, and the cognate Akkadian word *maškanu*, which signifies not only a granary, but the place where the grain was threshed, winnowed, and sifted (LANDSBERGER, *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*, LXIX, 526).

be the glottal stop, not *uḫ*; it has been written once as the correct ending of an otherwise apparently open syllable, and omitted subsequently. But why has this word been added in the case of the numbers 3, 4, 5, 7, 8 and not with the other numbers? It is hard to think that there is any peculiarity about the numbers 3, 4, 5, 7, 8 as against 2, 6, 9, 10, unless it be due to superstitious beliefs. They might for instance be marked as "bad," "unlucky"; but the Egyptian expression used for this in the Calendar of Lucky and Unlucky Days is , and this explanation must be dismissed as improbable. Unless some good explanation for the word as Egyptian phonetically spelt be forthcoming it is possible to think that *šu nu* should be read *ŠU-nu*, that is, "the same sound + *nu*," for *ŠU* is commonly used in this way in vocabularies. Thus we should have *ḫamtuw, ḫamtunu*. This latter can only be the Egyptian ordinal. The right-hand side may have read 3 [KAN], or 3, 3 [KAN], that is "3, [3rd]." It is not easy to see, in that case, why the scribe has capriciously omitted the ordinal forms of 2, 6, 9, 10; but this is bound to be a difficulty on almost any explanation except the one dismissed above. Professor Peet has suggested another solution which will be found in his note below.

9. The first two signs are uncertain. The first cannot be *pi*, so it is probably *ip*. The second might be *ti*, , but the transliteration elsewhere of  where the reading is certain leads one to expect *ṭi* . Egyptian . Note that Sethe prefers this form to . For *šu nu* see above.

10. *ṭiu*, Eg. , written in late times . Note that the sign can only be *ṭi*, not *di*. This seems to settle the best Assyrian transliteration of . See also Obv. 4. The transliteration by *ṭ* is also preferred by BUDGE, *Dictionary*, LXV, on the ground of other Semitic comparisons and STEINDORFF, *Z.D.M.G.*, XLVI, 728 admits that it is preferable. Sethe states that is used for Semitic *ṭ* from the time of the Middle Kingdom, *Zahlen und Zahlwörter*, 24.

11. First sign uncertain. Despite its irregular appearance it must be *ša*, or possibly *šu-u(t)*; *ša-u* is preferable, Eg. . The final *ś* was not pronounced by this scribe (*u* is always *u* on this tablet, not *šam*). The form he gives already resembles the Coptic ϣⲟⲩ, ϣⲉⲩ. The possibility that the final *ś* was not pronounced is envisaged by BUDGE, *Dictionary*, 643 b.

12. *šapḫa*, Eg. .

13. *ḫaman*, Eg. .

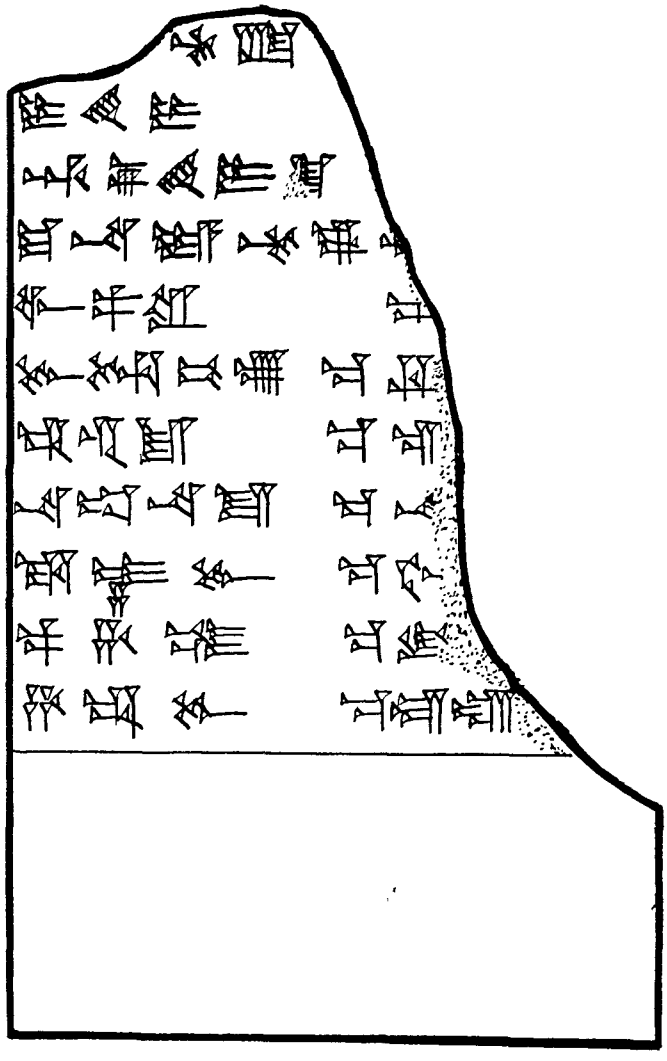
14. *pišid*, Eg. . For transliteration with *d* =  see note on Obv. 4.

15. *muṭu*, Eg. . Under the Old Kingdom this numeral was certainly equivalent to . In the very late period it is written , which indicates that it was pronounced with ⲟ as in Coptic. The cuneiform writing with *ṭ*, not *d*, may indicate that in the Eighteenth Dynasty the final sound was , though this cannot be proved from Egyptian writing.

16. The first sign is almost certainly . This is probably to be transliterated *ṭi* in view of Obv. 10. *ṭibnu* can hardly be other than Eg. , a weight of 91 grammes. The other possibility, *ḫi-ip-nu*, Eg. , "one hundred thousand," is not so likely.

REVERSE.

1. *mu-ṭu*
2. *i-ṭi-i*
3. *ti-ir-ṭi-i-ku*
4. *ma na-ia mu-?*
5. *pi-pa-ru*
6. *pu-us-bi-u* — ^{giš}
7. *?-hu-lu* — ^{giš}SI
8. *na-ab-na-su* — ^{giš}*na*-
9. *da-as-pu* — ^{giš}
10. *pa-ḫa-tum* — ^{giš}NAD
11. *ḫa-?-pu* — ^{giš}ERI.UM

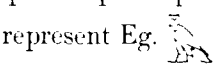


Notes.

1. *muṭu* may be again the word for "ten," or a part of another word.

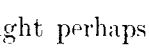
2. *i* is almost certain. *ṭi* is so transliterated in view of Obv. 10; it also may have the value *ḫi* (*šar* is out of the question).

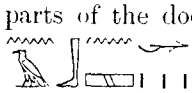
3. The last sign is certainly *-ku*. The word looks like a pseudo-participle, first person.

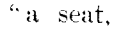
4. The last sign may be a badly written *da*. *ma naia* may represent Eg. , "in my....."

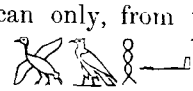
5. In view of what follows it is possible that this may be Eg. , "the house." The sign on the right-hand side looks like : but a careless scribe may have written for .

6. In *pusbiu* the *us* could also be transliterated *uz*. On the right-hand side the last sign is almost certainly the beginning of , in which case the Egyptian word means "door" and *pusbiu* must be the Eg. . The Eg. article is here represented by *pu*.

7. The signs on the right-hand side might perhaps be restored , "a bolt," also "passage of a gateway," but this is far from certain. On the Egyptian side, the first sign is of an unusual form, see above on Obv. 2. Now in Rev. 6 and 8–10 the Egyptian words have the article prefixed, in Rev. 4 and 5 the article is probably to be found in the Egyptian words. There is therefore reason to believe that the Egyptian word in line 7 also had the article, in which case the sign can only be *du*, and *duḫulu* represents fem. art. + fem. noun, final *t* not pronounced; the word may denote part of a door. But there must remain a doubt whether the sign is really *du*.

8. Since the parts of the door seem to be the subject of these lines, *nubnasu* may be equated with Eg. . Of the Akkadian names for articles of wood beginning with *na*, *nanṣabu* would be the best equivalent for the Egyptian.

9. *daspu*. The *d* could also be *ṭ*. For the transliteration *pu* rather than *bu* see Rev. 6 and 11. The *s* could also be transliterated *z* or *ṣ*. On the right-hand side the obvious restoration of the ideogram is , "a seat, throne, chair." It is therefore legitimate to compare Eg.  said to mean "hoher Stuhl," BRUGSCH, *Wörterbuch*, 1201. The transliteration of by *d* is surprising, and may be due to the not infrequent confusion of *d* and *t* in the Assyrian writing of the period.

10. *paḫatum* can only, from the ideogram GIŠ. NAD, mean "bed." We therefore equate it with Eg. , for which see B.M. ostracon 5644. SPIEGELBERG, *Rec. de Trav.*, XV, 141.

11. The ideogram is not known to us, and what the significance of the second sign, "city," may be in this connection we are not sure. A phonetic reading is possible, hardly probable; and we do not think the expression means "wood of the city....." The second sign on the Egyptian side has exactly the same form as the doubtful sign discussed in the notes on Obv. 2 and Rev. 7. It would be suitable here to transliterate *al*, but unlikely in view of the difficulties thus caused in the other lines.

From the above notes it will be found that the *š* of the cuneiform transliteration is thought to render Egyptian  while *s* once represents Egyptian . This is of importance,

not for the Egyptologist, but for the Assyriologist, since it favours the view already mentioned about *š* and *s*. Too much emphasis should not be laid upon this tablet until we are certain as to the nationality of the scribe. In any case a thorough examination of the sibilants in cuneiform writing, frequently called for of late, must include this evidence.

Much connected with the interpretation of this text remains entirely obscure or is extremely doubtful, and we do not claim any certainty for most of the suggestions offered in the notes above. At the most they cannot be described as more than reasonable guesswork on our part. On the obverse we do not understand the meaning of the lines drawn down the centre of the tablet from l. 9 onwards. It is impossible to explain them as column divisions, because if they were so intended they should start higher up, and be continued on the reverse. And other points, particularly the proper interpretation of Obv. 1–3, Rev. 1–4, are left unexplained or extremely conjectural. But the character of the text as a vocabulary of Egyptian words is established beyond doubt, and it is the work of a man writing down the words as he heard them. He is not writing with the apparatus of modern phonetics; he may well, if an Asiatic, have mis-heard certain sounds. Above all, he is using the cuneiform script, which is a useful medium for phonetic spelling (better, in some respects, than the Semitic alphabets) but far from perfect. Yet the evidence his spellings afford for the pronunciation of Egyptian under the Eighteenth Dynasty cannot be neglected, and to the future labours of Egyptologists we must look for an elucidation of many points involved.

ADDITIONAL NOTE

By T. Eric Peet

Messrs. Smith and Gadd insist that I should make some contribution from the Egyptian side to the earliest study of the new tablet from Tell el-'Amarnah, the nature of which they have so ingeniously divined. Nothing would be easier than to make a guess at almost every one of the Egyptian words or phrases represented in the left-hand column, and nothing would be more foolish, for in our uncertainty as to exactly what the scribe was trying to do, and with the possibility that his representation of Egyptian sounds in cuneiform writing was not wholly consistent, the chances of our guesses being right are very slender. In fact it may almost be said that a solution in order to lay claim to consideration would have to be in itself so obvious and so convincing as to be beyond all possible doubt. The solution proposed by Messrs. Smith and Gadd for Obv. 4 seems to me in part at least to be of this nature. When corresponding to a cuneiform word determined with the wood-ideogram we find *pi-ṭa-aš ni mu-u-'-da*, it is almost certain that this is an attempt to write a group of three Egyptian words *pds n* ... "a chest of (or for) ...," though the determination of the missing word seems to me a much more difficult and uncertain matter. Others of the proposed identifications are attractive, particularly *nꜣ bnšw* for Rev. 8. The early lines of each side of the tablet may well, as the authors suggest, constitute continuous sentences, and if anyone can suggest Egyptian phrases which, while conforming to the phonetic requirements, make not only sense but a sense which is suitable to the rest of the contents of the tablet he will have established a strong claim to have solved the problem.

There is, however, one group of lines, Obv. 8 to 15, with regard to which some certainty can be reached. Here we have quite clearly, as Messrs. Smith and Gadd so acutely observed, the Egyptian numerals 3 to 10. But even so there are difficulties, for what is *ši-na-'* which stands in line 6 where we expect the number 1, *ši-na-'-mu* in line 7 which should correspond to 2, and what is the element *šu nu*, in one instance *šu nu '*, which in some cases follows the numerals? Messrs. Smith and Gadd are inclined to see in *ši-na-'-mu* a writing

of the Egyptian *snw*, 2. But there is a serious difficulty here, for though the *mu*, as they point out, may represent the pure labial *w* and not the nasalised *m*, yet the ', even if it does not stand for *aḫ*, *iḫ* or *uḫ*, at least indicates the glottal stop, and no such sound occurs in *snw*. To my mind therefore the identification of Obv. 7 with Eg. *snw* must be abandoned. Fortunately there is another possibility. Obv. 6 gives exactly the same word with the omission of the last syllable *mu*. I would therefore suggest that Obv. 6 is an Egyptian noun written in the singular (it is tiresome that the equivalent in the right-hand column is not more intelligible), and that Obv. 7 is a writing of the dual of this word, the syllable transcribed *mu* representing not the nasal *m* but the pure labial *w* and being thus an attempt to render the Egyptian masculine dual ending *wi*. If we now look at Obv. 8 we quite clearly have the numeral *ḫmt*, 3, followed by this same noun in a new vocalization *šu nu'*. In the next line, Obv. 9, we have the numeral 4 followed not by *šu nu'* but merely by *šu nu*. But this is not unsusceptible of explanation, for if the ' was used by the scribe to indicate the Egyptian ʿ (*ʿain*), as may well be the case[1], then a transcription *šu nu* in which the guttural was omitted altogether would also be open to him. In Obv. 11 the noun is omitted after the numeral 6, but it reappears after 7 and 8, to disappear again after 9 and 10. Thus lines Obv. 6 to 15 simply contain an Egyptian noun represented in cuneiform by *ši-na-'*, written in the singular, then in the dual, and finally combined with the numerals from 3 to 10. The writing *ši-ki-* ... in the right-hand column of Obv. 6 was presumably the Akkadian equivalent of *ši-na-'*. We can now understand why in this column the numbers are only indicated graphically and not spelt out as they should be, for they stand not as detached numerals but each in reference to the noun *ši-ki-* ...: in English we might have written 2 ditto, 3 ditto and so on. The scribe's interest is in the left-hand column, and on the right he has used merely the most rapid graphic indications.

From the Egyptian point of view two points of interest remain. What is *ši-na-'*? Since its dual is formed simply by adding the dual suffix *wi* it is clear that it is a single masculine word and not a combination, for example, of two words joined by the genitive exponent *n*. I am aware that it would greatly strengthen my case if I could point to a noun suitable to the context, or rather to what little we know of it, but I have no good suggestion to make: *šnʿ* a warehouse, in later times an *ergastulum*, rises to one's mind at once, but as there is no apparent reason why the scribe should have chosen this word rather than any other to combine with the numerals it cannot be established.

A more interesting speculation is this. Can we derive from this table any evidence as to the construction and vocalization of the Egyptian noun when combined with the numerals? If Obv. 7 is really a dual it would appear that the vocalization of the noun in certain cases at least remained unchanged when the dual suffix was added. But what is the form *šu nu'* which appears with the other numerals? We may notice in the first place that the construction of the numerals here used is, as we should have expected, that usual with the lower numbers in the New Kingdom, *i.e.*, the numeral comes first followed by the noun, and without any connecting word. Now in written Egyptian the noun in these cases stands in the singular, and this fact, together with the evidence of Coptic, makes it probable that it was so spoken, despite the fact that an accompanying adjective was written in the plural. What then is the form *šu nu'*? Is it after all a plural, and if so where is its plural ending, or is it rather some special form of the singular used when the noun depended on a numeral? This is a problem which I willingly leave to those who have made a closer study of Egyptian vocalization than I have.

[1] *Cf.* RANKE, *Keilschriftliches Material zur altäg. Vokalisation* (Berlin, 1910), 87-8.

A GREEK-COPTIC GLOSSARY TO HOSEA AND AMOS

By H. I. BELL and H. THOMPSON

With Plates XXXI–XXXIV.

Among the papyri acquired by the British Museum in 1924 were four small fragments of a land register. Unpromising in themselves, they attracted attention by the presence on the verso of a Coptic text which was clearly to be ranked among the earliest specimens of Coptic yet discovered, and it was for this reason that they were acquired. On examination the text on the verso proved to be of even greater interest than at first appeared likely. It is a glossary to Hosea and Amos, perhaps, indeed, when complete, to the Minor Prophets as a whole, and its early date gives it an importance out of all proportion to its extent and state of preservation.

The difficulties which beset the question of the origin and geographical distribution of the Coptic dialects in the earlier period (see Thompson, *Gospel of St. John*, 1924, xx f.) make it desirable to determine the provenance of all early Coptic texts, and it is particularly unfortunate that in the case of these fragments we have no indication of origin. They formed part of a collection acquired from a dealer and of the most miscellaneous character. The papyri in the box from which our fragments were taken were in various languages, of periods ranging from the Ptolemaic to the Arab, and the localities identifiable were Oxyrhynchus, the Fayyûm, Aphrodito (sixth century) and perhaps Antaeopolis (seventh century). The dialect of the present text excludes the Fayyûm, and the provenance must be looked for rather in Middle Egypt. The register on the recto gives little help, as it contains (in all probability) no place-names, and the personal names are mostly of a common sort. They include: Φιλέας, Διον(ύσιος), Πτολεμαῖος, Ῥωμ(ανός), Οἴα(ξ ?) [occurs P. Lond. II, p. 96, 2; Fayyûm), ?Ζη]νόδωρος, Ἐκῦσις, Κόστοκος [not in Preisigke, *Namenbuch*], Ἑρμῆς, Τείμων, Φιλόδημος, Ἡραῖς, Πλοῦτος, Φιλόξενος, Ὧρος, Διογένης, Πλουτίων, Πτολλαρίων. The only one except the Κόστοκος mentioned above which is unusual is Σιννεχθενῖβις. That does not occur in Preisigke's *Namenbuch*, but if an allusion to a local cult can be recognized in it, it may help to determine provenance.

There is, further, no indication of date except such as palaeography can furnish. The register on the recto is in a flowing, easy, and rather handsome cursive hand which we assigned to the middle of the second century. It is very improbable that a register of this kind would be kept for over a century, and a shorter period than that is more likely; hence the above dating would yield mid third century as the lowest date for the Coptic text. Prof. Hunt, however, who had the kindness to examine photographs of both sides, writes:—

"The dates you suggest strike me as rather on the early side. I think that the recto is about 200 (Commodus-Caracalla about the limits), and should call the verso late third, if not fourth; in places the latter has to me almost an early Byzantine look."

It would be presumptuous to question the verdict of so distinguished an authority, and probably his datings must be accepted. At the same time it may be pointed out that the writing of the recto seems to exhibit few or none of the features characteristic of the third

century; the upright, laterally compressed character of the early third-century hand is absent, nor has the writing the sloping tendency often seen in documentary hands of the time of Commodus. The υ has throughout the earlier form of a shallow curve with a curving tail, not the angular form which mainly prevails in the third century. The μ is the letter which most suggests the later date, showing a tendency to prolong downwards the first down-stroke; but this is not consistent, and examples of a similarly formed μ may be found in documents of the mid second century, *e.g.* in P. Lond. Atlas II, Pl. 53 (A.D. 145), Pl. 60 (c) (A.D. 157), Pl. 73 (a) (A.D. 183).

In any case the extreme improbability of the verso having been used over a century later than the recto makes a later date than A.D. 300 for the Coptic very unlikely. Nor do the characters seem to impose a later date than that. The hand is rather Greek than specifically Coptic, so that comparison with other early Coptic hands yields little result. Of the definitely "Coptic" hands given in facsimile that of CRUM'S *B. M. Catalogue*, No. 1102 (Pl. 12) is perhaps the closest, but it is not very close and being undated gives no help in any case. More fruitful is a comparison with two early pieces of Coptic which are written in hands of a Greek type, that on P. Lond. 98 recto and the colophon of B.M. Or. MS. 7594 (BUDGE, *Coptic Biblical Texts*, Pl. IX). The former, which belongs to the second century, is clearly earlier than our fragments. They are more closely related to the colophon of Or. 7594 (first half of fourth century), but the general appearance of the hand suggests an earlier date than that. Hence "late third century" is perhaps a fairly safe conclusion. The facsimiles of the two sides (Pls. XXXI–XXXIV) will enable readers to form their own opinion.

The text consists of a series of columns each containing Greek and Coptic words and phrases picked out of the books of Hosea and Amos, the Greek being put first and the Coptic translation following with a colon between. There are the remains of two columns on fragment A and also on B; C and D contain parts of a single column only. The Greek is often abbreviated and sometimes reduced to a mere catch-word, while the Coptic is written out in full. The phrases and words are chosen, as might be expected, from those that offer difficulty. The order is invariably that of the scripture itself; the writer evidently had the Greek text before him and translated whatever seemed to him to demand a rendering. By comparison of the amount of text lost between the adjacent columns it appears that each column covered about twenty verses of text, and as about seven or eight verses are covered in each of the extant fragments, it follows that three-fifths of each column are missing, that each column was originally about seven and a half inches high, and that a whole column is missing between the second column of fragment A and the fragmentary (Coptic) first column of B. C was adjacent to B, but it has not been possible to adjust the two or three letters on the left side of C to any of the incomplete lines of B, probably because the papyrus has been torn diagonally from the left upwards towards the right. It is not possible to calculate the lost space between C and D.

Fragment A contains excerpts from (i) Hosea ii, 8–13 (Greek and Coptic) and (ii) iii, 5—iv, 7 (Greek only).

B from (i) vi, 8–11 (Coptic ends of lines) and (ii) vii, 14—viii, 1 (Greek and Coptic).

C from viii, 14—ix, 6 (Greek and Coptic).

D from Amos ii, 8–15 (Coptic only).

The Greek exhibits a few small variations from the Text as printed in Swete's edition of the LXX (III, 1899), which are noted under the text. The most important is the substitution of $\theta\epsilon\tilde{\omega}$ for $\kappa\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omega$ in Hos. iv 1.

The Coptic renderings are of interest for more than one reason; they are in a dialect which may be best described as Middle Egyptian. It is marked by the following vowel changes:—

ⲟ for ⲱ in ϭⲟⲗ(ⲡ) (S. ϭⲱⲗⲡ), ⲯⲟⲡⲉ, ⲣⲟⲃ, ⲭⲟⲗⲉ (S. ⲭⲱⲱⲗⲉ), ⲣⲟⲧ, ⲣⲁⲣⲟⲧⲡ, ⲟⲣⲁⲣⲉⲧ-;

ⲁ for ⲟ in ⲉⲃⲁⲗ, ⲉⲗⲁⲗⲉ, ⲥⲁⲭⲡⲉ (S. ⲯⲟⲭⲡⲉ), ⲣⲁⲧⲉ (fear), ⲣⲉⲭⲡⲁϯ (threshing floor), ϭⲁⲗ, ⲉⲣⲁϯ (S. ⲉⲣⲟⲟϯ), ⲁⲩⲕ, ⲡⲁϭ, ⲣⲁϯ (S. ⲣⲟⲟϯ), ⲯⲁⲡ-, ⲣⲁ (S. ⲣⲟ), ⲥⲕⲁⲣⲕⲣ, ⲥⲁⲧⲉ;

ⲉ for ⲁ in ⲛⲉ- (S. ⲛⲁ- fut. II), ⲛⲉϩⲙ-, ⲙⲉⲣⲣⲉⲧⲉ (S. ⲙⲉⲣⲁⲧⲉ), ϭⲉⲭⲉ (S. ϭⲁⲭⲉ), ⲛⲓϭⲉ (S. ⲛⲓϭⲁ);

ⲏ for ⲉ in ϭⲏ, ⲟⲏ (S. ⲟⲉ).

Attention may be drawn to ⲣⲓⲙⲉ, apparently a new ME. word equivalent to S. ⲗⲁⲁϯ B. ⲣⲗⲓ; ⲛⲓⲡⲉ, possibly a corresponding negative form of it; and to ⲛⲓϭⲉ, a rare word which has occurred before only in ME. ⲙⲉⲧⲛⲓϭⲉⲉⲓ (Is. xxx, 5, 7), and S. ⲛⲓϭⲁ (Is. xxx, 5).

When we come to compare the Coptic renderings (BM.) with the Achmimic (A), Sahidic (S) and Bohairic (B) versions, it is remarkable that they exhibit little relation to any. For the purpose of comparison we have an Achmimic text of all the Hosea sections and of Amos ii, 7–11 where it breaks off; the Sahidic text only covers the section Hos. vii, 14—viii, 1 and Amos ii, 11–15, while the Bohairic covers all. Naturally for many of the words excerpted there is only one possible, or at any rate likely rendering. This is found in 16 instances, where a word common to all the versions occurs; in 8 instances the BM. is united with A against B; in 11 it is united with B against A: in 2 instances S and B are united against BM.; and in 9 instances they all have different words. There is no doubt that it is independent of the later established versions.

Are we then to presume that at the time when these fragments were written, probably towards the close of the third century, there was no official Coptic version in existence? There is no reasonable doubt that parts of the Bible had been translated long before; a commencement would naturally be made with the New Testament and the Psalms, and it is probable that the Pentateuch and historical books, the Wisdom literature and Major Prophets would all come before the Minor Prophets, which would be among the last to receive a vernacular rendering. All this would take time; and it is possible, at least, that there was at this time no received Version of the Minor Prophets. On the other hand it must be remembered that our earliest extant Coptic Codex (BM. Or. 7594) includes a Sahidic Jonah, and this MS. has been dated in the first half of the fourth century.

It remains to enquire into the object with which our list of words was made. Three possible purposes suggest themselves: (*a*) it was the work of a scholar for his own private use, or (*b*) of a teacher for his class in a catechetical school, or (*c*) it was for use in church to aid the reader of the lections, which were read out in the original Greek and then translated for the benefit of the faithful who did not understand the original tongue[1]. The last suggestion is perhaps the least likely, as in that case we should not have a continuous text excerpted, extending presumably over at least two books of the Minor Prophets: but it would have been cut up into lections. The second suggestion is not impossible. We know there was a catechetical school at Alexandria as early as the end of the second century under Pantaenus. This must have been purely Greek, as even Egyptians in the capital could hardly have been ignorant of that language. But it was otherwise in the Thebaid even in the fourth century. We know that Anthony (d. about 340) knew no Greek[2], and Pachomius had to learn Greek late in life in order to be able to instruct ξενικοί,

[1] *Cf.* RENAUDOT, *Liturg. Orient. Coll.*, Paris, 1716, p. cxxiii, 207.

[2] ATHANASIUS, *Life of Anthony*, M. P. G., xxvi, 842, 846. *Cf.* BUTLER, *Lausiac Hist. Pallad.*, i, 227.

i.e. Greeks or Graecised Egyptians from the North who begged to be admitted as monks in his monasteries[1]. But though there were hermits in abundance before A.D. 300, there were, as far as we know, no monasteries or schools for religious instruction till the foundations of Pachomius from about 310 till his death in 346. It is perhaps safest to conclude that our fragments were the work of a scholar for his own private use.

[For convenience in printing the lines containing words in each modern verse are run together. Words have been divided both in Greek and Coptic. Abbreviations: A. = Achmimic, B. = Bohairic, S. = Sahidic, Sw. = Swete's LXX. Dots, except in the middle of a line, do not indicate the number of letters missing.]

Fragment A i. Pl. XXXI. Hosea ii, 9–13.

v. 9 (1) .. ⲁⲉⲓⲱ .. ⲁϥⲁⲓⲧⲁ[1] (2) .. ⲣⲁⲃ .. ⲙⲁⲥ[2] (3) .. ⲕ]ⲁⲗⲩⲡ'[:]ⲉⲧⲙⲧⲣⲉⲩⲣⲟⲃⲉ[3]

v. 10 (4) ⲕ(ⲁⲓ) ⲡⲩ(ⲡ)[4] : ⲧⲉⲡⲟⲩ ⲥⲏ ϯⲡⲉⲥⲟⲗ[5] ⲉⲃⲁⲗ (5) ⲙⲏ ⲉϫⲉⲗⲏⲧⲁⲓ : ⲛⲉⲣⲓⲙⲉ[6] ⲱⲡⲉⲣⲙⲉ

v. 11 (6) ⲁ[ⲡ]ⲟⲥⲧⲣⲉⲫⲱ : ⲛⲧⲁⲕⲟⲧ ⲉⲃⲁⲗ[7]

v. 12 (7) ⲧ[8] ⲁⲙⲡⲉⲗ[ⲟ] : ⲡⲁⲥⲃⲱ ⲡⲉⲗⲁⲗⲉ (8) ⲙⲓⲥⲑⲱⲙ[9] .. : ⲡⲁⲃⲉⲕⲁⲩⲉ (9) ⲉⲣⲁⲥⲧⲁⲓ : ⲙⲉⲣⲣⲉⲧⲉ[10]

v. 13 (10) ⲉⲡⲉⲟⲩⲉⲡ ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲥ[11] : ⲉⲧⲛⲉⲥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲛⲉⲩ[12] (11) [ⲛⲉⲣⲓ]ⲉⲧⲓⲟⲉⲧ[ⲟ] ... ⲁ[13][:]ϯ ⲛⲉⲥ-ⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲉⲣⲁⲥ[14] (12) ... ⲥⲟⲛⲉⲓⲱⲟ[15] (13) ... ⲟⲩⲏⲩ ⲛⲥⲟ ..[16]

[1] These letters are probably Coptic and seem to relate to the Greek (missing here) *αφελουμαι τα ιματια μου*. A. ϯⲛⲁϥⲓ ⲛⲛⲁⲣⲁⲓⲧⲉ, B. ϯⲛⲁⲱⲗⲓ ⲛⲛⲁⲣϧⲱⲥ. [2] Also Coptic, but it is difficult to make it accord with the Greek. [3] Sw. *του μη καλυπτειν*, A. ⲁⲧⲙⲣⲱϧⲉ, B. ⲉⲱⲧⲉⲙⲣⲱϧⲉ. [4] ⲩ above the line. [5] ⲥⲟⲗ probably error for ⲥⲟⲗⲡ; A. ⲥⲱⲗⲡ, B. ⲥⲱⲣⲡ. [6] ⲛⲉ for ⲛⲛⲉ, neg fut. III. ⲉⲓⲛⲉ seems to be a new dialect form equivalent to S. ⲗⲁⲁⲩ, B. ⲉⲗⲓ. A. ⲙⲡⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲛⲁϥⲓⲧⲉ, B. ⲛⲛⲉⲣⲗⲓ ⲛⲁⲣⲙⲉⲥ. [7] A. ϯⲛⲁⲕⲧⲟ, B. ϯⲛⲁⲧⲁⲥⲟⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ. [8] Sw. omits *τ(ην)*. [9] Sw. *μισθωματα*. The abbreviation above the line is not clear. A. ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲓⲧⲣⲛⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲓ, B. ⲛⲁⲃⲉϫⲉ. [10] A. ⲙⲣⲣⲉⲧⲉ. B. ⲙⲉⲛⲣⲁϯ. [11] Sw. *αυτοις*. [12] A. ⲉⲧⲁⲥϯⲣⲏⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲣⲏⲓ ⲛⲣⲏⲛⲧⲟⲩ, B. ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲱⲱⲧ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲛϧⲛⲧⲟⲩ. [13] Qu. *ενωτια*. [14] A. ϯ ⲛⲉⲥⲕⲁⲱⲁⲃⲉⲗ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ. B. ϯ ⲛⲛⲉⲥⲗⲉⲟⲛ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ. [15] Above this obscure group is written in a fainter ink ⲉⲡⲟⲩⲉⲡⲧⲉⲥ, equally unintelligible at present. If the following line = Sw. *επορευετο οπισω*, they should render *κ. τα καθορμια αυτης*, for which A. has ⲛⲉⲥⲉⲓⲉⲡⲥⲁⲓⲉ, B. ⲛⲉⲥⲓⲉϧⲣⲁⲧ. [16] A. ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲁϱⲥ ⲛⲥⲉ ⲛⲉⲥⲙⲉⲣⲣⲉⲧⲉ, B. ⲁⲥⲙⲟⲱⲱⲓ ⲥⲁⲙⲉⲛϱⲉ ⲛⲉⲥⲙ.

A ii. Pl. XXXI. Hos. iii, 5—iv, 7 (only Greek left).

iii, *v.* 5 (1) ⲉⲕⲥⲧⲏⲥⲟⲛⲧⲁⲓ : ⲉⲩ .. (2) ⲉⲡ ⲉⲥϫⲁⲧ[1] ⲏⲙⲉⲣ' ...

iv, *v.* 1 (3) ⲕⲣⲓⲥⲓⲥ ⲧⲱ ⲑⲱ̃[2] ... (4) ⲉ[ⲡⲓⲥ]ⲧⲱⲥ[3]

v. 2 (5) ⲁⲣⲁ ⲕ[4] ⲯⲉⲩ[5] (6) ⲕⲉϫⲩⲧⲁⲓ[5] : ⲁⲩⲡ ...

v. 3 (7) ⲉⲕⲗⲓⲯⲟ[ⲩ][6] [:] ⲉⲩⲉ ...

v. 4 (8) ⲇⲓⲕⲁϫⲏⲧⲁⲓ : ... (9) ⲱⲥ ⲁⲛⲧⲓⲗⲉⲅⲟⲙ'ⲟⲥ[7]

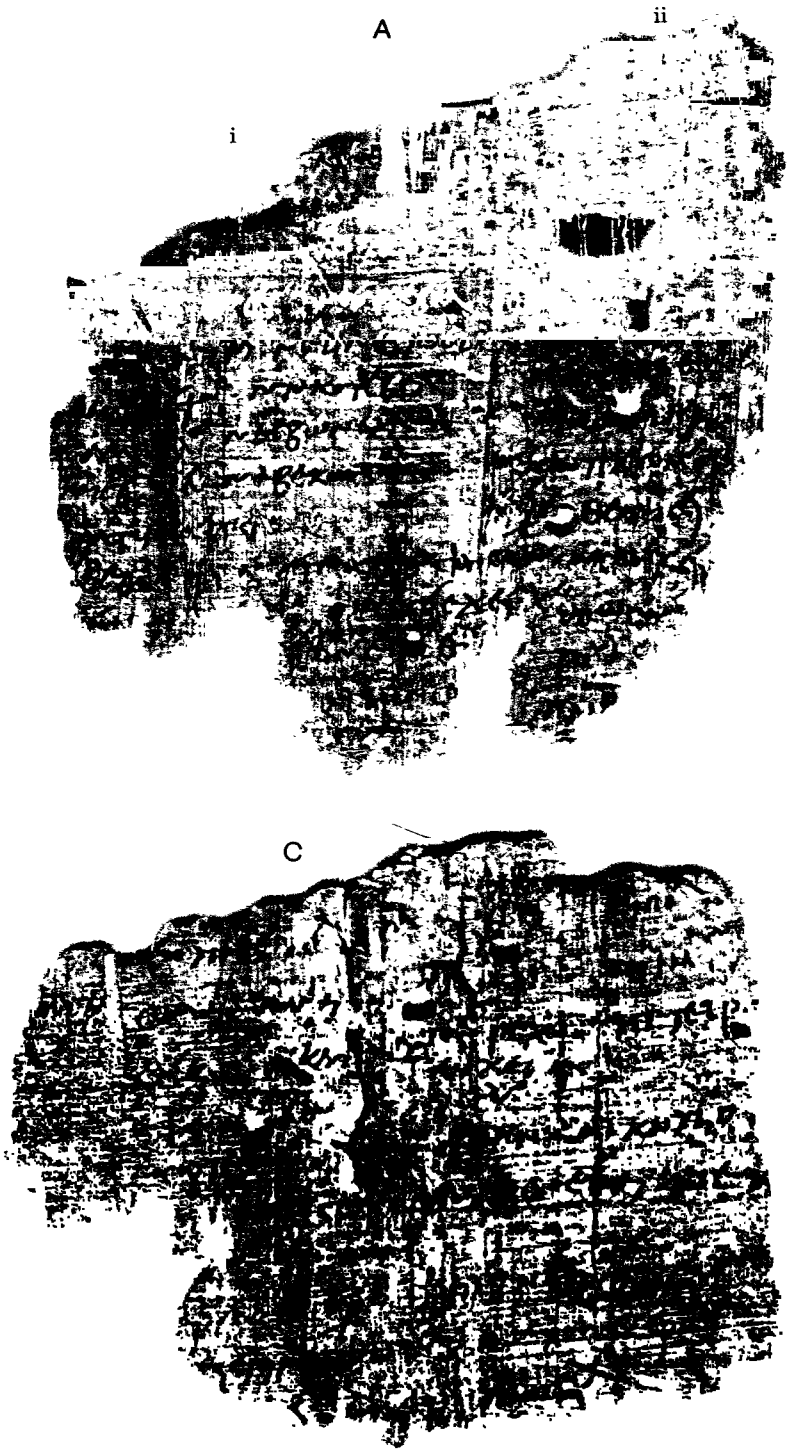
v. 5 (10) ⲏⲙⲉⲣ ⲁⲥⲑⲉⲛⲏⲥⲉⲓ[8] ...

v. 6 (11) ⲱⲥ[9] ⲟⲩⲕ ⲉϫ[ⲱⲡ] ... (12) ⲁⲡⲱⲥⲉ[ω] ... (13) ⲧⲟⲩ ⲩⲉ[10] ...

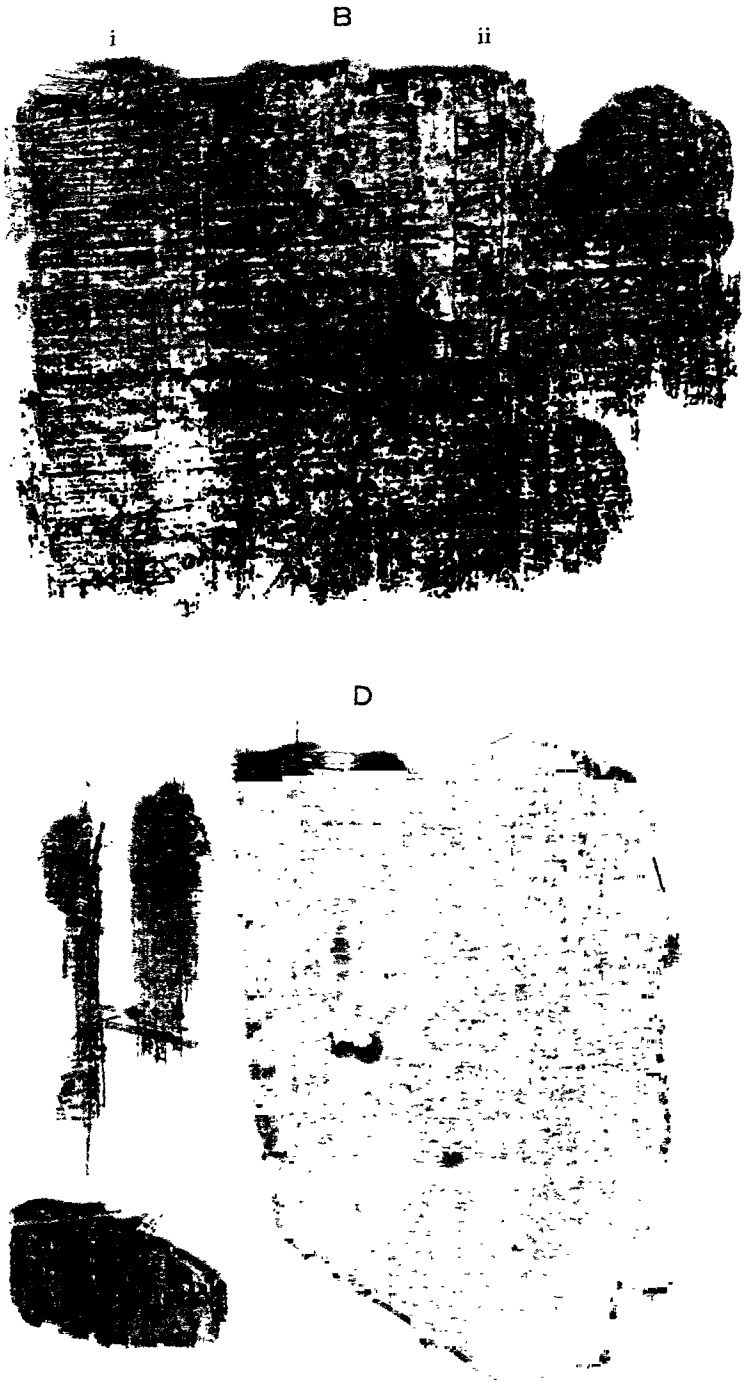
v. 7 (14) ⲡⲗⲏⲑ[11] ...

[1] An abbreviation mark or letter above ⲧ. [2] Sw. *κυριῳ*. [3] Uncertain, only the final ⲥ above the line is sure. [4] ⲕ above the line and doubtful. [5] Initial ⲕ written over a ϫ. [6] Sw. *εκλειψουσιν*. [7] Sw. *ως αντιλεγομενος*. [8] Sw. *ασθενησει ημερας*. [9] Before *ως* and *απωσω* in l. 12 are two short diagonal lines to distinguish the first letter from the intruding Coptic of the previous column. [10] Sw. *του ιερατευειν*. [11] The last two letters practically certain.

[1] *Annales du Musée Guimet*, XVII, 147.



A Greek-Coptic Glossary. *Verso.*
Fragments A and C.



A Greek-Coptic Glossary. *Verso.*
Fragments B and D.

Fragment B i. Pl. XXXII. Hosea vi, 8–11 (Coptic only).

v. 8 (1) . . . ϱοϧ ⲉⲙⲙⲡⲓⲥⲉ[1] (2) . . . ⲉ (3) . . . ⲙⲉ (4) . . .

v. 10 (5) . . . ⲁⲩϱⲁⲧⲉ[2]

v. 11 (6) . . . ⲧⲕ[3] ⲉⲭⲟⲗⲉ ⲛⲉⲕ .

[1] Sw. *εργαζομενη ματαια*; A. ⲉⲥⲣⲱϧ (*sic*) ⲁϱⲉⲙⲉⲧⲱⲟⲩⲉⲓⲧ, B. ⲉⲧⲉⲣϱⲱϧ ⲉϯⲙⲉⲧⲉϥⲗⲏⲟⲩ. [2] A. ⲁⲓⲛⲟ ⲙⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲟ ⲁⲩⲡⲟⲣⲡⲓⲁ ⲉⲥⲡⲁϱⲧ, B. ⲁⲓⲡⲁⲩ ⲡϱⲁⲡϱϧⲏⲟⲩⲓ ⲉⲩⲟⲓ ⲛϱⲟϯ. [3] Qu. ⲁⲣⲓϱⲏ]ⲧⲕ : A. ⲃⲁⲣϫⲉⲥⲟⲁⲓ ⲡⲭⲟⲟⲩⲗⲉ ⲛⲉϥ, B. ⲁⲣⲓϱⲏⲧⲥ ⲛⲥⲱⲗⲕ ⲡⲁⲕ.

B ii. Pl. XXXII. Hosea vii, 14—viii, 1.

vii, *v.* 14 (1) ⲕⲁⲧⲉⲧⲉⲙⲡⲟⲛⲧⲟ : ⲉⲩⲱ[1] . . .

v. 15 (2) ⲉⲡⲁⲓ[ⲋ]ⲉⲩⲟⲏ[c] ⲉⲛ ⲉⲙⲟⲓ : . . ⲁⲓⲥ[ϧ]ⲱⲡ . . .[2] (3) ϧⲣⲁϫ[ϋ] ⲕⲁⲧⲓⲥϫ[ϋ][3] : ⲁⲡⲁⲕ ⲁⲓϯⲥⲟⲙ[4] ⲛⲉ . . .[5] (4) ⲉⲗⲟⲩⲓⲥⲁⲛⲧⲟ : ⲁⲩⲥⲁϫⲡⲉ[6] ⲉⲣⲁⲉⲓ

v. 16 (5) ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲧⲣⲁⲫⲏ[c][7] : ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲧⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲉϱⲟ[ϋ][8] (6) ⲉⲓⲥ ⲟⲩ[ⲋ] ⲉⲩⲉⲡⲟⲛⲧⲟ[9] : ⲁⲩϣⲟⲡⲉ ⲉⲩⲡⲓⲡⲉ[10] (7) ⲁⲡⲁⲓⲇⲉⲩⲥⲓ/ : ⲉⲧϧⲉ ⲧⲙⲧⲁⲧⲥϧⲱ ⲡⲉⲩⲗ[ⲉⲥ][11] (8) ⲟ ⲫⲁⲩⲗⲓⲥⲙⲟⲥ : ⲡⲉⲉⲓⲡⲉ ⲡ . . .[12]

viii, *v.* 1 (9) ⲉⲓⲥ ⲕⲟⲗⲡ[ⲟ] ⲁⲩⲧ′[13] : ϯⲛⲉϯⲟⲩ . . .[14] (10) ⲉⲡⲟⲓⲕ[15] : ⲉϫⲓⲡⲡⲏ̈ .ⲍ[16]

[1] ω could be ϣ; A. ⲉⲁⲩϣⲟⲩⲟⲩⲧ, B. ⲡⲁⲩϣⲱⲧ. [2] A. ⲁⲓϯⲥϧⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲩ, S. ⲁⲓϯⲥϧⲱ ⲡⲁⲩ, B. ⲁⲩⲥⲓⲥϧⲱ. [3] Sw. *κατισχυσα τους βραχιονας*. [4] Perhaps ⲥⲁⲙ; A. ⲁⲩⲧⲁϱⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲥϧⲁⲓ, B. ⲁⲓⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ ⲡⲡⲟⲩϣⲱϧϣ. [5] Possibly the fragmentary line-ending on the left of Pl. C, . ϱϱ// belongs here. It suggests a reading ⲡⲉ[ⲩⲥⲡ]ⲁϱϱ; but the ⲁ is extremely doubtful, possibly ⲟ. The ME. form of the word is unknown. [6] ϫ should be ϫ, but apparently there never was a base to it; A. ⲁⲩⲙⲉⲟⲩⲉ ⲁϱⲉⲡⲡⲉⲟⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲁⲉⲓ, S. ⲁⲩⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲉϱⲡⲡⲉⲟⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ, B. ⲁⲩⲥⲟⲥⲛⲓ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲡⲡⲉⲧϱⲱⲟⲩ. [7] Sw. *απεστραφησαν εις ουδεν · εγενοντο ως τοξον εντεταμενον*. [8] Perhaps ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲧⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲉϱⲟⲩ (for S. ⲉⲡⲁϱⲟⲩ). [9] The writer has altered the meaning of the Greek text by taking *εις ουδεν* with *εγενοντο*. The Coptic versions follow the Greek, thus: A. ⲁⲩⲕⲧⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲡⲉⲧⲱⲟⲩⲉⲓⲧ ⲁⲩⲣⲧϱⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲡⲓⲧⲉ, S. similar, B. ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲥⲱⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲟⲩϱⲗⲓ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲙⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲡⲟⲩⲫⲓϯ. [10] Reading hardly doubtful; ϱⲓⲡⲉ (cf. Hos. ii, 10 *supra*) is not possible. Perhaps ⲛⲓⲡⲉ is a negative correlative of ϱⲓⲡⲉ. [11] Sw. *απαιδευσιαν*. A. ⲉⲧϧⲉ ⲧⲙⲡⲧⲁⲧⲥϧⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲉⲩⲗⲉⲥ, B. ⲉⲟϧⲉ ϯⲙⲉⲧⲁⲧⲥϧⲱ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲗⲁⲥ. [12] A. ⲛⲉⲓⲡⲉ ⲡⲟⲩϣⲱⲥ, B. ϥⲁⲓⲡⲉ ⲡⲟⲩϣⲱϣ. [13] Sw. *εις κολπον αυτων*. [14] There is much variation of reading here. B. alone follows the Greek with ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲕⲉⲡⲟⲩ. A. ϯⲛⲁϯⲁⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲧⲁⲓ, S. ϯⲛⲁϯ ⲥⲱϣ ⲛⲁⲩ. [15] Sw. *ως αετος επ' οικον κυριου*. [16] Possibly an abbreviation for ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ, but very doubtful. A. ⲁⲡⲏⲓ ⲡⲭⲁⲉⲓⲥ, B. ⲉⲭⲉⲡⲡⲏⲓ ⲙⲡ̄ⲥ̄.

Fragment C. Pl. XXXI. Hosea viii, 14—ix, 6.

viii, *v.* 14 (1) ⲉⲡⲗⲏⲟⲩ[n] ⲡⲟ[ⲗ]ⲧⲉⲓϫ[ϋ][1] : [ⲁ]ϫⲧⲁϣⲉ[ⲛ]ⲉϥⲡⲟ[ⲗ] . . .[2]

ix, *v.* 1 (2) ⲁⲟⲙⲁ[τ] ⲉ′ ⲛⲁⲡ[τ] ⲁ[ⲗ]ⲱ[3] : ⲁⲕⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧⲁ[ⲉⲓ]ⲁ ⲡⲓⲙ[4]

v. 2 (3) ⲁⲗ′ ⲕ(ⲁⲓ) ⲗⲏ[n] ⲟⲩⲕ ⲉⲩⲡⲱ ⲁⲩⲧⲟⲥ[5] : ⲣⲉϫⲛⲁⲩ ⲙⲧⲧⲉϱⲣⲟ[ϋ][6] (4) ⲉⲯⲉⲩⲥⲁⲧⲟ ⲁ[ⲩⲧⲟ]ⲩⲥ : ⲁϥⲭⲉⲥⲁⲗ[7] ⲉⲣⲁⲩ

[1] Sw. *επληθυνεν πολεις τετειχισμενας*. [2] A. ⲁϥⲧⲁϣⲟ ϱⲉⲡⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ, B. ⲁϥⲑⲣⲟⲩⲁϣⲁⲓ ⲡⲭⲉ ϱⲁⲡⲉⲁⲕⲓ. [3] Sw. *δοματα επι παντα αλωνα*. [4] A. ⲁⲕⲙⲣⲣⲉ ϱⲉⲛⲧⲁⲓⲟ ⲁⲭⲡⲣⲓⲧ ⲡⲓⲙ, B. ⲁⲕⲙⲉⲡⲣⲉ ϱⲁⲛⲧⲁⲓⲟ ϱⲓⲭⲉⲡⲥⲡⲱⲟⲩ ⲡⲓⲃⲉⲡ. [5] Sw. *αλων και ληνος ουκ εγνω αυτους*. [6] ⲡϱⲓⲧ ⲙⲡⲧⲣⲱⲧ ⲙⲡⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ, B. ⲡⲓⲥⲡⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲙ ϯϱⲣⲱⲧ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ. The ϫ of ⲣⲉϫⲛⲁⲩ should be ϫ, but probably the base of the letter was never written; cf. *supra* B ii n. 6. [7] ⲁϥⲭⲉⲥⲁⲗ written above the line. A. ϫⲓⲥⲁⲗ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ, B. ⲁϥⲭⲉⲙⲉⲟⲡⲟⲩϫ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ.

ix, *v.* 4 (5) ωc αρτος πεπ$^{\theta}$[8] αγτοις : ποη ποναϊκ ρηηε̣ (6) ⲁⲓ[′ οι α]ρτοι αγτ′ ταις ψγχ[9] : εβαλχε πεναϊκ πε π . . .[10]

v. 5 (7) τ]ι̣ π[ο]ι̣ηcετε[11] : ογπε[12] (8) ημ]ερ παπηγρ[13] : ρρηϊ ρπετπ$^{\text{ⲁ}}$σ̅ πραγ[14]

v. 6 (9) εκ]ⲁεχεται μεμφι[c : eq]ⲉⲱⲁπογ ερaq •

[8] Sw. *πενθους*. [9] Sw. *διοτι οι αρτοι αυτων ταις ψυχαις*. [10] A. ⲁ̣ⲃⲁⲗⲭⲉ ποναεικ πογψγχη, B. ⲭⲉ ογηι ογωικ ητε πογψγχη. [11] Reading uncertain. [12] The Coptic has "what?" followed by a blank space as if the writer had forgotten to finish the translation. [13] Sw. *ημεραις πανηγυρεως*. [14] A. ρηφουτε μπιaσ̅ πραε, B ⲥⲉⲛⲟⲩⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲡⲱⲁⲓⲟ. [15] Sw. *εκδεξεται αυτους* M.

Fragment D. Pl. XXXII. Amos ii, 8–15[1].

v. 8 (1) επ̣ . . . ρε αη . .[2] (2) ετογηπεσγcιαcτηρ[3] (3) . . ϥ[4] : αγcενρη ηλε. . .[5] ρ̣ⲁ̣τ̣ⲟ̣ⲩ̣ⲉ̣ⲏ̣

v. 9 (4) ⲁ̣ⲉⲓⲧⲁⲕⲁ̣ παρρ ηπεγρⲁ[6] (5) τ$^{\text{ⲟ}}$ ̣ καρπ$^{\text{ⲟ}}$[7] : ⲁ̣ⲓⲭⲟγϊⲁ ρ̣ⲓⲡⲱⲟϊ̈ ⲡⲁϥ[8]

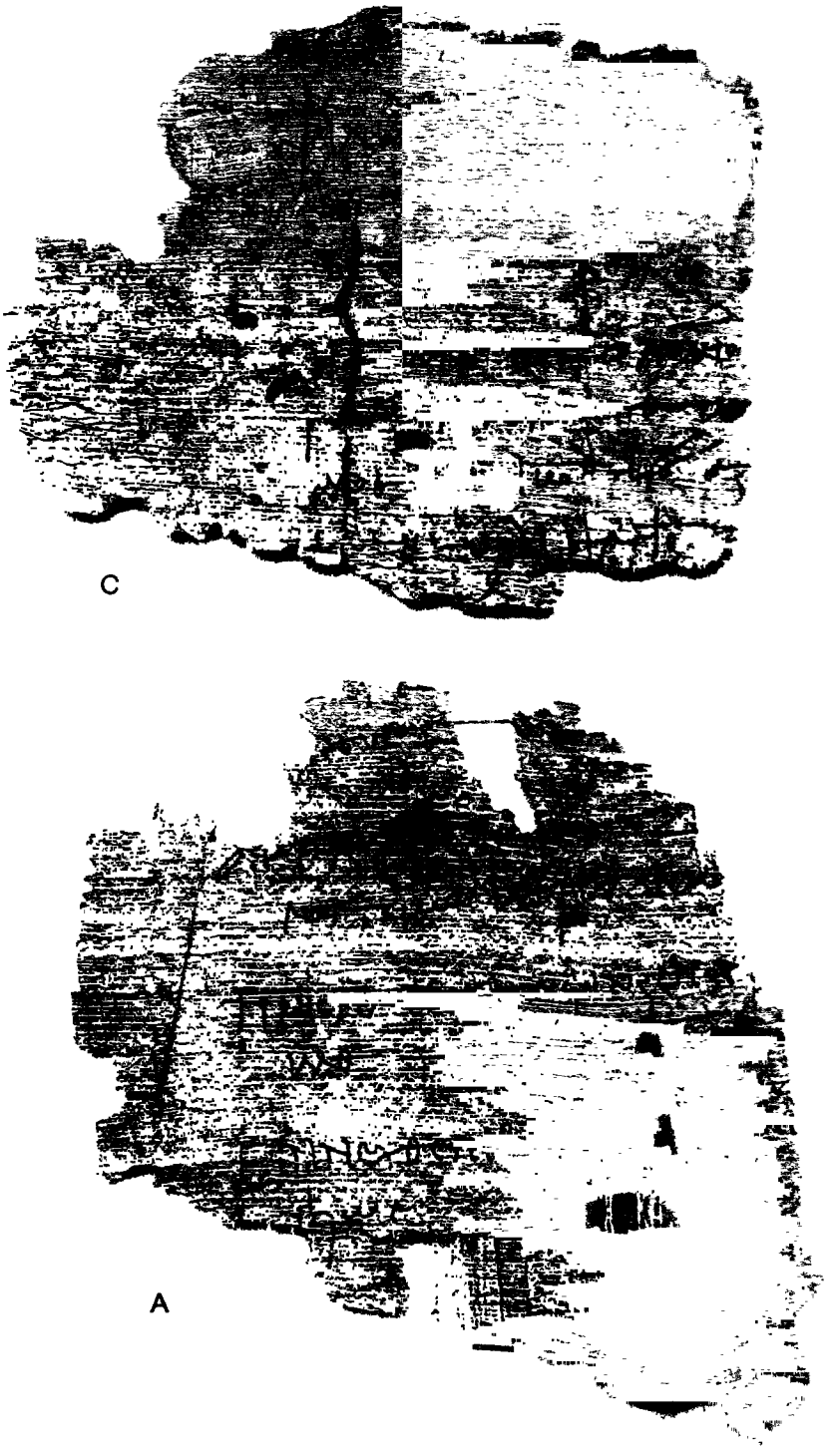
v. 10 (6) ηⲥ]ⲁⲥ$^{\text{ⲟ}}$[9] : ⲁⲉⲓⲕ̣ . ϵ ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲧⲏ

v. 13 (7) . . : ρⲉⲉⲓⲡⲉ ϯⲛⲉⲥⲕⲁⲣⲕⲣ ρⲁⲣⲟⲧⲏ[10] (8) . . : ⲟⲛ ⲛ$^{\text{ⲱ}}$ⲁⲣⲉⲥⲥⲕⲁⲣⲕⲣ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲥⲓ . .[11]

v. 14 (9) . . ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲧ κ$^{\text{τ}}$ⲁⲕⲁ[12] ⲛⲧⲁⲧϥ ⲡⲟⲩ . .[13]

v. 15 (10) ⲡⲣ]ⲉϥⲣⲓⲥⲁⲧⲉ[ⲙ]ⲉϥⲛⲉⲱⲟⲩⲁⲣⲉⲧ[ϥ][11] (11) . . . ⲥⲛ$^{\text{ϫ}}$[15] (12) . . ⲩϥⲥⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲉϥψ$^{\text{χ}}$ ρⲛⲛⲉ̣ . .[16]

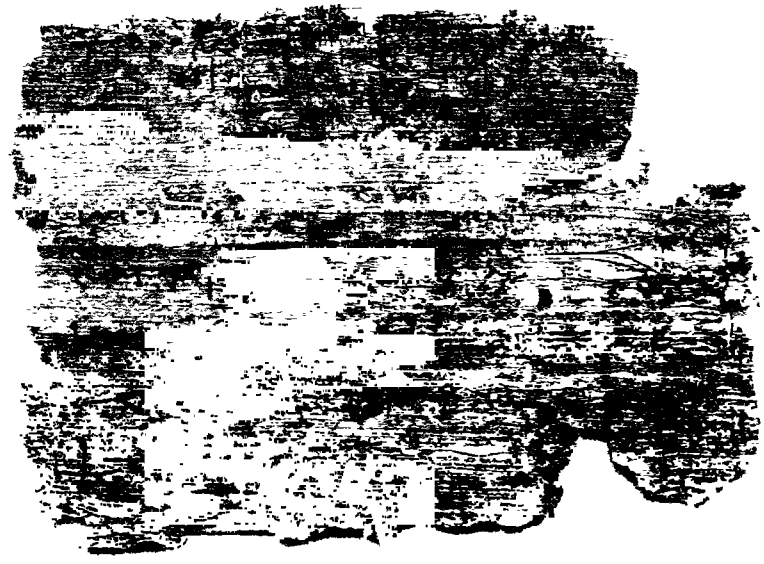
[1] The fragment immediately to the left of D on Pl. XXXII belongs to it and joins at two lines below its present level. [2] Unintelligible. [3] A. ρⲓⲧⲟγⲱϥ μπⲁⲟγⲥⲓⲁⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ. B. ⲥⲁⲧⲉⲡⲙⲁⲡⲉⲣⲱⲟγⲱⲓ. [4] Sw. *οινον εκ συκοφαντιων επινον*. [5] A. ⲁⲩⲥⲟⲩ ⲡⲟγⲛⲣⲡ [ⲁ̣ⲃⲁⲗ ⲣ]ⲛⲟγⲙⲛⲧⲁⲡⲧⲗⲁ, B. omits the words *εκ συκοφ*. Mr. W. E. Crum suggests that ⲙⲛⲧⲁⲡⲧⲗⲁ is an erroneous reading of ⲙⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲗⲁ (dittography for ⲙⲛⲧⲗⲁ), and he has given me the following references for S. ⲗⲁ and ⲙⲛⲧⲗⲁ = *συκοφαντια*, Ps. cxviii, 134, Eccles. iv, 1, v, 7, vii, 8. The BM. ⲗⲉ is ME. for ⲗⲁ. [6] A. [ⲁⲓ]ϥⲓ ⲙⲙⲟ ⲙⲡⲁⲙⲟⲣⲣⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩⲉⲣⲓ, B. ⲁⲓⲣⲱϯ ⲙⲡⲓⲁⲙⲟⲣⲣⲉⲟⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲥⲁⲧⲣⲏ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ. The scribe seems to have blundered over the abbreviation of the "Amorite." [7] Sw. *εξηρανα τον καρπον αυτου επανωθεν*. [8] For ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲓⲁ ; "his fruit" is omitted. A. ⲁⲓϥⲓ ⲙⲙⲟ ⲙⲡⲥⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲣⲓⲱⲱϥ, B. ⲁⲓⲧⲱⲟⲩⲓⲟ ⲙⲡⲉϥⲟⲩⲧⲁϥ ⲥⲁⲡⲱⲱⲓ ⲙⲙⲟϥ. [9] Sw. *ανηγαγον υμας εκ γης Αιγυπτου* ; A. ⲁⲓⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲧⲛⲉ, B. ⲁⲓⲕⲱϯ ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ. There are traces of four or five letters above the line, none certain except initial ⲛ. [10] A. *hiat*, S. ⲉⲓⲥⲣⲛⲓⲧⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ϯⲛⲁⲥⲕⲣⲕⲣ-ⲧⲛⲧⲧⲡ, B. ⲣⲛⲡⲡⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ϯⲛⲁⲥⲕⲉⲣⲕⲉⲣ ⲥⲁⲡⲉⲥⲛⲧ ⲙⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ. [11] S. ⲙⲡⲉⲥⲙⲟⲧ ⲉⲱⲁⲣⲉⲟⲩⲁⲥⲟⲗⲧⲉ ⲥⲕⲟⲣⲕⲣ, B. ⲙⲫⲣⲛϯ ⲉⲱⲁⲧⲥⲕⲉⲣⲕⲉⲣ ⲡⲟⲩⲃⲣⲉⲣⲓ. [12] ⲧ written above ⲕ without deletion ; the word is ⲧⲁⲕⲁ "destroy." [13] S. ⲡⲣⲉϥⲡⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲛⲁⲡⲱⲧ ⲁⲛ, B. ⲉⲫⲉⲧⲁⲕⲟ ⲛⲭⲉⲟⲩⲫⲱⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲥⲉⲛⲟⲩⲣⲉⲫⲥⲟⲭⲓ. [14] S. ⲡⲣⲉⲫⲛⲉⲭⲥⲟⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲧⲱⲕ ⲉⲣⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛ, B. ⲡⲣⲉϥⲣⲓⲥⲟⲟⲡⲉϥ ⲛⲛⲉⲫⲱⲟⲩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ. [15] Sw. *οξυς τοις ποσιν* ; S. ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲥⲱⲟⲩ ⲣⲛⲛⲉϥⲟⲩⲉⲣⲛⲧⲉ, B. ⲫⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲓⲱⲟⲩ ⲥⲉⲛⲛⲉϥⲥⲁⲗⲁⲩⲭ. The vestiges suggest ⲉ(*ογ* ⲁ)ⲥⲛϫ, an unknown and improbable qualitative of the same verb. [16] S. ⲛⲛⲉϥⲛⲟⲩⲙ ⲛⲧⲉϥψγχη, B. ⲛⲛⲉϥⲱⲛⲟⲣⲉⲙ ⲛⲧⲉϥψγχη.



Recto of the Glossary Papyrus.
Fragments C and A.



D



B

Recto of the Glossary Papyrus.
Fragments D and B.

AN ORACLE PAPYRUS. B.M. 10335

By WARREN R. DAWSON

With Plates XXXV–XXXVIII.

The Papyrus No. 10335 was acquired by the Trustees of the British Museum many years ago, but no record of its history appears to have been kept. Dr. Hall informs me that it was probably purchased in the 'thirties of the last century. It consists of a single sheet of light-coloured papyrus measuring 40·7 cm. × 11·5 cm. inscribed on both sides. The sheet seems to have been torn vertically from a larger piece, probably a judicial papyrus of the type familiar in the Abbott, Mayer and other documents, as its width is just about the normal size of the Ramesside judicial papyri. The recto consists of eight long lines, written on the horizontal fibres (*i.e.*, the vertical fibres of the original roll), and the verso has twenty-one short lines written at right angles to those of the recto. There is a free space at the foot of the verso with room enough for about four lines more.

On the whole the manuscript is in good preservation. A crease about 25 mm. from the right-hand margin of the recto has made the signs in its area indistinct and difficult to read, and five square holes in the middle of the page cause lacunae in the 5th line of the recto and in the 7th, 9th, 11th, 12th and 16th lines of the verso. There are also two longish breaks towards the end of the first line of the recto, which have destroyed the last signs in the 2nd and 4th lines of the verso. Fortunately, however, these gaps are not serious obstructions to the reading, and the lacunae can mostly be restored.

The document is dated in the second year of a king whose name is not given. It contains the cartouches of Ramesses III (Recto 8) and of Setnakht (Verso 14) which fixes a *terminus ad quem* as to date. On palaeographical grounds, however, it would seem that the papyrus belongs to about the time of Ramesses IV, and although not written by the same hand, it has certain analogies with Pap. Mallet[1] to which reference will be made again. The general style of handwriting is a cursive legal script, full of abbreviation-strokes. Rubrics (underlined in the accompanying transcription) are used in the date, and at intervals throughout the text.

The sole edition of this text is the transcript and translation published many years ago by the late Dr. Pleyte[2]. This article seems to have been somewhat hurriedly prepared and is given as a tentative essay only. Certain passages from the papyrus were quoted by Spiegelberg[3], but except for occasional citations and philological references, no other study of the text appears to have been made.

In 1920 I obtained permission from Sir Ernest Budge to have the papyrus photographed, with a view to publishing it, and from the excellent full-size photographs thus

[1] Maspero, *Rec. de Trav.*, I, 47–59 = *Études de Myth.*, IV, 24–41.
[2] *P.S.B.A.*, X (1887), 41 ff.
[3] *Studien und Materialien*, 27, 70, 77, 79.

obtained I made a transcription which I have since carefully collated with the original on several occasions[1]. I was about to publish the papyrus with some remarks on oracles generally as derived from other texts, when I heard that Dr. Blackman was engaged in preparing a detailed essay on Egyptian oracles; I therefore gladly handed over this papyrus to him and have confined myself to publishing the text and these few descriptive notes.

The document is a record of a petition made to the god Amūn by a servant () named Amenemuia concerning the theft of five fine linen shirts (). The Papyrus Mallet previously referred to also deals with a servant of the same name, and fine linen shirts occur amongst the list of objects in his charge. Maspero[2] read the name as "Amonakhtu," mistaking the abbreviation-strokes for a mere disintegration of the elements in the hieratic sign for . Pleyte read the same name as Amenemhab. Our Amenemuia may be the same person as that mentioned in Mallet, but the name, though not extremely common, is by no means rare, and it may be purely a fortuitous coincidence.

In making the transcription, the different forms of the plural strokes,  and , have been carefully noted, likewise the exact number of abbreviation-strokes wherever they occur. In Verso, line 15, the first group should be , not as written. The uncommon word *ḥḏn* "to be angry" may be noted in Recto 5[3], and the defective writing  for in Verso 2.

There are two groups in the Recto, line 6, which I am unable to decipher, and another, damaged, in Verso 9. Facsimiles of these are given in the plates.

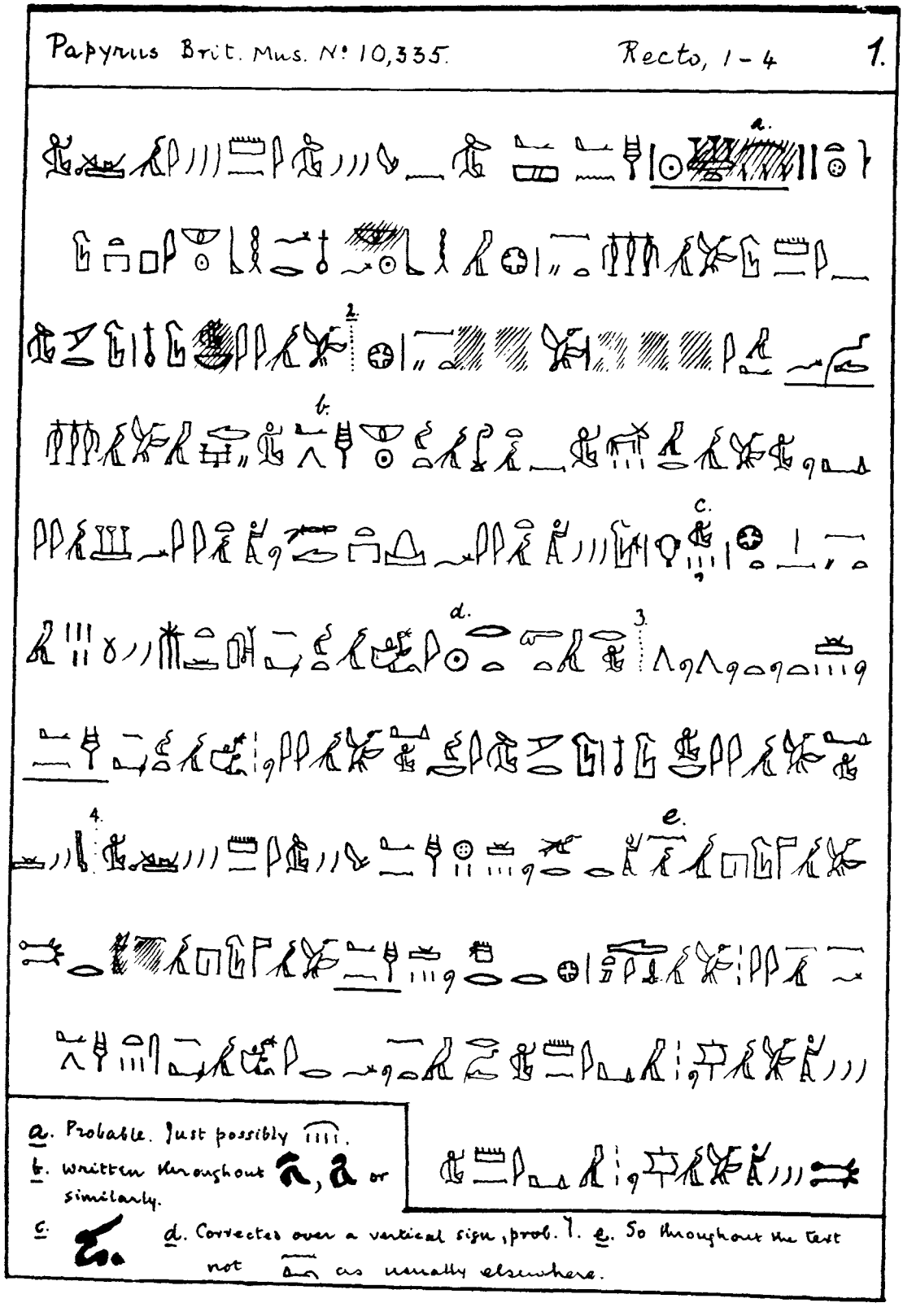
[1] Just before preparing the text for publication Dr. Gardiner kindly lent me his copy of the text, and on comparing it with my own I was very pleased to find that I had only one correction to make in consequence.

[2] *Op. cit. supra.*

[3] For other instances of this word, see Gardiner, *Lit. Texts*, I, 10, note 16.

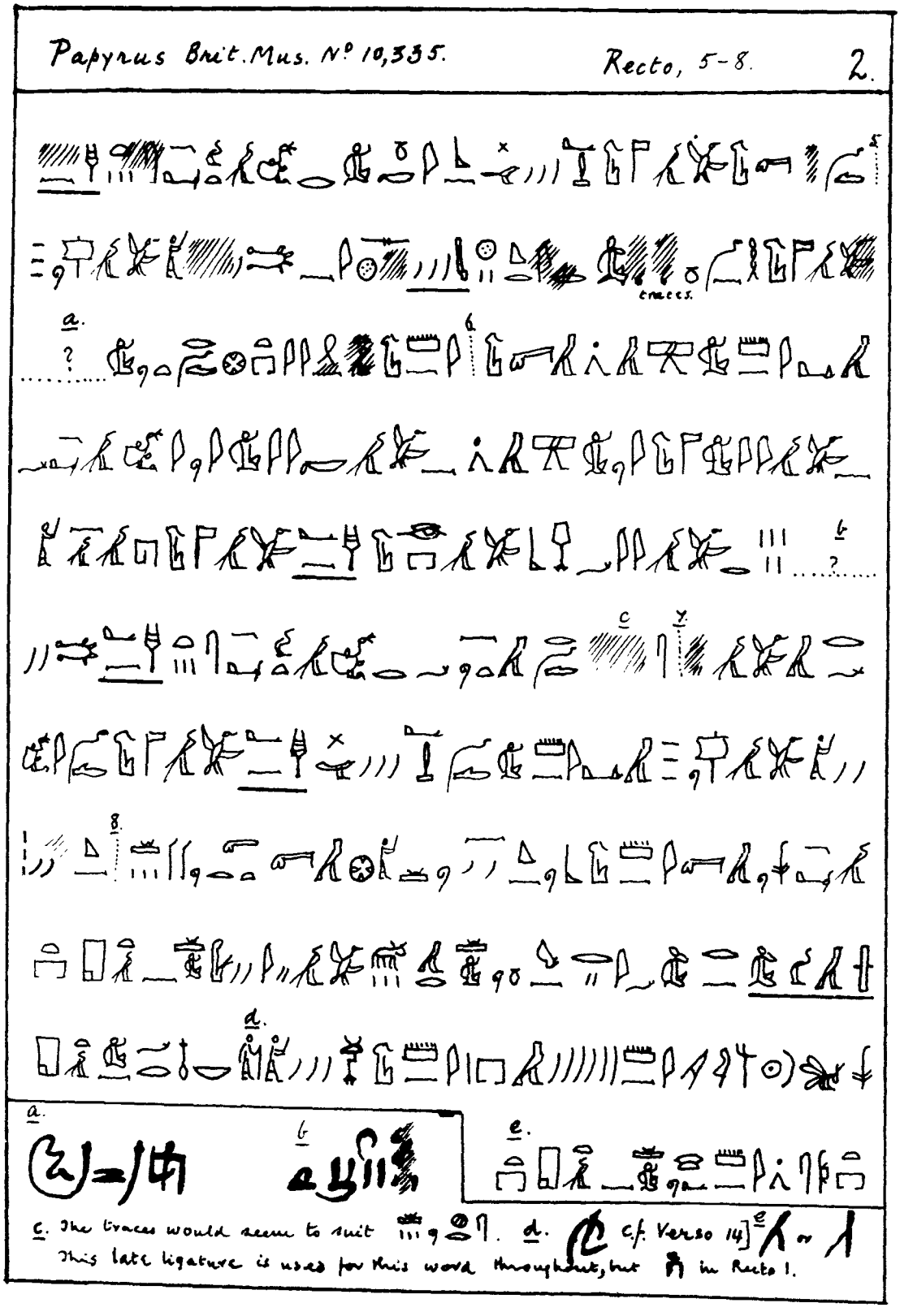
Note.

Mr. Dawson's plates (XXXV–XXXVIII) have been bound to face in such a way as to be most conveniently consulted in connection with Dr. Blackman's article which follows.



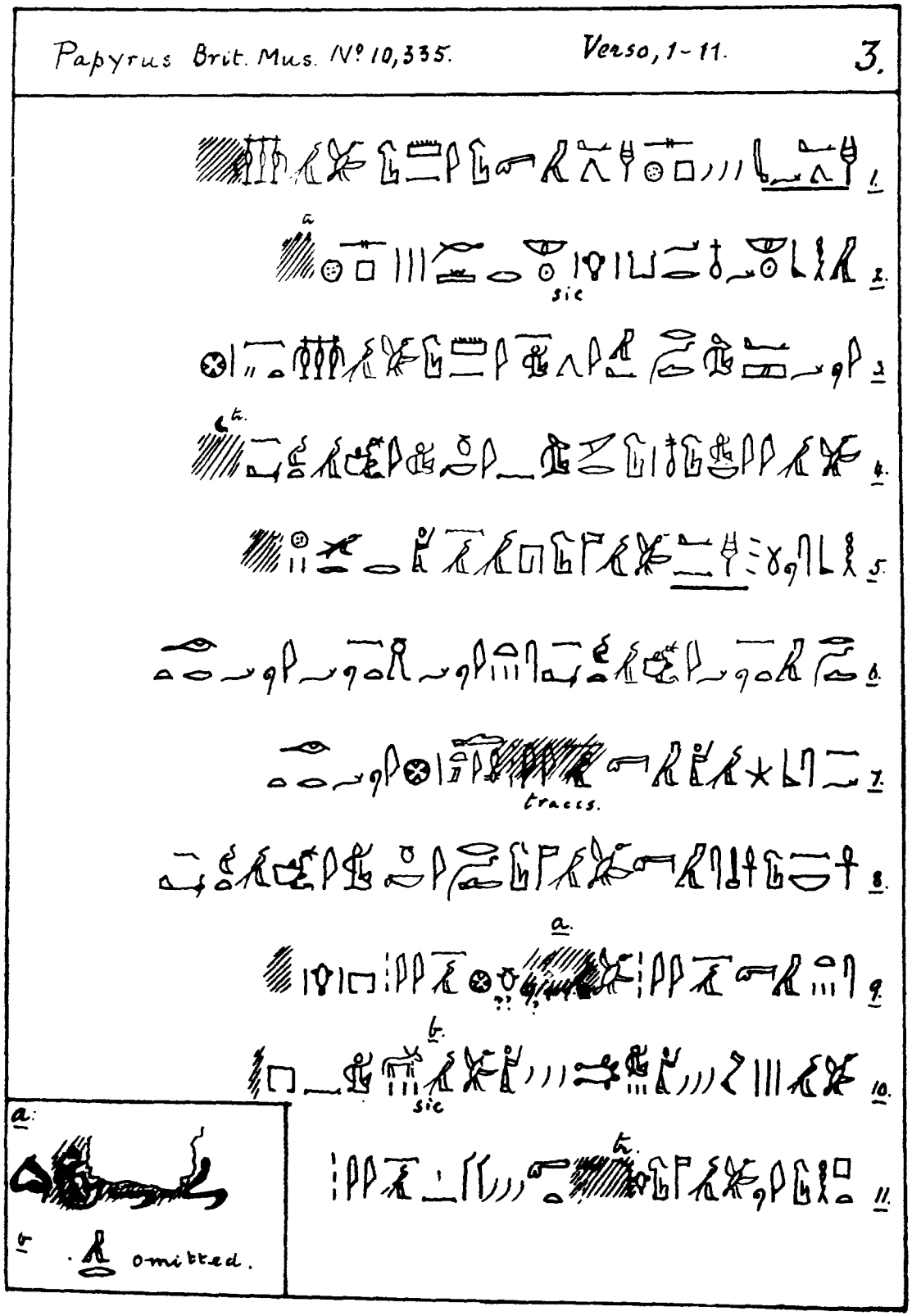
Papyrus British Museum 10,335.

Recto, lines 1-4.



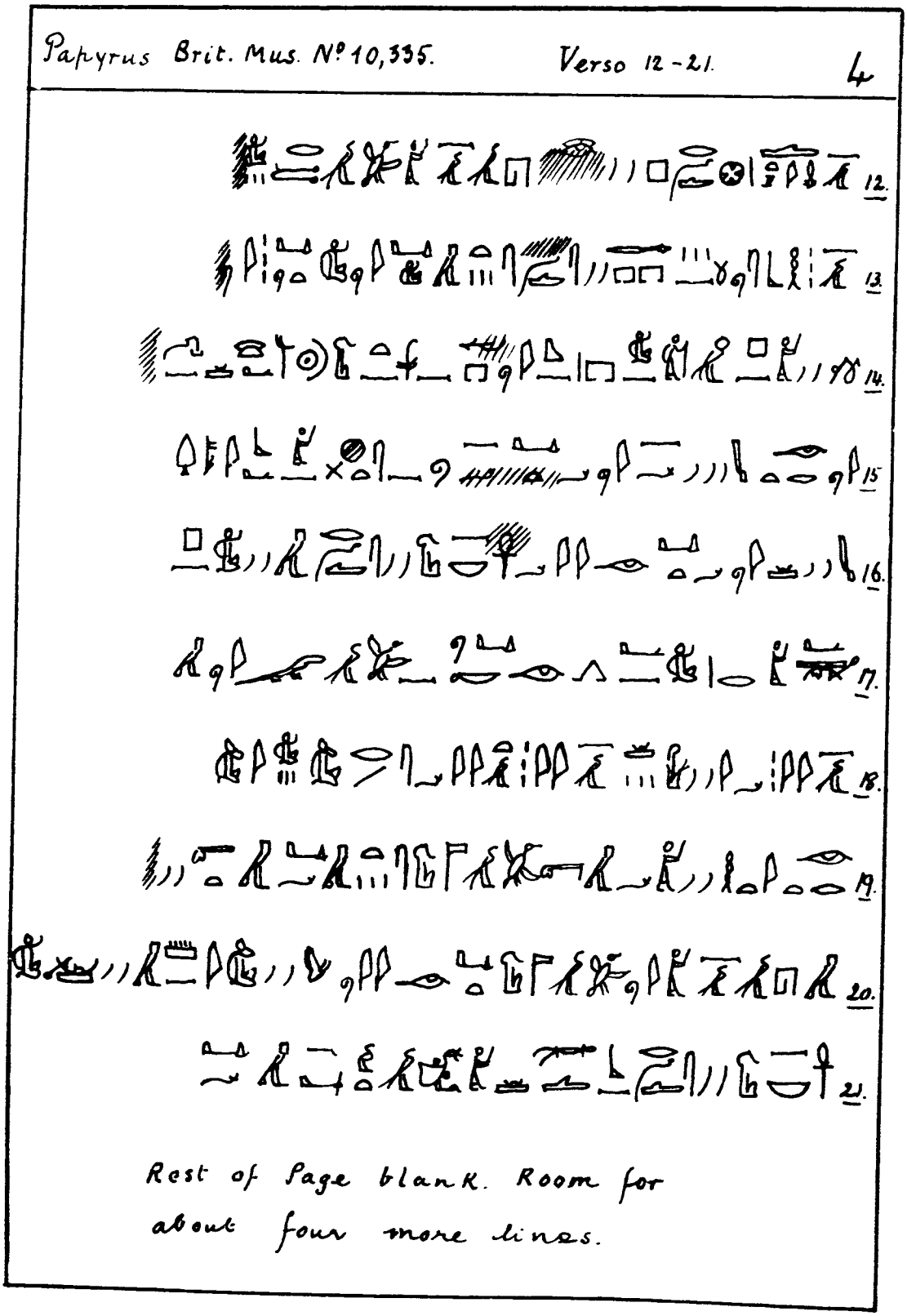
Papyrus British Museum 10,335.

Recto, lines 5-8.



Papyrus British Museum 10,335.

Verso, lines 1-11.



Papyrus British Museum 10,335.

Verso, lines 12-21.

ORACLES IN ANCIENT EGYPT

By AYLWARD M. BLACKMAN, D.Litt.

I.

Papyrus B.M. 10335.

Rather more than a year ago my friend, Dr. Černý of Prague, suggested that I should make a special study of ancient Egyptian oracles. On my mentioning this to Professor Peet, he not only cordially encouraged the enterprise, but proposed that I should deal with the subject in a series of articles, for which he promised to find room in this *Journal*.

During the last year I have, by the courtesy of Monsieur Boreux, obtained squeezes of the *Bentresh Stela*[1] and the *Stela of Banishment*[2]. Monsieur Lacau and Monsieur Gauthier have most kindly furnished me with a new collation of the *Stela of Sheshonk*, which is in the Cairo Museum[3], and Dr. Grapow has generously placed at my disposal the collation made for the Berlin Dictionary by Professor Sethe of Naville's copy of the Paynozem II oracular inscription at Karnak[4]. I have also secured new versions of other texts as well. These, together with translations and notes, will appear in the *Journal* in due course, and the whole material thus collected will be fully discussed, and the results of the enquiry summed up, in a final article.

This first article deals with the very important *British Museum Papyrus*, no. 10335. That I am in a position thus to make use of it is due entirely to the extreme generosity of Mr. W. R. Dawson, who, on hearing from Professor Peet that I contemplated engaging in this particular branch of research, placed at my disposal his copy of the document, which he originally himself intended to publish in the *Journal*, and asked me to undertake the translation and commentary, and thus incorporate his work in one of my articles. This is especially kind of him, as he has taken a great deal of trouble over the transcription of the papyrus and has also gone to the expense of having it photographed.

The plates reproducing the text were prepared by Mr. Dawson, and these I collated with the original document last April; a few resulting corrections will be found in the footnotes to my translation. I should here like to say that while I was working on the translation I had the privilege of being able to discuss various difficulties with Professor Peet.

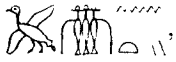
The document is fully described above, pp. 247–8, by Mr. Dawson and no addition to what he has said is necessary here. Pls. XXXV–XXXVIII.

[1] See Breasted, *Records*, III, §§ 429 ff.
[2] See *op. cit.*, IV, §§ 650 ff.
[3] See *op. cit.*, IV, §§ 675 ff. with note *d* on p. 325.
[4] See *op. cit.*, IV, §§ 671 ff.

TRANSLATION.

Recto 1 *Second regnal year, third*[1] *month of Akhet, first day. The servant Amunemuia appealed to Amūn of Pe-Khenty*[2] *at his goodly festival, the Festival of the Ḥarîm*[3], *saying: "Help*
2 *[me]*[4], *Amūn of Pe-Khenty, my good and beloved lord! The overseer of the cattle of the altar made me abide here in Pe-Khenty of the citizens*[5](?), *guarding his store-house and*
3 *drawing*[6] *his dues*[7]; *and men came unto me at noon and stole five tunics of coloured cloth*[8] *from me. My good and beloved lord, wilt thou give me*[9] *back their theft!" And the god nodded very greatly*[10].

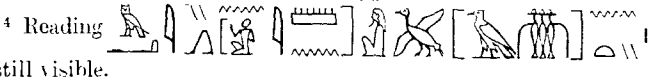
[1] I thought the traces in the original suited  "fourth month" rather than  "third month."

[2] See *'Imn-r' nśwt-ntrw ḥry-ib* , noted as occurring on a statue of Amenemheb at Turin (BRUGSCH, *Dict. géogr.*, 1281). Dawson refers me to GRIFFITH, *Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in Rylands Library*, III, 48 (with note 2), 207.

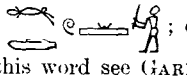
Pe-Khenty is evidently a district of Thebes with a temple dedicated to its local Amūn and containing, of course, a cultus-statue of the god, which was known as Amūn of Pe-Khenty.

[3] *Ḥb 'Ipśt* "the festival of the *Ḥarîm*" ("the *Ḥarîm*" or "Southern *Ḥarîm*" was the name of the temple of Luxor [see BLACKMAN, *Journal*, VII, 15]) began, in the time of Tuthmōsis III, on the fifteenth day of the second month of Akhet and lasted for eleven days only (*Urk.*, IV, 824; BREASTED, *Zeitschr. f. ag. Spr.*, 37, 126). At the beginning of the reign of Ramesses III it began on the nineteenth day of that month and went on till the twelfth day of the following month, thus lasting twenty-four days. At the end of the reign it was lengthened by him to twenty-seven days, thus ending on the fifteenth day of the third month (BREASTED, *Records*, IV, p. 134). As is shown by the *Dedicatory Inscription* at Abydos, the *Piankhy Stela*, the *Inscription of Nebwenenef* (SETHE, *Zeitschr. f. ag. Spr.*, 44, Pls. I–III), and the *Coronation Inscription of Ḥoremḥeb*, the Pharaoh himself was expected to officiate at this festival. According to the *Piankhy Stela*, lines 25 f., the Pharaoh figured prominently in the outstanding feature of the festival, namely the procession in which the god's image was conveyed from the temple of Karnak to the temple of Luxor, his "Southern *Ḥarîm*," this procession, so the same inscription informs us, occurring on the "Night (*i.e.*, eve?) of the festival of the *Ḥarîm*." The Pharaoh might also, according to the same authority, take part in the procession back to Karnak which occurred, in the time of Piankhy, on the second day of the third month of Akhet. According to the *Dedicatory Inscription* at Abydos, the procession to Luxor took place on the twenty-third day of the second month of Akhet; thus, since according to the *Inscription of Nebwenenef* Ramesses II left Thebes on the first day of the third month of Akhet, either Amūn of Karnak's image did not then remain so long in the Southern *Ḥarîm* as it did in the time of Piankhy, or else the king left before the procession back to Karnak took place, that episode in this lengthy festival not being considered as so important as the procession to Luxor.

If in the reign of Piankhy the procession to Luxor took place on the twenty-third day of the second month, as it did in the reign of Ramesses II, the god's image remained there, according to Egyptian reckoning, ten days, *i.e.*, exactly an Egyptian week.

[4] Reading . A trace of the in  is still visible.

[5] The group doubtfully transcribed  is written thus: .

[6] Read ; certain.

[7] For this word see GARDINER, *Zeitschr. f. ag. Spr.*, 50, 57. He drew the dues from the state store-houses and possibly also from lands forming the temple endowment (see below, p. 254, note 2).

[8] For *śś* "coloured cloth" see PEET, *Pap. Mayer*, A, 4. 7; B, 14. For *mśś* "tunic," "shirt," see *Anastasi*, I, 25. 5; *Mallet*, I. 8.

[9] Sc. *dy n-ỉ*.

[10] I think *wr* should be transcribed , *i.e.*, without plural strokes.

4 *And the servant Amunemuia repeated to him (the names of) all the people of the township; and the god nodded*[1] *at (the name of) the farmer Pethauemdiamūn*[2]*, saying: "It is*
5 *he who stole them." And the farmer Pethauemdiamūn said in*[3] *the presence of the god: "It is false, it is not I who stole them." And the god was exceeding wroth*[4]*.*
6 *Another time the farmer*[5] *Pethauemdiamūn went before Amūn of Te-Shenyt*[6]*, saying: "I am (now) nigh unto*[7]*(?) my own god, whereas I went to the other, he having taken five...*[8]
7 *unto his court." And the god nodded at him in this manner*[9]*, saying: "It is he who took them." And the farmer Pethauemdiamūn said: "It is false." And the god said: "Take him*
8 *before Amūn of Buḳenen*[10] *in the presence of many*[11] *witnesses."*

List thereof: The representative of the overseer of the cattle of the temple of King Usermaᶜrēᶜ-Miamūn in the House of Amūn, Payiry; the chief craftsman of the temple, Nebnofer; the henchman of the temple, Amunkhaᶜu.

Verso 1 *And he stood yet once again before Amūn of Pe-Khenty in his goodly festival of Khoiakh*[12]*, for the third time*[13]*...; and he cried saying: "Help me, Amūn of Pe-Khenty, my good and*

[1] A considerable portion of the  is still visible under the ∿∿∿.

[2] Dawson points out that this name occurs in *Pap. Jud. Turin*, 4. 6.

[3] Traces of  are still visible.

[4] For *ḥdn* "be wroth" see *Anastasi*, I, 6. 6–7; *Unamūn*, 1. *c*+8; 2. 46; *Pap. Bibl. Nat.*, 198, 2. 4; *Maximes d'Ani*, 2. 5; *Pap. Lansing*, 10. 7.

[5] There is a trace of the second  and the third is intact.

[6] Like Pe-Khenty, discussed above, p. 250, note 2, Te-Shenyt must be a district of Thebes with its local Amūn.

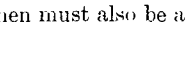
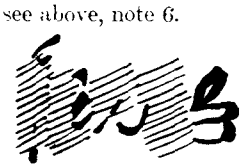
[7] Have we here a bungled writing of , the scribe having omitted the *m* before *h*, and then having changed  into in a slovenly manner? See accompanying facsimile:



[8] I cannot read this group; see accompanying facsimile: . Probably nothing lost; read .

[9] Read *m pšy šḫrw*. The \\ in *pšy* is certain, there is nothing missing. The and at the beginning of line 7 are also certain; the traces suit .

[10] Buḳenen must also be a district with its local Amūn; see above, note 6.

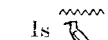
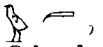
[11] Read ; see accompanying facsimile: 

[12] Celebrated on the first day of the first month of the second season (Prōyet), a festival intimately connected with the kingship. It was regarded as the date of the accession of Horus and therefore as the theoretical date of accession of all Egyptian kings (see GARDINER, *Journal*, II, 123 f.).

[13] For the mutilated group of signs after *sp* at the end of line 2 see accompanying facsimile: 
Can we read  here and translate "the third time of standing"?

beloved lord! Is it I who took[1] *the clothes?" And the god nodded very greatly*[2]*, saying: "It is he who took them." And he took him and inflicted chastisement on him in the presence of the townsmen. And he pronounced an oath in the god's presence, saying: "It is I who took them," in the presence of the people of Pe-...*[3]*, the people of Per-ḥer(?)*[4]*, the three* wʿrtw*-officers, and the farmer of the temple of Ptaḥ, Pemerihu. And the god testified*[5] *to these people of the towns, saying: "Behold*[6]*, the man acknowledges the garments of Pharaoh, saying: 'I have them, I will(?) give them (back).'" Now it was*[7] *the inspector of the house of the carrying-chair of King Userkhaʿrēʿ-Setepne[rēʿ]*[8]*, Penḥerwer, who again*[9] *gave him a hundred blows*[10] *of the palm-rib, and again made him pronounce an oath, saying: "If I go back again on what I have said, I will be thrown*[11] *to the crocodile."*

And it was his companions, those associated with his declaration[12]*, who dragged him before the god, and they were with him as witnesses at the acknowledgement.*

[1] For the end of line 4 see the accompanying facsimile: Is  to be read after ? *Cf.* below, line 13.



[2] For the end of line 5 see accompanying facsimile:



v. faint

[3] A facsimile of this group is here given:

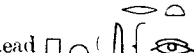


v. faint

[4] See the accompanying facsimile.

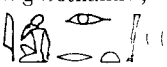
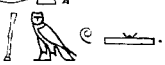


[5] Read *ỉrt mtr*,  being certain, I think; *cf.* below, line 15.

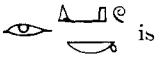
[6] Read .

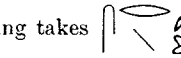
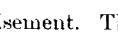
[7] Read and *cf.* end of line 17.

[8] *I.e.*, King Setnakht; see GAUTHIER, *Livre des rois*, III, 152 ff., 423.

[9] Read  at the beginning of line 15. At the beginning of line 16 the transcription should clearly be .

[10] A hundred stripes seem to have been the regular number; see SPIEGELBERG, *Studien*, 69.

[11] The reading  is certain, but what is the construction? For this passage (quoted by SPIEGELBERG, *op. cit.*, 70 and 79) and similar oaths, see *ibid.*, 71 f.

[12] This rendering takes  as a fem. derivative from "pronounce," "declare," "foretell." If this supposition is correct, *nỉy tỉy·f śr(t)* must mean the people who supported him in his declaration of innocence, but who, on hearing the very definite pronouncement of the god, dragged him forward for chastisement. The group transcribed  is written thus:



And the god caused the servant Amunemuia to utter an oath, saying: "The stolen goods have not been recovered from him[1]*."*

This is a document of exceptional interest from both the religious and the judicial point of view.

It might first be noted that there are three different Amūns to whom appeal is made, Amūn of Pe-Khenty, Amūn of Te-Shenyt, and Amūn of Buḳenen,—Pe-Khenty, Te-Shenyt, and Buḳenen evidently being, as pointed out in the footnotes on pp. 250–1, three different localities in Thebes.

As will be seen from other documents that will be published in subsequent articles, it seems to have been a regular practice during the later Empire to appeal to the cultus-images of divinities in order to obtain a decision in all kinds of affairs, judicial and other.

This document informs us that the image of Amūn of Pe-Khenty was brought out in procession—doubtless borne in a boat-shrine on the shoulders of his priests—on some day during the Festival of the *Ḥarîm*. Perhaps on the day that Amūn of Karnak went in procession to Luxor all the local Amūns were also taken to Luxor temple, or in some way or other participated in the procession: or possibly each Amūn had a processional day of his own during that very lengthy festival.

Anyhow, as the god was being carried along by his priests, a certain Amunemuia presented himself before him, to ask him to intervene in a difficulty in which he found himself involved. This Amunemuia was keeper of a store-house that belonged evidently to the temple of Amūn of Pe-Khenty, and his trouble was that five tunics of coloured cloth, which were in his keeping, had been stolen from him. Would the god recover for him the stolen property? To this question the god nodded his assent.

Amunemuia then proceeded to read out a list of the names of all the people of the township, and at the mention of the name of the farmer Pethauemdiamūn the god nodded and is represented as saying, "It is he who stole them (*i.e.*, the garments)." Pethauemdiamūn immediately denied his guilt, and thereby, we are informed, made the god "exceeding wroth."

Pethauemdiamūn then appealed to another local Amūn, Amūn of Te-Shenyt. Unfortunately in this part of the narrative there are two very difficult groups of signs, one of which I very hesitatingly attempt to transcribe, but the other I give up entirely (see notes 7, 8, p. 251). This Amūn of Te-Shenyt is apparently the god of Pethauemdiamūn's own locality, for the man says: "I am (now) nigh unto (?) my own god," whereas the term "the other" seems to refer to Amūn of Pe-Khenty. What the five s were that the last-named god took into his court, an act that made him objectionable in the eyes of Pethauemdiamūn, remains quite obscure.

But despite his attempt to curry favour by an appeal to local sentiment and local prejudices, Pethauemdiamūn was condemned, and, on his still denying his guilt, the god directed that he should be taken before Amūn of Buḳenen in the presence of many witnesses. What happened at that enquiry we do not know; only the list of the witnesses is given, this completing the text of the recto.

The verso begins by stating that Pethauemdiamūn stood yet again before Amūn of Pe-Khenty for the third time. But our document has so far given us an account of only one such interview, thus showing that it consists merely of excerpts from a much longer

[1] SPIEGELBERG, *op. cit.*, 77, wrongly renders "Ich habe (es) ihm nicht gestohlen."

official record[1]. We are accordingly left completely in the dark as to what took place at the second encounter between Pethauemdiamūn and Amūn of Pe-Khenty. But evidently things had happened that had affected the man's attitude of mind, for at this, his third, appearance before the god, he himself puts the question. "Is it I who took the clothes?" in reply to which the god "nodded very greatly," saying, "It is he who took them." Besides giving this response, the god is said to have inflicted chastisement on Pethauemdiamūn in the presence of the townsmen. This must mean that one of Amūn of Pe-Khenty's priests, acting on divine instructions, gave the man a hiding. The beating finally broke down Pethauemdiamūn's obstinacy, and he confessed to the theft of the clothes. This assertion of the god for the third time that Pethauemdiamūn was guilty, was evidently convincing to that person's own friends and supporters, for they are the people who are said to have "dragged him before the god" (verso, 17 ff.). They would no doubt also have held him down while the god's chastisement that wrung the confession from him was being inflicted, and so, as the above-quoted statement goes on to say, were "with him as witnesses at the acknowledgement (of guilt)." That his own friends should have participated in the punishment must have had a great effect on Pethauemdiamūn and may have been the final inducement to him to acknowledge himself a thief. The beating over, the god is then represented as himself telling the people present that Pethauemdiamūn had confessed his guilt and had made a promise to restore the stolen goods, which are spoken of as "the garments of Pharaoh[2]."

But this beating and humiliation did not complete Pethauemdiamūn's punishment. After the god's pronouncement, a certain Penḥerwer, an inspector of the so-called "house of the carrying-chair" of King Setnakht, inflicted on him another beating, consisting of a hundred blows[3] of a palm-rib, and made him swear an oath that he would not go back on his statement on pain of being thrown to the crocodile[4]!

Lines 20–21 of the verso give us an interesting glimpse of Egyptian legal formalities. Even after Pethauemdiamūn had confessed his guilt and promised to return the stolen tunics, the god made the plaintiff Amunemuia swear an oath to the effect that he had not yet received them back.

It would be interesting to know what exactly is meant by the statements that the god nodded. Such representations as are preserved to us[5] of suppliants appealing to a divinity for an oracular response, show us a boat-shrine borne on the shoulders of several priests, the cabin containing the image being covered by a curtain and the image itself, therefore, remaining invisible. One would imagine, however, that the curtain was withdrawn when the oracle was actually being delivered, and that the priests worked some contrivance which made the head of the image nod. Or are we to suppose that the sacred boat itself rocked violently as it rested on the shoulders of the priestly bearers?

Several times in this text, and also in others that will appear in subsequent articles, we are given to understand that the image of the god consulted not only nodded but said this or that. Presumably, therefore, actual words were heard,—issuing, of course, from the mouth

[1] See Erman's remarks, *Zwei Aktenstücke*, 340.

[2] This indicates that at least some of the "dues" drawn by Amunemuia were issued from the state store-houses (see above, p. 250, with note 7).

[3] See above, p. 252, note 10.

[4] See above, p. 252, note 11.

[5] *E.g.*, MORET, *Un jugement de dieu* in *Comptes rendus... de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 1917, 158; NAVILLE, *Inscription historique de Pinodjem III*, Plate.

of a priest who was no doubt supposed to be possessed by his god[1] and so actually impersonated him. In this connection it will be remembered that one day as Ḥatshepsut was *making supplication at the stairway* (leading up to the enthroned image) *of the lord of gods, a command was heard* (*issuing*) *from the great place, an oracle of the god himself*[2].

A striking feature of this system of administering justice by appeals to a divinity, is the fact that the accused person seems to have had no hesitation whatever in flatly contradicting the god who had declared him guilty! As we have seen, Pethaueṃdiamūn had to be taken before three different cultus-statues and had in all five interviews with this or that Amūn, ere he would confess himself a thief. This throws an interesting light on the attitude of mind of an Egyptian towards a divinity; he apparently thought that he might meet with the same success in an attempt to hoodwink a god as in an attempt to hoodwink a magistrate!

[1] Excellent parallels are to hand in modern Egypt, so my sister, Miss W. S. Blackman, informs me, a "servant of a shêkh" becoming, on occasions, possessed by the shêkh, and behaving and speaking accordingly.

[2] *Urk.*, IV, 342.

NOTES ON SOME GREEK GRAFFITI

By MARCUS N. TOD, M.A.

The story is told of John Conington that, while a schoolboy at Rugby, he was noted for his facility in Greek verse composition. One day a friend jocularly said to him, "You're a swell at Greek verses, Conington: turn this into an iambic,—'Does your mother know you're out?'" Promptly came the reply, *Μῶν οἶδε μήτηρ, τέκνον, ὡς θυραῖος εἶ ;*

The problem is capable of another solution, which, if less poetic, is at least no less straightforward. In looking over the second fascicule of JULES BAILLET'S *Inscriptions grecques et latines des tombeaux des rois ou syringes à Thèbes*[1], which contains the Greek and Latin *graffiti*, numbering somewhat over a thousand, which cover the walls of the tomb of Ramesses V and VI, popularly known to the ancients as that of Memnon, I came across the following (no. 1222):

Ηπουσε μητηρ | εκτος ουτε πιοταται.

On the opposite wall is engraved (no. 1986):

Ἦ ποῦ σε μήτηρ ἐκτὸς | ὄντ' ἐπίσταται.

On the latter the editor merely notes "Inscription énigmatique (*cf.* no. 1222)." The former is discussed more seriously. "Ce texte...laisse rêveur. Faut il absolument y chercher un sens plutôt que d'y flairer une mystification ? Peut-on croire que le scripteur se serait adressé à l'Aurore en lui parlant de son fils Memnon, ou reciproquement ? devrait-on lire : '*Ἦ ποῦ σε, μητὴρ, ἐκτὸς οὐτ'* (ou *ὄντα*) *ἐπίσταται ;—O Memnon, ta mère ne sait-elle donc pas que tu es dehors ?*', ou bien: '*O mère, ne te sait-il donc pas dehors ?*'" We, who have in mind Conington's problem, need not hesitate to write in both places

Ἦ ποú σε μήτηρ ἐκτὸς ὄντ' ἐπίσταται ;

We shall not seek a deep esoteric meaning, but shall rather dwell upon the long lineage thus suggested for a familiar phrase or upon the failure of one "lively Grecian" at least to be overawed by the august sanctity of Memnon's tomb.

Baillet's immense work, which is to be completed shortly by the issue of a third fascicule, attests on every page the unflagging zeal and the tireless pertinacity of the enthusiast, and we cannot but be grateful to him for a very remarkable achievement. It is inevitable, however, that these multitudinous texts, often carelessly scratched or painted and now all but illegible, should present a number of unsolved difficulties, and it is in the hope of making some contribution, however slight, to their solution that I add the following notes.

1081. Ἑρμίας Ἀσπαλ̣ίου ἰατρ[ός]. The second name Baillet connects with the words *ἀσπαλιεύς, ἀσπαλιευτής*, "fisher," *ἀσπαλία*, "fishing," *ἄσπαλος*, "fish," recorded by Hesychius: it occurs, as he points out, in Johannes Antiochenus, *frag.* 211 (MÜLLER, *F.H.G.*, IV, 619). The λ, however, is marked as uncertain, and the facsimile (Pl. XLIII) shows that there is at this point an erasure or mutilation. Is it not possible that the writer intended *Ἀσπασίου*, a comparatively common name ?

[1] *Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire*, XLII. fasc. 2 : Cairo, 1923. *Cf.* my summary in this *Journal*, 329–330.

1180. Baillet reads Μνή|σθη | Εὐρό|φιλος, but admits that "la lecture de ce nom inédit n'est pas sûre" and suggests as possible alternatives Συρόφιλος, Πρόφιλος or Πρόκλος. Of these the first two are, so far as I know, unexampled, while the third is palaeographically improbable, if not impossible. The facsimile (Pl. XLVI) shows a very striking resemblance between the last letter of line 2 and the first of line 3 and makes it, to my mind, almost certain that the writer's name was Ἡρόφιλος. A Herophilus scratched a *graffito* on the temple of Seti at Abydos (PREISIGKE, *Sammelbuch*, 3752) and a number of other examples of the name are registered in PAPE-BENSELER, *Eigennamen*, s.v.

1339. Τ[ύρ]αννος Μηνοδ̣ | ...παπαρευς | ...ιουτος | *a.t.v.* The first name is very common both in Asia Minor and in Egypt (*cf.* PREISIGKE, *Namenbuch*, s.v.) and occurs, as Baillet points out, elsewhere among his *graffiti* (363, 524). The second could, he suggests, be restored as Μηνοδ[ότου] or Μηνοδ[ώρου] or as an independent nominative. This last possibility is, however, ruled out if we read aright the third word, with which Baillet does not deal. An examination of the facsimile (Pl. LII) leaves no doubt that it is Παταρεύς, the regular ethnic form derived from Πάταρα, a city on the Lycian coast.

1421. Καλπύρνιος Παῦλος ἀφίκομ[αι]. This restoration I regard as impossible, for (*a*) ἀφίκομαι nowhere occurs as a variant form of ἀφικνέομαι, and (*b*) the verb in such records is almost invariably in the aorist (εἶδον, ἱστόρησα, ἦλθε, κτλ.). Very rarely is the perfect used (*e.g.*, ἀφῖκται in *Sammelbuch*, 4262, 4266), while the present is practically confined to the verb ἥκω, which is aorist or perfect in sense, though ἱστορῶ<ι> occurs in BAILLET, 1855. Ἀφικόμενος τάδ' ἔγραψα is found in BAILLET, 1029, ἀφίκετο in *Sammelbuch*, 158, 1049, 1052, etc., ἀφικόμην, 1793. We need have no hesitation, then, in reading ἀφικόμ[ην] here.

1447. Ἀλύγι|θος. Baillet comments thus: "Nom douteux qui serait inédit. Cependant on ne saurait corriger en Ἀλύπιος (*cf.* nos. 960 et 1570): le π serait admissible, mais le θ semble sûr." The *graffito* is very roughly traced (Pl. LVI), but we may admit the θ as certain. Even this, however, does not lead me to acquiesce in Ἀλύγιθος. The γ may well be a π, as Baillet allows, either imperfectly inscribed or incompletely legible: the ι, again, may be misread for η or miswritten for it because of its phonetic resemblance. This would give us Ἀλύπηθος, which may (*cf.* the following note) stand for Ἀλύπητος, a well-attested name, the most famous holder of which was the Spartan polemarch who died fighting at Thebes in 377 B.C. (Xen., *Hell.*, v, 4, 52).

1491. Εὔθεχνος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς κτλ. Baillet notes "Nom inédit, même avec l'orthographe correcte Εὔτεχνος 'habile ouvrier.' On connaît seulement un Εὐτέχνιος," who paraphrased words of Oppian and Nicander. I agree with the French savant that θ here probably stands for τ (*cf.* the preceding note and the converse error in BAILLET, 1883, where Πυθοκλῆς appears as Πυτοκλ[ῆ]ς, and 1430, where Ἀκόλουτος probably stands for Ἀκόλουθος); but I think it possible that the χ likewise stands for κ (*cf.* 1119 Πατίχιος, 1375 Καλκεδόνιος, 1921 Βουρικιανός) and that the writer's name was Εὔτεκνος. The fact that the generally accepted name of the paraphrast of Nicander is Εὐτέκνιος adds probability to this conjecture.

1761. Εὐήνωρ Παν[τ]οκ[ρ]άτ[ωρ] | ἱστόρησα. So Baillet reads, adding "Le surnom, inédit, doit être d'un païen: un chrétien l'eût réservé à Dieu." I cannot accept this restoration, and suggest Παν[τ]οκ[ρ]άτ[ου or ους]: both these forms of the genitive occur side by side (*cf.* MEISTERHANS, *Grammatik d. att. Inschriften*[3], 134 f., E. SCHWEIZER, *Grammatik d. perg. Inschriften*, 154 f.). True, the name Παντοκράτης is not, so far as I know, found elsewhere, but Παγκράτης is a very common name in Egypt (PREISIGKE,

Namenbuch, s.v.) and Παντοκράτης may well have existed side by side with it as Παντάγαθος with Πανάγαθος, Πάνταινος with Πάναινος, Παντοκλῆς with Παγκλῆς, Παντόφιλος with Πάμφιλος, etc.

1813. Baillet reads Ἡρ.... σχολαστικὸς ' ουσι. ώτης [εἰ]δὼν ἐθαύμασα. The name of this advocate cannot be restored with certainty: Ἡραίων and Ἡράκων would satisfactorily fill the gap, but others would do so equally well. His home can, however, be conjectured with some confidence in the light of BAILLET, 1219, Διονύσιος Πηλουσιώτης. The gap which Baillet notes between the ι and the ω does not disturb me, for it may be due to the bungling of an unskilful writer and not to the present-day illegibility of what he wrote. Thus, in 1867 I should be prepared to write Παρ.θ.ε.ν[ίου] as Παρθεν[ίου] rather than to conjecture, as Baillet hesitatingly does, Παρυθρεινίου.

1921. Βουρικια νὸς Δημο χάρης προ υσιεὺς Α[πουλ]ήϊου. Baillet translates "Bourikianos Démocharès, de Pruse, fils d'Apuleius," and comments thus: "Ce personnage...était sans doute d'origine syrienne, mais né à Pruse (Brousse) en Bithynie, et fils d'un *Apuleius* Ἀπουλήϊος, s'il n'y a pas erreur de lecture pour ce dernier nom." That such a mistake has, however, been made I cannot doubt.

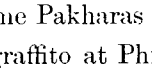
Βουρικιανός probably stands for Βουριχιανός (see note on 1491 above), a derivative from Βουρίχιος, which occurs in BAILLET (1266, 1279, 1405) and elsewhere. He describes himself as Προυσιεύς: but this term was ambiguous, for it might refer to either of two well-known cities of Bithynia, (1) the Greek colony of Cius, on a gulf of the Propontis, renamed after himself by Prusias when he refounded the city after its destruction by Philip V of Macedon in 202 B.C., and (2) Prusias on the river Hypius, which flows into the Euxine. To avoid confusion these two were called Prusias ad mare and Prusias ad Hypium respectively, and on some of their coins are found the legends Προυσιέων (τῶν) πρὸς θαλάσσῃ and Προυσιέων πρὸς Ὑπίῳ (B. V. HEAD, *Hist. Num.*², 513, 518). To which of the two cities the writer of BAILLET, 1972, belonged we cannot determine, but in the case before us the words ἀπὸ Ὑπίου are added—as an examination of Pl. LXXIII will show—in order to avoid ambiguity. In an inscription of Rome (*I.G.*, XIV, 1077) the Προυσιεῖς ἀπὸ Ὑπίου occur side by side with the Προυσιεῖς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, while a tombstone at Prusias itself describes the soldier buried beneath it as Προυσιεὺς [ἀ]πὸ Ὑπίου (*I.G. Rom.*, III, 57). The city itself is, curiously enough, called ἡ Προυσιέων πόλις τῆς πρὸς Ὕπιον in an honorary inscription of Panticapaeum (*I.G. Rom.*, I, 888; *cf.* 869).

PAKHORAS—BAKHARÂS—FARAS IN GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY

By F. Ll. GRIFFITH, M.A., F.B.A.

a. The Meroitic Period.

Although some fine early stelae inscribed in Meroitic are known, it is difficult in the present state of the study to derive much information from them. The early funerary inscriptions also have little to tell us, but the late ones of about the third century A.D. give interesting and well-developed titles with geographical names, of which some use can already be made in history. It is in them that we first meet with the name Pakharas under which designation Faras seems to have enjoyed two periods—heathen[1] and Christian—of prosperity and influence. We will first consider the evidence for this afforded by Meroitic texts, and then pursue the enquiry among later records.

The name Pakharas  *phrs* occurs in the following Meroitic inscriptions[2]:

(1) A graffito at Philae, in which Isis is adored by Balaye (?) described as "*chabacheñ* of the king, and *qereñ, mazek* in Philae, *maze* in Pakharas." *I.* 122/10 (II, 51–2).

(2) An obscure passage in the great inscription of Kalabshah. *I.* 94/10.

(3) Altar from 'Anîbah of a woman Pakazi, "kin to a *charapañ* in Pakharas." *K.I.* 30.

(4) Stela from 'Anîbah of a certain Napata-zale, kin of a *charapañ* in Pakharas. *K.I.* 97.

(5) Stela from 'Anîbah of a great personage named Chawitarêr who was *pesatê* in Akiñ, etc., etc., and *charapachañ* in Pakharas. *K.I.* 47.

And from Faras itself:

(6) Fragment of an altar of Beñashabê, a *charapachañ* in Pakharas. *F.I.* 1.

(7) Stela of Marazewitar, *masqêrês* in Pakharas and *masqêrês* in Tanar. *F.I.* 3.

(8) Altar of a man who was "*takite* of the...*tamite* in Pakharas." *F.I.* 32.

(9) Fragment of stela of one who was "[kin ??] of the *até-mebarak*.. in Pakharas." *F.I.* 41.

(10) Stela of the *qereñ-akarêrê* Malêwitar, chief envoy to (?) Rome, etc., etc., kin of Atapete the *charapachañ* in Pakharas. *M.I.* 129, *F.I.* 2.

Thus among ten references to Pakharas in the known texts, five are from Faras, and three of these latter are on monuments of persons who are described as officials in Pakharas.

[1] An account of the great Meroitic cemetery is in course of publication in the Liverpool *Annals of Archaeology*, XI, XII, and will be followed by a description of the Fortification, the "Meroitic House" or Western Palace, and other remains of the Meroitic period.

[2] The references following are to the numbered inscriptions published and discussed in my *Karanòg, The Meroitic Inscriptions of Shablûl and Karanòg*, VI in the Egyptian series of the University of Pennsylvania (*K. I.*); *Meroitic Inscriptions*, Parts I and II, published in the *Archaeological Survey* of the Egypt Exploration Fund (*I.*); *Meroitic Funerary Inscriptions from Faras, Nubia* in *Recueil d'études égyptologiques dédiées à la mémoire de Jean-François Champollion*, 565–600 (*F. I.*) and others in Garstang, *Meroë*, 1909–10 (*M. I.*); also to the ostraka from Faras (*F. O.*), Buhen (*B. O.*) and Dakkah (*D. O.*) in *Meroitic Studies* V (above, pp. 218–224).

Besides Pakharas many other place-names occur in the funerary inscriptions of Faras, but less frequently, and chiefly in connection with relatives of the deceased and not with the deceased themselves. They are as follows:

(*a*) Napata (= Gebel Barkal). The lady Abakaye whose father was *mesan* of a *mesan* of Amanap in Pezeme is related to a *belilêke* in Napata. *F.I.* 34.

(*b*) Atiye (= Adaye, Sedenga, cf. *M.I.* 7, 65, *I.*, II, 8). Malêwitar, the chief envoy to Rome, whose father was Anashayi in Shaye, was kin of *maleyéses* in Atiye. *I.* 129, cf. *F.I.* 2. Zekhatelitê also was kin of *maleyéses* in Atiye and himself *malé* of *mar* in Atiye. *F.I.* 4.

(*c*) Shaye (= Island of Sai, *K.I.* 9, *I.*, II, 38). See the last.

(*d*) Pezeme (= Amâra, see *I.*, II, 11–12). The above Malêwitar was kin of *belilêkes* in Pezeme: see also (*a*).

(*e*) Shazês (see *K.I.* 82). Malêwitar was also kin of *ateqi*'s in this southern locality.

(*f*) Tanate. Zekhatelitê was kin of Atiyachar the *taratekes* in Tanate (or Tanar ?, see below, (*p*)). *F.I.* 4.

(*g*) Taketêre. Malêwitar was also kin of *taratekeses* in Taketêre: Zekhatelitê was kin of a *taratekes* in Taketêre, and Khalalacharêr was connected with an *akhararab* in Taketêre, *F.I.* 21. In the last case, Taketêre is associated with places to the north of Faras, in the two former with places to the south. Since Takatêre occurs three times here and is not known outside these inscriptions, it seems to have been in the immediate neighbourhood of Faras.

(*h*) Amêz. The same Khalalacharêr was *wayekite* (?) in Amêz and connected with an *akhararab* in Amêz, *F.I.* 21. This place was probably near to Taketêre and Pakharas.

(*i*) Tamañ (cf. *K.I.* 47). Khapate...'s father was *belilêke* in Tamañ. *F.I.* 37, *F.O.* 19.

(*j*) Nalête (near 'Anîbeh, see *K.I.* 81): the nobly connected Makheye was *malê* of *mar* in Nalête. *F.I.* 44.

(*k*) Akiñ (near 'Anîbeh, *ibid.*): the highly placed Khalalakharêr, chief *shamat*, chief *qèreñ* and prophet of Amanap in Bezewe, amongst other things was *peshatê* in Akiñ. *F.I.* 21.

(*l*) Bezewe (possibly Meroë itself, as has been suggested by Professor Sayce, or perhaps an important place towards the northern frontier[1]). See the last.

There are also a number of doubtful and otherwise unknown place-names:

(*m*) Beqe. Malishachi was *teter* in (?) Beqe. *F.I.* 10.

(*n*) Taki (?): the deceased on an altar was perhaps "...*tamite* in Pakharas, in (?) Taki." *F.I.* 32.

(*o*) Beñash (?): a *charapachañ* in Pakharas was possibly "...in (?) Beñash." *F.I.* 1.

(*p*) Tanar. Marazewitar, *masqèrês* in Pakharas, was also *masqèrês* in Tanar (*F.I.* 3, *cf.* 4). Tanar occurs also on *F.O.* 20. There is a modern place-name Tenare opposite Solb[2], and curiously enough Tanare is the Blemmy (?) name given to a certain island apparently near Gebelên in Upper Egypt[3].

(*q*) Aleket, Alepet (?). Marazewitar was also *mañabakhe* in (?) Aleket.

(*r*) Zek: the same man was perhaps *charapachal* in (?) Zek, and Achamanakarêr "belonged to the *khalbin* in (?) Zak," *F.I.* 18; *cf.* the "*khebakheñ* in (?) Zeq" of *I.* 125 (II, 52).

[1] *Meroitic Studies* IV, in *Journal*, IV, 169–70; *Meroitic Funerary Inscriptions* in *Recueil Champollion*, 582.

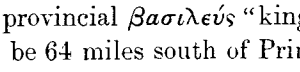
[2] Almkvist, *Nubische Studien*, ed. Zettersteen, XIV.

[3] Krall, *Beitrage zur Geschichte der Blemyer und Nubier*, 4, in Vienna Akad. *Denksch.*, XLVI.

(*s*) Zalitawaketeyi(?): *F.I.* 21.

(*t*) Yezeyake, *ibid.*

(*u*) Meñ. Achamanakarêr was *shashêr* in (?) Meñ. *F.I.* 18, 31.

It seems then that Faras was Pakharas, and that Taketêre (*g*) and perhaps Tanar (*p*) lay near by. The head men in Taketêre were apparently entitled *taratekes* and *akhararab*, but in Pakharas there was a *charapañ* or *charapachañ*. Higher still was the *pesatê* ψέντης (probably the provincial βασιλεύς "king"[1]) of Akiñ. The name Akiñ reminds one of Acina, a town said to be 64 miles south of Primis (*i.e.*, Ḳasr Ibrîm opposite 'Anîbah) in Pliny[2], and of Aqen () which is named on the boundary stela of Sesostris I at Semneh in the Second Cataract[3] and lay evidently in that neighbourhood, probably northward; perhaps Aqen (= Acina?) gave its name to a Meroitic province. However this may be, I would suggest provisionally that Nalête (*j*) was the Meroitic name of 'Anîbah, the ancient provincial capital of Mi'am, and that Akiñ was the name of a Meroitic district or province, possibly comprising all Lower Nubia as far as the Dodecaschoenus, whose *pesatê*-viceroys resided especially at Pakharas and Nalête. A very early *pesatê*, Tasamerekh, was buried at Faras (*F.I.* 43), and may well have resided there in the Western Palace; later also the very important personage Khalalakharêr (whose title of *peshatê* in Akiñ took but the fourth place after more exalted titles in the Meroitic system) was buried at Faras (*F.I.* 21); whereas other *pesatê*s, Khawitarêr, Malêtên, and Ñatewitar (all three named in *F.I.* 44), were buried at 'Anîbah (*K.I.* 47, 77, 78). Akinizaz himself was entitled *peshatê* in his third cartouche in a temple at Meroë (*M.I.* 2) and on the great stela from Meroë[4]; the title does not occur in his cartouche at Dakkah (*I.* 92), yet it seems to belong exclusively to the viceroy of Lower Nubia.

Still higher in rank than the *pesatê* was the *paqar* or "prince," belonging possibly to the southern government.

Priestly titles in the Faras inscriptions name the divinity Amanap at Pezeme, *i.e.*, Amâra (*F.I.* 34) and at Bezewe, *i.e.*, Meroë (?) (*F.I.* 21); this Amenap (Amenophis) being probably the deified king Amenhotp rather than the god Amen(em)opi[5]. But no light is thrown on the local worship of Pakharas by the inscriptions. That there once existed a substantial Meroitic temple at Faras within the fortification walls is proved by characteristic lintels of sandstone sculptured with the winged disk which are found among the blocks of Tuthmosis III. On the other hand, the Egyptian fanes had probably long since been abandoned to ruin and destroyed. There are no Meroitic traces about the site of the Hathor temple, and the stones of the temple of Tutʿankhamūn were used up in the earliest of the Meroitic graves[6].

b. The Christian Period.

In the previous section it has been shown that while many place-names occur in the Meroitic inscriptions from Faras, Pakharas is the most frequent of them, being found there five times, while it is mentioned only five times in inscriptions from other localities

[1] *Inscr.*, II, 47; *Journal*, III, 114(z). The question is whether the Greek graffito means "The adoration of Abratois, *psentes* of the king of the Ethiopians" or "of A., the *psentes*, king of the Ethiopians."

[2] *N. H.*, VI, 29. [3] L. *D.*, II, 136 i.

[4] *Journal*, IV, 164, 171. [5] *Op. cit.*, III, 115 (pp).

[6] For the New Kingdom temples at Faras see Liverpool *Annals*, VIII, 83–97.

(namely thrice at 'Anîbah, about fifty miles north: once at Kalabshah, and once at Philae). This alone would be enough to prove that Pakharas was either at Faras itself or in the near neighbourhood.

We have now to consider the evidence of the Christian texts. Pakhoras, **Παχωρας**, is the only clear place-name occurring at Faras, once in a graffito in the Anchorite's Grotto and once in the dedication of a painting in the Rivergate Church[1]; in each case a deacon of Pakhoras has written his full title. It occurs also in two other texts of Christian age which can be traced to Faras or the immediate neighbourhood.

(*a*) At "Colasucia" near "Jarras," on the west bank between Abu-Simbel and the Second Cataract, Count Carlo Vidua, travelling in 1820, found several tombstones amongst the ruins, as he says, of a Christian town and monastery: he selected two complete examples to take home to Italy, where they are to be seen in the Museum of Turin, and published them[2]. It is evident that the provenance must be read as Kolasûča near Faras[3], and it would thus seem that Vidua's tombstones came from the Hathor-rock where there were a church and many graves, unless, as seems rather to be the fact, he includes the whole of the ancient site under the title Colasucia. One of the inscriptions[4] is for Ταμηρ ἐπισ(κόπου) Παχωρας θῦ τῆ (*i.e.*, θυγατέρα?) Ταοσχων $\overline{\chi\pi\theta}$ Παχωρας, which may perhaps mean "Tasokhon of (the church of St.) Michael[5] of Pakhoras, daughter of Tamer the bishop of Pakhoras[6]." The whole text is corrupt as is usual on such stelae, and ends with a very doubtful date 409 of the Martyrs, = A.D. 692[7].

(*b*) Coptic stela of white marble from the neighbourhood of Faras[8], commemorating Abba Thomas who "had first spent twenty-three years as a monk in the celebrated

[1] A memoir on the Christian remains of Faras is ready for publication in due time.

[2] *Inscriptiones antiquae in itinere Turcico repertae*, Pls. XIX, XX and p. 22. At Turin I had the opportunity of seeing Balbo, *Lettere del Conte Carlo Vidua* (Turin, 1834); the letters 34–36 in Tome II were written in Cairo after his return from Nubia, 28 June–15 July 1820, but are quite unimportant.

[3] For Kolasûča, the name of the hamlet on the river in front of the Hathor-rock, see Liverpool *Annals*, VIII, 2. Vidua's name is cut over the entrance of the southernmost of the New Kingdom grottos in the desert.

[4] *C.I.G.*, 9121, Lefebvre, *Inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Égypte*, no. 636.

[5] $\overline{\chi\text{ⲙⲑ}}$ is a cipher occurring several times in Nubia. The best instance is $\overline{\chi\text{ⲙⲑ}}$ ⲁⲓⲕⲁ ⲙⲟⲩⲁⲟⲩⲉ "O Michael that guardest me!" in a Nubian graffito copied by Clédat in the monastery of St. Simeon at Aswan, *Rec. de Trav.*, XXXVII, 52; see also my *Nubian Texts of the Christian Period*, 42, Mileham, *Churches in Lower Nubia*, 36. Just as in Egypt $\overline{\text{ϥϑ}}$ (99) is the numerical cipher for Ἀμήν (Lefebvre, *op. cit.*, xxxii), so in Nubia $\overline{\chi\text{ⲙⲑ}}$ (589) is evidently the sum of the numerical values of the letters in the name of the archangel Μιχαήλ. Michael is, after the Deity, the most frequently invoked name in the inscriptions of Nubian Christianity.

[6] The order of the words seems influenced by Nubian, as in an inscription attached to a picture of the Virgin and Child at the north end of the *haikal* screen in the Rivergate Church at Faras.

[7] It was in discussing this inscription that Revillout first recognized Pakhoras as a place-name. *Rev. Égyptologique*, IV, 20.

[8] Colonel H. G. Lyons kindly gave me the following account of this interesting monument: "The marble slab I first heard of from an engineer on one of the stern-wheel steamboats in the winter of 1891–2; he had seen it in possession of a man in a small village, Balliane I think, just north of Faras, not Serra. The owner was said to have found it at an old deir (monastery) in the desert. It was bought for me and I afterwards deposited it with Professor Sayce who had it on his boat for several years. Eventually I handed it over to M. Maspero." The text was published by Prof. Sayce, *Rec. de Trav.*, XX, 111, and afterwards by Prof. Maspero with a photograph in *Ann. Serv.*, IV, 161. Sayce gave as the provenance "Maharraqa opposite Serra a little to the north of Wadi Halfa." But no one can tell me of a

monastery called Maurage (ⲙⲁϥⲣⲁⲥⲏ) and had been archimandrite of it, and had then been called to the throne of the arch-priesthood (ⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲁⲣⲭⲓⲉⲣⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ) which is the rank (ⲡⲁⲑⲙⲟⲥ for *βαθμός*) of the bishopric of the episcopate (*sic*) of the glorious city Pakhoras." The date of his death was 578 of Diocletian, = A.D. 862.

It occurs four times in documents from other localities:

(*c*) In an old Nubian inscription in the temple of Wâdî es-Sabû', written by Peter, priest of Christ of Pakhoras (*i.e.*, of the church of Christ in Pakhoras), apparently in 511 of the Martyrs, that is A.D. 795[1].

(*d*) In a Coptic papyrus from a group purchased by T. Legh at Aswân in 1813, and belonging apparently to the region from Kalabshah to Korte in the southern half of the Dodecaschoenus, a certain Susanna of Pakhoras is named as the mother of the addressee[2]. The date is *saec.* VII—VIII A.D.

(*e*) The procurator of the bishop of Pekharas (ⲡⲉⲡⲓⲧⲣⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕ̀ ⲙ̀ⲡⲭⲁⲣⲁⲥ) is a witness in a similar document in the Museum of Alexandria. This is dated in the reign of Chael in the year 520 (= A.D. 804), and concerns land at Mohondi (at the southern limit of the Dodecaschoenus)[3].

(*f*) The province of Pakhoras is mentioned in a Coptic parchment book of A.D. 1053[4].

In these Christian texts from northern Nubia we find that, like Pakharas in the Meroitic inscriptions, Pakhoras is named with conspicuous frequency and that the references, though somewhat widely scattered, centre about Faras. In (*b*) Pakhoras is called λαμπροπολις, a variety of the honorific λαμπρὰ πόλις applied to nome-capitals and the like in the Byzantine period[5]; in (*f*) it is the capital of a province, and in (*b*) and (*e*) the seat of a bishopric. All this agrees with the number and (for Nubia) imposing nature of the remains of the Christian period at Faras.

In commenting on the Legh collection of papyri[6] Mr. Crum identified the name Pakhoras with "Begrâsh en face de Dirr." This identification is no longer acceptable without important modifications.

First as to the situation of "Begrâsh." In Baedeker's map of Lower Nubia[7] the label "Ru. Begrash" is given to the ancient site known by the name of Shêkh Daûd[8], north of Tomâs and opposite Dirr: this identification was adopted by Mileham, and by Woolley and MacIver[9]; but I have been assured by Mr. Mileham that the name Begrâsh is not known to the natives there, nor does it seem to occur earlier in maps, although the same site of ruins was duly noted by Prokesch von Osten in his careful survey of Nubia[10] in 1827 and by Lepsius in his map. One can easily realize that the learned editors of Baedeker might attach the name recorded for the old capital of Lower Nubia to ruins opposite Dirr, the modern capital. If Begrâsh is to be identified with Pakhoras it must be placed, not at Shêkh Daûd, but at the still more important site of Faras, sixty miles further up the Nile.

Maharraqa in this region. Maspero seems to have assumed that the gravestone came from Belyane near Abydos in Upper Egypt. But Balliane, or more exactly Balâñe, is the next village or district to Faras on the west bank northward, and is thus the place indicated in Colonel Lyons' record.

[1] GRIFFITH, *Nubian Texts of the Christian Period*, 61.

[2] CRUM, *Coptic MSS. in Brit. Mus.*, no. 452.

[3] KRALL, *W.Z.K.M.*, XIV, 237.

[4] See below, p. 266.

[5] I owe this remark to Sir H. Thompson.

[6] *Rec. de Trav.*, XXI, 226.

[7] *Upper Egypt*, 1902 and *Egypt*, all editions.

[8] For the remains here see MILEHAM, *Churches in Lower Nubia*, Pl. 2, pp. 4, 5; WEIGALL, *Antiquities of Lower Nubia*, 108 = WEIGALL, *Guide to the Antiquities of Upper Egypt*, 548.

[9] *Kar. Cem.* and *Kar. Town.*

[10] *Das Land zwischen den Katarakten des Nil*, 30.

Secondly, as to the true form of the Arabic name. It is well known that Arabic writing lends itself only too readily to deformation of unfamiliar words and names, chiefly on account of the uncertainties of "pointing." The unpointed skeleton of the name is بحراس, the first letter of which may be read in five ways, as *b*, *t*, *ṯ*, *n*, or *y*, the second in three, *g*, *ḥ*, *ḫ*, the third in two, *r* or *z*, the fifth in two, *s* or *š*; the fourth indicates pretty clearly a long *a* before the last consonant. The name occurs in two works, once in Abu-Sâliḥ's account of the Churches and Monasteries of Egypt, and twice in the *Khitat* of Maḳrîzî, always without vowel-marks. In the only known MS. of the former the name is written *Bgrâš*[1]: the Bulaq edition of the *Khitat* gives *Ngrâš*, but M. Wiet's new and splendid edition now in course of publication with *apparatus criticus* shows several variant spellings: in the first passage the first letter is nowhere pointed, the second is twice unpointed (i.e., *ḥ*), twice pointed as *ḫ*, the third is unpointed and to be read naturally as *r*, the fourth is twice unpointed (*s*), twice pointed (*š*); in the second passage the four chief MSS. agree in writing *N* for the first letter, two write *ḥ* and two *g* for the second and two *s* and two *š* for the fourth. Thus *Nḥrâš*, *Nḫrâs*, *Ngrâš* are almost equally favoured by the MSS. of Maḳrizi, and Abu-Sâliḥ alone gives the right initial *B*. I think one may unhesitatingly correct the reading to بخراس *Bḫrâs* and vocalize it in three syllables as Bakharas or Bukharas (see below) to agree with the Coptic-Nubian ⲡⲁϫⲱⲣⲁⲥ. The surprising change from Coptic ω to Arabic *ă* or *e* is seen also in ⲧⲉⲡⲧⲱⲣⲉ = Denderah دَنْدَرَة. As to the consonants, Arabic *b* corresponds regularly to Coptic ⲡ and the scribe has, to begin with, produced نج *Ng* from بخ *Bḫ* simply by transposing the points. The Meroitic spelling gives *s* rather than *š* as the last consonant, and the Coptic-Nubian ⲥ is clearly an *s* not *š* which would have been written ϣ. It is curious that the Arabic scribe has so frequently added the three points which make *š*: but probably he was induced to do so by the analogy of such names as نقراش Naḳrâš (on the site of the ancient Naucratis). Students of Arabic MSS. will recognize these things as ordinary phenomena, but I have put them out in detail in order to indicate to the non-Arabist the difficulties that beset the readings of outlandish names in that unsatisfactory script.

Further on we shall see reason for identifying ⲡⲁϫⲱⲣⲁⲥ with ابو حراس Abu-Garâs (*sic*. correct the spelling to Abu-Kharâs) in Abu-Sâliḥ and with بوخراس Bûkharâs in certain Arabic lists of bishopries, as was done by Mr. Crum, and with بوخراص Bûkharâṣ in Mufazzal's *Histoire des Mamlouks*[2]. This last instance not only points the consonants correctly, but also writes the *ṣ* with a sign which cannot stand for *sh*. These last forms Abu-Kharâs, Bûkharâs, Bûkharâṣ suggest that in Arabic the pronunciation of ⲡⲁϫⲱⲣⲁⲥ tended to Bukharâs rather than Bakharâs. The etymology of the name is quite obscure, and whether the modern name Faras can be connected with it, either as a direct derivative from the Meroitic form or otherwise, I will not attempt to decide. The present inhabitants pronounce Faras like the Arabic *faras* "a mare," and I have heard a tale of a mare in the vaults beneath the Citadel.

Following up Mr. Crum's references[3] and the paths to which they lead, we obtain the following information about Bukharâs:—

[1] M. Massignon at the request of Prof. Margoliouth most kindly verified by the original the pointing of this and another name quoted below from it, confirming Evetts' reading in each case.

[2] Published by Blochet, *Patr. Orientalis*, XII, XIV, 282: in the description of the possessions of the Sultan Bêbars (1260–77) in Nubia. Mufazzal finished his work in 1358 (*op. cit.*, 8).

[3] *Rec. de Trav.*, ibid.

Abu-Sâliḥ, writing in the beginning of the thirteenth century, begins his confused account of Nubia with a paragraph about "Bukharâs[1], capital of the province of El-Marîs: it is a well-populated city wherein is the dwelling-place of Gausàr جوسار who wore the عصابه (turban, chaplet) and the two horns[2] and the golden bracelet[3]."

El-Marîs was the northernmost province of Nubia and according to Abu-Sâliḥ[4] included Ibrîm. The next province was Muḳurrah and Abu-Sâliḥ says: "The first place in the province of Muḳurrah is the monastery called that of Safanût, king of Nubia, which is in the country below the Second Cataract[5]." Further on he writes: "Mountain of Zidân. Here is the monastery of ابو جراس Abu-Garâs (read Abu-Kharâs)[6] in a town on the west which possesses a bishop. It is a beautiful town on the mountain. At night a light as of fire is seen in this town from a distance, but if the beholder comes near to it he cannot find it." Abu-Sâliḥ had previously told a story of a mirage in connection with Bukharâs and it seems as if Bukharâs and Abu-Kharâs were really one and the same place. Nubian bishoprics were few and far between. The lofty walls of the fortification round the citadel at Faras which lies on the west bank of the Nile would effectually hide out the lights of the town from any point near by, and this might give rise to the second story. If **ⲙⲁⲩⲣⲁⲥⲏ**, the name of the monastery in the inscription (*d*), represents an Arabic *el-Muharraḳah*[7], "the burnt," it might refer to the disappearing light[8]. As already observed, Maḳrîzî, writing in the first half of the fifteenth century, twice mentions Bukharâs. In the first instance he quotes from a much older writer, Abdullah Ibn Aḥmed Ibn Selîm of Aswân[9], who lived at the end of the tenth century[10], that Nubia began at el-Ḳaṣr, five miles south from Aswân and one mile from Bilâḳ (Philae), at a point ten stages distant from the Second Cataract. 'In this region lies Bukharâs capital of Maris," the fortress of Ibrîm, and "another fortress near by" where lay the port of Adwâ and a marvellous temple (these particulars point to the hill-fortress of Gebel Adda with its little harbour and the great temple of Abu-Simbel on the opposite bank, as Burckhardt and Mileham have seen); and the governor of the province under the king of Nubia is called "Lord of the Mountain (or 'Desert')" (who according to Abu-Sâliḥ resided in Ibrîm). Marîs included the Third Cataract, beyond which began the province of Muḳurrah. But in the next chapter Maḳrîzî seems to relate an entirely different state of affairs, perhaps as it was in his own day when very little remained of the power of the Nubian kingdom; after remarking that the people of Marîs, who are true Nubians, and the people of Muḳurrah, speak separate languages, he seems to attribute to Marîs only the short space of about thirty miles between the frontier, five miles south of Aswân, and Tafa which is one stage from Aswân. At Tafa commences the province of Muḳurrah: "its capital named Bukharâs is at less than ten stages from Aswân." This statement compared with the foregoing quotation from Abdullah of Aswân seems to bring

[1] So to be read after correction of the MS.

[2] Probably the insigna of Nubia; see the memoir on the Christian remains of Faras.

[3] *Abu Salih*, ed. Evetts, f°. 94a. [4] *Op. cit.*, f°. 96a. [5] *Op. cit.*, f°. 94b.

[6] See above, p. 264.

[7] The gender is against identifying it with the famous monastery دير المحرّق, Dêr el-Muharraḳ, near Manfalût in Middle Egypt, as Mr. Crum has pointed out to me.

[8] Mileham, *Churches in Lower Nubia*, 6 had already suggested that "Abu Garâs" might be identified with the ruins on the cliff at Wizz close to Faras.

[9] Maqrîzî, *Khitat*, ed. Wiet, III, 252=ed. Bulaḳ, I, 190; see the translation, Bouriant, *Makrîzi*, I, 549, and Quatremère, *Mémoires géogr. et hist.*, II, 8.

[10] Juynboll, *Marâṣid*, IV, 260

Bukharâs to the neighbourhood of the Second Cataract, far beyond Dirr and Shêkh Daûd; and, in fact, the situation of Faras suits it well. In Maḳrîzi, as in Abu-Sâliḥ, the capital of all Nubia is Dunḳulah.

Marîs, literally "South Region," is simply the Coptic name for Upper Egypt, vaguely applied by the Arabic-speaking Egyptians to the northernmost province (in the first account) or district (in the second) of Nubia. The Graeco-Coptic name, on the other hand, of the province (extending to beyond the Third Cataract) was, perhaps, ⲛⲟⲃⲁⲇⲓⲁ[1]. The most interesting occurrence is where ⲡⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲡⲁϫⲱⲣⲁⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲃⲁⲇⲓⲁ (*sic*) "the province (or nome) of Pakhoras of Nobadia" is named as the residence of the pious man who gave a Coptic MS. of a discourse of St. Cyril to the Church of the Cross of Pteserrah (near Edfû) in the year 1053[2]. ⲙⲁⲕⲟⲩⲣⲓⲁ (Muḳurrah) is the name of the next province to ⲛⲱⲃⲁⲇⲓⲁ in a Coptic encyclical letter, the date of which is not recorded[3].

"Bucoras" is a name which appears in a list of seven towns or bishopries of the province of "Maracu" (Muḳurrah) mentioned by Vansleb in the seventeenth century[4], and Mr. Crum has found the source[5] in Coptic-Arabic lists where the name is written Bûkherâs بوخراس and is equated with El-Daw الدؤ. But this equation is probably false like many others in Coptic-Arabic lists. The fortress of Daw was captured by the Moslems in the year 674 A.H. (A.D. 1275–6). In 688 A.H. it opened its gates again to the Moslem invaders. In 767 (A.D. 1365–6) it became the residence of the king of Nubia in place of Dunḳulah which had been ravaged by civil war and was threatened by the Arabs; at the same time the king's nephew resided as viceroy in Ibrîm[6]. On the whole evidence Daw is less likely to be identical with Bukherâs, *i.e.*, Faras, than with the strong rock-fortress of Gebel Addah, which resembles Ibrîm, and is almost certainly the same as Maḳrîzi's fortress of Adwa[7].

Thus, to sum up the evidence regarding the ancient name of Faras:—In the Meroitic inscriptions we meet with a place-name Pakharas occurring sporadically in the late inscriptions of Lower Nubia, but nowhere so frequently as at Faras where it is found five times, more often than any other place-name. ⲡⲁϫⲱⲣⲁⲥ, evidently the same name, is practically the only place-name in the Christian inscriptions of Faras and its immediate neighbourhood, and here it is found four times. The importance of Pachoras in mediaeval times is shown by its occurrence as the capital of a nome or province (ⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ) and seat of a bishopric. Existing remains prove that Faras was the most important Christian site in the neighbourhood and so leave little doubt that it was actually Pakhoras.

[1] Occurring in the Scalae. The ⲉⲡⲁⲣⲭⲟⲥ and ⲙⲉⲓⲍⲱⲛ of ⲛⲟⲃⲁⲇⲓⲁ are named in the legal documents from Lower Nubia: Krall, *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Blemyer und Nubier*, 16; *W.Z.K.M.*, xiv, 237; Crum, *Cat. of Coptic MSS. in Brit. Mus.*, no. 451.

[2] Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 6799, according to an extract from the colophon furnished by Mr. Crum; *cf.* Griffith, *Nubian Texts of the Christian Period*, 4. For the MS. see Budge, *Misc. Coptic Texts*, xlv, 229 and Pl. XII.

[3] Gul. Bonjour, *In Monumenta Aegyptiaca Bibliothecae Vaticanae brevis exercitatio* (Romae, 1699); quoted also by Krall, *Beitrage z. Gesch. d. Blemyer und Nubier*, 16, n. 3.

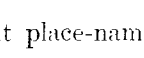
[4] *Histoire de l'église d'Alexandrie* (1677), 29; *cf.* Quatremère, *Mém. géogr. et hist.*, ii, 36.

[5] *Rec. de Trav.*, xxi, 226.

[6] Quatremère, *Mém. géogr. et hist.*, ii, 117 *et seqq.*

[7] *Cf.* Mileham, *Churches in Lower Nubia*, 5. M. Wiet, however (*Khitat*, iii, 253, n. 6), suggests that الدؤ should be corrected to الدرّ *i.e.*, Dirr.

Further, Arabic writers naming بحراس as capital at various times of Marîs and of Muḳurrah, the northernmost provinces of the Christian Nubian kingdom, place it at "less than ten days' journey" from the frontier, while the Second Cataract is said to be ten days' journey from Aswân. The resemblance of the name and the description point to بحراس being the same as Pakharas ΠΑΧΩΡΑϹ, and the position indicated, near to but north of the Second Cataract, agrees well with that of Faras.

It was suggested long ago[1] that Faras should be identified with Phthuris in Pliny's list of the Nubian towns captured by Petronius: doubtful as this is, it would not be impossible to see in Phthuris a version of Pakhoras (*Φθουρις* for **Φχουρις*). On the other hand the ancient place-name  *Ibšk*, occurring at Faras in connection with the goddess Hathor[2], would be in favour of identifying the site with Aboccis, the next town northward to Phthuris in Pliny, if this name might be corrected to Aboscis.

The Nubians say that the indigenous families of Faras are descendants of a certain Kikelañ or Kikelai, "father of a hundred, grandfather of a thousand," who lived long ago in the *diffi* or citadel, apparently as king. He was a Christian, and descent from him is a matter of jesting reproach against any inhabitant of Faras, implying that he is no good Moslim[3]. Mr. Crum[4] thinks Caecilianus a possible name in Christian Egypt and therefore also in Nubia, although Cecilia was essentially a Western saint, so perhaps some king or local personage named Caecilianus is at the back of the curious name Kikelañ.

According to a semi-historical narrative of the first Moslem invasion of Upper Egypt when Khâlid ibn al-Walîd and the army were dispatched by 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣi southward from Fosṭâṭ, the Greek governor of Ahnâs wrote letters to al-Boṭlûs, the formidable governor of Behnesâ (Oxyrhynchus), "Rûsâl of Eshmûnên and Kirakis of Ḳuft whose authority extended to Akhmîm; also to *al-Kaikalag*, the lord of Aswân, whose authority extended to 'Aden and the salt sea, the country of the Nubians and of the Boga and the land of the negroes"; whereupon "Maksûḥ (or Makshûḥ) King of the Boga and Ghalêḳ (or 'Aliḳ) King of the Nubians" brought to the aid of the Greeks in Egypt an army of Nûba Boga and Berabra with thirteen hundred elephants carrying towers of leather filled with armed men[5]. This proves at least that Kikelañ is an old name for a Nubian potentate in story. One may even surmise that he is the traditional opponent of the first Moslim invasion of Nubia which followed immediately on the conquest of Upper Egypt in 641, and that his name survives in connection with Faras as a name of obloquy, just as many of the Moslem saints whose names are attached to tombs in Nubia are considered to be Companions of the Prophet, martyrs in the great religious struggle. Unfortunately Galtier did not live to add either commentary or even original text to his almost bare translation of the narrative.

[1] WILKINSON, *Topography of Thebes and general view of Egypt* (1835), 498, apparently quoting an earlier opinion.

[2] Liverpool *Annals*, VIII, 89, Pl. XXIV, 4, 6, 11.

[3] Mr. Somers Clarke in some notes of 1899 which he kindly sent to me had already recorded the tradition from the mouth of his excellent servant Daûd Ḥasan 'Abd el-Mâlik of Argîn, a village not far from Faras. *Cf.* MILEHAM, *Churches*, 26; CLARKE, *Christian Antiquities in the Nile Valley*, 66. Kikelañ is called son of Niokel (*i.e.*, Ñokl?) in Daûd's account.

[4] In a letter.

[5] GALTIER, *Fotouh al Bahnasa*, 56; *cf.* BURCKHARDT, *Travels in Nubia*, 527-8, note 63.

It seems probable that the kingdom of Dunḳulah comprised two large provinces—the southern one called μακουρια, El Muḳurrah[1], in which the supreme capital lay, the northern called Nobadia, El Marîs[2]: the capital of the latter province was Pakhoras, Bukherâs. At times the name of the former seems to have been employed to include all the kingdom of Dunḳulah, as in the list of towns or bishopries given by Vansleb[3], and this may help to explain the curious inconsistency in the second chapter of Maḳrîzî's description of Nubia[4], where Bukherâs (?) is the capital of Muḳurrah (Dunḳulah having fallen into the hands of the Arabs?) and Marîs is reduced to a few miles at the extreme frontier.

No history of Christian Nubia has been preserved, but only rare references to its relations with the Eastern churches and with the Moslems in Egypt. Consequently the history of Pakhoras can only be surmised from these references and from its own remains.

[1] The name Makuria may perhaps be connected with the tribe of Μεγαβαροι, in demotic *Mkbr*, who in the time of Strabo shared the east bank of the Nile below Meroe with the Blemmyes and, like them, were subject to the Meroites; *cf.* Liverpool *Annals*, XI, 123.

[2] This is the view taken by ROEDER, *Die Christliche Zeit Nubiens*, 373 4.

[3] Above, p. 266. [4] Above, p. 265.

ADDENDUM.

p. 264. It should be pointed out that the Meroitic spelling of Pakharas, as well as the Greek, justifies the adoption of the reading Bakharas with *kh* in the Arabic name; the Meroitic letter in question must be approximately *kh*, see *K.I.*, p. 15, no. 15, *Journal*, III, 114 (aa) and (hh).

DOUBLE ENTRIES IN PTOLEMAIC TAX-RECEIPTS

By J. G. MILNE

The double entries of sums paid which occur frequently in tax-receipts on Ptolemaic ostraka have given occasion for a considerable amount of discussion, and the latest writer who deals with the question, Kühn (*B.G.U.*, VI, 94), says that no satisfactory explanation of them has yet been given. But both he and P. M. Meyer (*Griech. Texte*, 122) seem to have overlooked the note of Grenfell and Hunt (*Tebtunis Papyri*, I, 593), where a solution for the double entries is suggested which, as will be shown, appears to be substantially correct: *viz.*, that the higher figures represent the amounts actually paid into the bank, the lower those which were credited to the payers or collectors as paid in respect of the tax after the deduction of various extra charges, including ἀλλαγή: these charges varied as between different taxes, but were approximately the same for payments of the same tax[1]. The additional examples which have become available since their note was written make it possible to give a fuller account of the practice in regard to such entries, but do not conflict with the general theory stated therein.

These double entries are found almost exclusively on ostraka[2]: apparently there is only one instance on a papyrus (B.G.U. 994). They are all in bank-receipts, and the lower entry is regularly in the body of the receipt, the higher being added at the end, sometimes with the signature of the banker, or occasionally in the margin, presumably for convenience of space. It is clear that the higher entry was not an essential part of the receipt, as it does not occur in a large proportion of the receipts which have been preserved, and there are instances where, of two receipts given under identical circumstances, one carries a second entry and the other does not: for example, B.G.U. 1314. 1315, and 1316 are all given by the same banker to the same payer for the same sum in respect of the same tax: but 1316 has no second entry, though 1314 and 1315, dated in the previous month, have such entries. The most important part of the record was of course the sum received by the State on account of the tax: the extra charges were a matter of transient moment as between the banker and his client, and there was presumably no legal obligation to record their amount.

In the list which follows, the instances of double entries have been grouped under the names of the taxes to which they relate: all points of possible importance for the consideration of the problem have been included in the tables or mentioned in notes. The

[1] The circumstance that Grenfell and Hunt's explanation had escaped his notice may be the reason why Kühn seems to have misunderstood my note in *Theban Ostraca*, 75: the statement there that certain payments were in copper at a discount was not intended to convey that the double entries were wholly concerned with the ἀλλαγή, but, as there was nothing further then to be added to the explanation given by Grenfell and Hunt, I did not discuss the point. The expansion of my words by Meyer is apparently based on the same misconception.

[2] This fact is of course due to the origin of the great bulk of Ptolemaic tax-receipts being Upper Egypt, where the use of ostraka for small documents was common: hardly any of the Ptolemaic papyri from Middle Egypt which have been published deal with questions of this class.

	Date B.C.	Place	Sum Credited	Sum Paid	Addition %	Currency	Banker	Payer	Reference
Ἀκροδρύων									
	103	Syene	525	630	20·		Ammonios	Ammonios Kraterou	B.G.U. 1308
	93	n.l.	2000	2400	20·		Kephalos	Petechonsis	Ashm. 1
	86	Syene	1750	2100	20·	(*b*)	Ammonios	Tapomaus Tareous	B.G.U. 1307
	80	„	500	600	20·	(*b*)	„	?	G.O. 1
	77	„	1500	1800	20·	(*b*)	„	priests of Asklepios	B.G.U. 1309
Ἁλιειῶν									
	153	Diospolis	15645	18000	15·05	(*b*)	Ptolemaios	Simon	G.O. 337
	„	„	2140	2460	14·95	(*b*)	„	„	G.O. 339
	152	„	580	670	15·52	(*b*)	„	„	G.O. 340
	134	„	3000	3450	15·		Diogenes	Libys and co.	Bodl. 1132
	130	„	1720	2000	16·28		Herakleides	Nikolaos and Thieras	G.O. 349
	129	„	3000	34[50?]	15· (?)		„	Bie[rtas]	Bodl. 2226
	„	„	1040	1200	15·38		„	Bierτas	G.O. 1522
	103	Syene	1040	1250	20·19		Ammonios	Psenpoeris Pasemios	B.G.U. 1314
	„	„	1040	1245	19·71	(*b*)	„	„	B.G.U. 1315
	100	(Diospolis)	5000	6000	20·	(*a*)	Kephalos	Horos and co.	G.O. 326
	99	Syene	2315	2780	20·09	(*b*)	Ammonios	Psenpoeris Bienchios	B.G.U. 1317
	„	„	2000	2400	20·	(*b*)	„	Pachnoubis Psenpoerios	B.G.U. 1318
	97	Diospolis	6660	8000	20·27		Kephalos	Horos Lykou and co.	G.O. 1347
	96	(„)	1660	2000	20·48	(*a*)	„	Horos	G.O. 1348
	95 (?)	n.l.	330	400	21·21		n.n.	Phauetis	Bodl. 2215
	94	(Diospolis)	1660	2000	20·48	(*a*)	Kephalos	Kametis	B.G.U. 1312
	85	„	335	400	19·40		„	Horos Lykou	G.O. 346
	„	„	60000	72000(?)	20· (?)		„	Horos and Siephmous	B.G.U. 1313
Ἀμπελικόν									
	134	Diospolis	250	290	16·		Apunchis	[?]	Str. 19
Ἀπόμοιρα									
	149 or 138	(Diospolis): for outside	3200	3300(?)	3·12		Herakleides	Peteminis prostates	Bodl. 2172
	„	Diospolis for Koptos	3150	3315	5·24		A[?]	priests of Ammon *per* Peteminis	Bodl. 1149
	147 or 136	„ „	4880	4980	2·05		Am[?]	Peteminis	Bodl. 2209
	127	„	4000	4400	10·		Har()	Tad..ris Amenothou	Str. 21
	123	„ „	23375	25000	6·95		Ptolemaios	Apollonios Menandrou	Gr. T. 1
	„	„ „	1600	1720	7·5		„	Hermone Apolloniou	Gr. T. 2
	115(?)	Koptos	750	830	10·66		Paniskos	Horos Thoteutou	Bodl. 2169
	112	Hermonthis	1180	1300	10·10		Du()	Pasemis Pasitos	Gr. T. 4
	„	Diospolis	2280	2520	10·52		D()	Herieus Imouthou	G.O. 322
	111	Hermonthis	1340	1500	11·94		Dionysios	Herakles Agatharchou	Bodl. 2166
	107 (prob.)	n.l.	18175	20000	10·04		n.n.	Lysimachos Apolloniou	G.O. 355[1]
	„	Diospolis	2800	3080	10·		[?]	Thermouthion(?) Mekphreous	G.O. 1315
	101	„	1525	1700	11·48		n.n.	Apollonios Apolloniou	G.O. 354
	100	„	6000	6600	10·		n.n.	Kretullion Spokeious	Str. 28
	99(?)	Hermonthis	3060	3300	7·84		Pa(niskos?)	Phatres Phar[?]	Bodl. 1159
	„	Diospolis	7600	8400	10·53	(*a*)	Kephalos	Herieus Imouthou	G.O. 1345

	98	„	900	1000	11·11		n.n.	Panas Leontos	B.G.U. 1338
	92	(„)	2025	2230	10·12		Kephalos	Kales (*l*)	G.O. 332
	55	Koptos	2260	2490	10·18		[?]	Zmithis Hermiou	Petrie 52
	37	Syene	2345	2815	20·04	(*b*)	Apollonios	Akrarzmethis Petearsnouphios	S.B. 1096
	?	[?]	1350	1500	11·11		Apollonios	Psenmonthes Snuch[?]	Bodl. 2689
Ἀπόμοιρα and ἐπαρούριον	121	Hermonthis	15240 \| 1000	17860	9·98		S()	Kimon Thoteutos	Str. 22
	119	Koptos	2780 \| 1660	4970	11·94		Kephalos	Phatres Pchoirios	G.O. 1234
	„	n.l.	3360	3700	10·12		n.n.	Beltounnis Permamios	G.O. 352
	118	Diospolis	1800	2000	11·11		Eirenaios	Herakles Perigenou	Bodl. 2171
	„	Diospolis for Koptos	800	880	10·		„ (?)	Apollonios Menandrou	B.G.U. 1337
	99	n.l.	6800 \| 2000	9680	10·		Kephalos	Ammonios Hermogenous	Camb. 8
	47	n.l.	1015	1130	11·33	(*a*)	Herakleides	Teiko() Nepere[?]	Bodl. 1924
Ἐπαρούριον	126	Hermonthis	1500	1605	7· ·	(*a*)	Herakleides	Harendotes Thoteos	G.O. 350
	123	Syene	1305	1400	7·28	(*c*)	Ammonios	Ammonios Asklepiadou	B.G.U. 1354
	120	Diospolis	2100	2300	9·52		Eirenaios	Straton Menodorou	Str. 24
	119	„	5400	6000	11·11		„	Ammonios Hermophilou	G.O. 1532
	98	Hermonthis	1125	1240	10·22	(*a*)	Theodoros	Athenodoros Aristonos	Bodl. 2137
	37	Syene	585	645	10·26		Apollonios	Akrarzmethis Petearsnouphios	S.B. 1096
Βαλανείων	155 or 144	Hermonthis	3470	4000	15·27		Hermias	Ammonios Onnophreos	Gr. T. 11
	154 or 143	„	3620	4180	15·47		Hermophilos	Psemmonthes	Theb. O. 2
Βαφέων	151	Diospolis	400	460	15·		Ptolemaios	Ptolemaios	G.O. 1516
Ἐγκύκλιον	104	Diospolis	215000	258000	20·		Kephalos	Asklepiades and co.	Bodl. 2494
Ἐννόμιον	166 (prob.)	Diospolis	117	135	15·38	(*b*)	Antigenes	Abramos and Diokles	Bodl. 2865
	146	„	6000 \| 3350	[] 38[. .]	?		Lysimachos	[] and Biertas	Camb. 4
	129	Krokodilopolis	1000	1200	20·		Di(onysios ?)	Panebchounis Toteous	G.O. 1620
	121	„	1950	2300(?)	17·94(?)		Antiochos (?)	Pates Petesouchou	S.B. 4326[2]
	113	Hermonthis	10809	11970	10·74		Ammonios	Ammonios and co.	G.O. 319
	107 (prob.)	„	7580	8340	10 03		Di(onysios ?)	Poeris Pasemios	G.O. 324
Ἐπωνίων	154	Diospolis	200	230	15·	(*b*)	Ptolemaios	Apollonios	G.O. 1506
	„	„	3000	3450	15·	(*b*)	„	Apollonios and Ptolemaios	Bodl. 638
Ζυτηρά	140 (prob.)	Diospolis	43260	45840	5·96		Herakleides	Arch(...) and co.	Str. 13
Κλη(?)	115	Diospolis	18000	20000	11·11		Eirenaios	Herakleides Apollonion	G.O. 1496[3]

[1] In l. 3 of Wilcken's text, read τρία ροε and γ ροε (Tait).

[2] Tait conjectures Ἀντίοχ(ος) in ll. 3 and 7 and Βτ in l. 8.

[3] The corrected reading of this ostrakon, now Bodl. 196, is due to Tait.

	Date B.C.	Place	Sum Credited	Sum Paid	Addition %	Currency	Banker	Payer	Reference
Κολλύβου									
Λινύφων	159/8	Diospolis	1734	2000	15·34	(*a*)	Apollonios	Psenchonsis	Bodl. 63
	149 or 138	Diospolis	2000	2084	4·2		Hermophilos	Pasenis	Str. 17[1]
	133	,,	1000	1020	2·		Diogenes	Panechates	Bodl. 2497
	121	Apollonospolis	2000	2080	4·		Eurenon	Psenchonsis Psenchonsios	B.G.U. 1359
	117	Diospolis	6000	6240	4·		Eirenaios	Petearoeris Horou	Bodl. 2146
Νιτρική									
	155	Diospolis	2085	2400	15·16	(*b*)	Ptolemaios	[?]	Theb. O. 8
	147 or 136	,,	1740	2000	14·94		Hermonax	Diphilos (?)	Bodl. 1196
	126/5	Apollonospolis	90000	111400	23·77		Apollonios	Herakleides	B.G.U. 1364
	115	Diospolis	500	600	20·		Eirenaios	Apollonios	G.O. 1497
Ὀθονιηρά									
Οἴνου τέλος	110	Diospolis	102000	104080	2·04		n.n.	Apollonios	G.O. 1499
	161	Diospolis	1140	1200	5·26	(*c*)	Ammonios	Aristomenes	Str. 10
	,,	,,	568	600	5·63	(*c*)	[?]	[?]	Str. 11
	150 or 139	,,	980	1050	7·14		Hermophilos	Pankrates	G.O. 344
	99 (prob.)	,,	910	1000	9·89		n.n.	n.n.	G.O. 327
Παντοπωλῶν									
	Philometor or Euergetes	Diospolis	2605	3000	15·16		[?]	[?]	Bodl. 1199
	136 (prob.)	,,	2680	3100	15·67		Herakleides	Herakleides	G.O. 347
	111 (prob.)	,,	20000	24000	20·		Kephalos	Asies	Bodl. 2165
Περιστερώνων									
	147 or 136	Hermonthis for Pathyris	1475	1700	15·25	(*a*)	Herakleides	Zmin[] and Senthotes	B.G.U. 1377[2]
	114	Diospolis	1250	1500	20·		Eirenaios	Harsiesis Petemestheos	Bodl. 1155
	112	,,	1000	1200	20·		,,	Psenapathes Inarotos	Bodl. 2217
	100	Krokodilopolis	1500	1800	20·		Paniskos	Patous Pelaiou	P.S.I. 258[3]
	,,	,,	1500	1800	20·		,,	Petosiris Harsiesios	Bodl. 2904[4]
	,,	,,	1000	1200	20·		,,	Semmouthis Drytonos	G.O. 1617
	,,	,,	3000	3600	20·		,,	Thermouthis: Semmonthis: Sempelaias	G.O. 1618
	52 (?)	n.l.	2400	2880	20·	(*a*)	Herakleides	Amenothes Apionos	Str. 31
Πλοίων									
	107/6	Syene	20000	24000	20·	(*b*)	Ammonios	Hermippos and Petesouchos	B.G.U. 1378
	106	,,	5000	6000	20·	(*b*)	,,	,, ,,	B.G.U. 1379
Πορθμίδων									
	154	Diospolis	867	1000	15·34	(*b*)	Ptolemaios	Sambathaios	G.O. 1351
	,,	,,	867	1000	15·34	(*b*)	,,	,,	G.O. 1504
	,,	,,	600	690	15	(*b*)	,,	,,	Bodl. 1330
	,,	,,	10434	12000	15·01	(*b*)	,,	,,	G.O. 1507
	,,	,,	1734	[2000]	[15·34]	(*b*)	,,	,,	Bodl. 424
	,,	,,	890	1040	16·85	(*b*)	,,	,,	G.O. 1508
	,,	,,	908	1050	15·64	(*b*)	,,	,,	Bodl. 817

	„	„	1734	2000	15·34		„	„	Bodl. 1596
	„	„	867	1000	15·34	(*b*)	„	„	G.O. 1354
	140	„	860	1000	16·28		Herakleides	Ptollis	Bodl. 2141
	150 or 139	„	1470	1700	15·65		Hermophilos	Portis and co.	G.O. 1517
	149 or 138	„	4180	4810	15·07		„	Asklepiades	G.O. 1357
	148 or 137	„	515	630	15·59	(*b*)	Asklepiades	Hereus	Bodl. 2140
	134	„	1730	[2000?]	15·61(?)		Diogenes	Isidoros	Bodl. 2208
	„	„	17140	19720	15·05		„	„	Theb. O. 9
Πρόστιμον									
	151 or 140	Koptos	1500	2030	35·33		Dositheos	Panechates ...eteaiou	Bodl. 2224
	123	„	30000	41250	37·5		n.n.	]antes Phaueris	B.G.U. 1414
	113	Diospolis	16450	21660	31·67		Eirenaios	Demetria Asklepiadou	Bodl. 2139
	108	Hermonthis	6000	8400	40·		Dionysios	Petearsemtheus and Tathuotis	Bodl. 2903
Πυροῦ τιμή									
	120	Diospolis	2300	2500	8·69		Eirenaios	Pastophoroi of []	Bodl. 829
Σκυτέων									
	150 or 139	Diospolis	500	575	15·	(*a*)	Asklepiades	Anklas Petosorbouchios	Str. 14
	„	„	3030	3485	15·02	(*b*)	„	Apo() Sollaiou	Bodl. 2156
	130 (?)	„	4360	5020	15·13	(*a*)	„	Apo() Salamis	G.O. 1359[5]
Tax uncertain									
	152	Diospolis	340	400	17·65	(*a*)	Ptolemaios	 Lobais	Bodl. 1190
	146	„	6800	?	?		Lysimachos	Ptolemaios	Camb. 3
	Philometor ?	[„]	1180	1300	10·17	(*b*)	Ptolemaios	 Aniketou	Bodl. 850
	Euergetes II ?	[„]	24290	27940	15·03		Diogenes	[?]	Bodl. 2367
	117	n.l.	34..	38..	?		Paniskos	Aniketos De[]	Petrie 53
	112 (prob.)	Hermonthis	3000	3600	20·	(*a*)	[?]	Pappion Memnonos	Str. 29
	100	Diospolis	1340	1450	8·21		Kephalos	Ches... ...chatou	Bodl. 2878
	2nd cent.	[?]	3750	5200	38·67	(*b*)	A...nios	[?]	Bodl. 2207

[1] The figure 2084 for the total is presumably due to a slip of the scribe, as a payment of four drachmas would have been impossible: there was no coin of less value than five. The entry should probably be 2080.

[2] The first two receipts in this group are stated to be for *τρίτη περιστερώνων*, the third for *πηχισμὸς περιστερώνων*, the rest for *πηχισμός*: but they clearly refer to the same tax.

[3] Tait conjectures *πηι$\bar{\chi}$*() for Μεν$\bar{\chi}$() in l. 3.

[4] I feel no doubt that the smudged word in l. 2, which I previously read as *πορθμ(ίδων)* (*Bodleian Quarterly Record*, II, 317), is meant for *πηχ(ισμοῦ)*: as noted by Sir H. Thompson, the word which is evidently its demotic equivalent in the text is used elsewhere of a dovecote.

[5] Tait suggests that the date should perhaps be read λ*αL* (as in Bodl. 2156) rather than *μL*: in l. 1 he reads Ἀσ(*κληπιάδης*) *τρα*(*πεζίτης*) Ἐκ.

evidence at my disposal has been very largely increased by the kindness of Mr. John Gavin Tait, who has furnished me with copies of many unpublished ostraka from the collection of Professor Sayce now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, as well as of a few from Cambridge, the Ashmolean Museum, and Sir Flinders Petrie's collection: he has also supplied revised readings of some of the Sayce ostraka published by Wilcken, and suggested emendations of other texts.

The only abbreviations in the list which require explanation are those in the sixth column: in some ostraka the nature of the currency in which the payment was made is specified, sometimes as *χαλκός* simply (here noted as (*a*)), sometimes more fully as *χαλκὸς οὗ ἀλλαγή* (*b*), *χαλκὸς ἰσόνομος* (*c*), or *χαλκὸς πρὸς ἀργύριον* (*d*). The sums credited and paid are entered in drachmas.

For the exact evaluation of the evidence given by these texts, it is necessary that the conditions of the Egyptian currency during the period within which they fall should be borne in mind. The dates of all are subsequent to the introduction of the copper standard in the reign of Epiphanes, and the sums paid are stated in copper drachmas. The smallest coin current in this period was a piece of five copper drachmas, while the two most commonly found in hoards of the second and first centuries B.C., which may therefore be assumed to have formed the main part of the currency in circulation, probably represented ten and a hundred drachmas respectively[1]. The actual payments to the banks had necessarily to be made in multiples of five drachmas, while there was a tendency, doubtless encouraged by considerations of convenience when small coins were not readily available, to bring them to multiples of ten or a hundred[2]: the growth of this tendency is illustrated by the ostraka in the list given above, where of those dated before 130 approximately one-half show payments of sums in multiples of a hundred; of those between 130 and 100, approximately three-fifths; of those after 100, approximately seven-tenths: and amounts requiring the use of a five-drachma coin occur only on three before 130 and two between 130 and 100. The circumstances under which the payments were made to the banks would contribute to their being in round sums: in a large proportion of the receipts the payers are tax-farmers, who passed into the bank from time to time the proceeds of their collection, as is illustrated by the series of receipts for the tax *πορθμίδων* dated in years 27–28 of Philometor. These are all to the account of the same collector, Sambathaios: and they show that he paid into the bank on 10 Tybi, 1000 dr.; on 25 Tybi, 1000; on 2 Pha[] (Phaophi, Phamenoth, or Pharmouthi), 690; on 17 Phamenoth, 1000 (G.O. 335, not included in the list, as no second entry was made); on 10 Pauni, 12,000; on 15 Epeiph, 2000; on 19 Epeiph, 1040; on 20 Mesore, 1050; on 19 Phaophi, 2000; on 29 Hathur, 1000. These figures suggest that whenever Sambathaios had collected a substantial amount from the men liable to the tax, he paid an instalment of one or more thousand drachmas into the bank, and occasionally cleared up the balance to within ten drachmas.

If added charges were calculated on a percentage of the amount credited in respect of the tax as paid to the State, it would, in view of the conditions of the currency, be necessary in many cases for the resulting total of tax + percentage to be adjusted for purposes of

[1] The evidence as to the values of the Ptolemaic copper currency is stated in my paper, *The copper coinage of the Ptolemies*, in Liverpool *Annals*, I, 30.

[2] The same avoidance of small currency may be found in most countries: for instance, though farthings are legal tender in England, few people take notice of them: banks do not recognize half-pence: as the sums in question grow larger, pence and shillings are disregarded in many reckonings.

payment to the nearest multiple of five drachmas, and convenient for it to be brought to the nearest ten or hundred, according to the actual coins which the payer had in hand. And this will be shown by the examination of the list in detail to be the obvious explanation of most cases, while there are very few which do not conform fairly closely to the principle: in nearly all, moreover, the adjustment is in favour of the banker; the payer rarely benefited, and when he did it was only by two or three drachmas. Two instances suggest that the cases where the adjustment was in favour of the payer may be explained by reference to other payments. In 153 Simon paid to Ptolemaios on 4 Hathur 2460 drachmas, which were accounted as 2140 for *τετάρτη ἁλιειῶν* (G.O. 339): as will be seen later, the percentage of added charges was presumably 15, and the exact sum payable would therefore have been 2461, so that Simon profited to the extent of a drachma: but on 20 Mesore he had paid 18,000 dr., credited as 15,645 for the same tax (G.O. 337), and thus had overpaid, on an exact percentage basis, $8\frac{1}{4}$ dr., which may have been taken into consideration in settling the details of the later payment. In 103 Psenpoeris paid, in Choiak for Mecheir, 1245 dr., giving a credit of 1040 against the same tax (B.G.U. 1315): as the percentage of added charges was at this date 20, he paid 3 dr. too little: but in the same month he paid, for that month, 1250 dr. in respect of a tax-payment of 1040 (B.G.U. 1314), or 2 dr. too much. The fact that the sum entered as the tax is the same in both these receipts to Psenpoeris, and in a third receipt to him (B.G.U. 1316) the tax is again 1040 dr. in the next month, points to the conclusion that the amount due for or credited against the tax was the basic sum on which the percentage of charges was calculated: and this would seem to be the natural explanation of most of the double entries given in the list.

(A). Taxes assessed in Silver.

The taxes which are stated in one or more instances in the list to have been paid in *χαλκὸς οὗ ἀλλαγή* are (i) *ἀκροδρύων*, (ii) *ἁλιειῶν*, (ix) *ἐννόμιον*, (x) *ἐπωνίων*, (xiii) *κολλύβου*, (xv) *νιτρική*, (xx) *πλοίων*, (xxi) *πορθμίδων*, and (xxiv) *σκυτέων*: in the same group may be placed (iii) *ἀμπελικόν*, (vi) *βαλανείων*, (vii) *βαφέων*, (viii) *ἐγκύκλιον*, (xviii) *παντοπωλῶν*, and (xix) *περιστερώνων*[1], though none of the examples under consideration happens to specify the medium of payment in full. The normal rates of addition to the basic charge will be seen to be in the earlier period approximately 15 %, the latest clear instance of this being in 129 B.C. (G.O. 1522), and in the later period approximately 20 %, the earliest case of this being in the same year (G.O. 1620).

The receipts which show a payment exactly at these rates above the basic sum are, following the order of the list, (i) B.G.U. 1308, Ashm. 1, B.G.U. 1307, G.O. 1, B.G.U. 1309, (ii) Bodl. 1132, G.O. 326, B.G.U. 1318, 1313, (vii) G.O. 1516, (viii) Bodl. 2494, (ix) G.O. 1620, (x) G.O. 1506, Bodl. 638, (xv) G.O. 1497, (xviii) Bodl. 2165, (xix) Bodl. 1155, 2217, P.S.I. 258, Bodl. 2904, G.O. 1617, 1618, Str. 31, (xx) B.G.U. 1378, 1379, (xxi) Bodl. 1330, (xxiv) Str. 14—in all, 27. Rather more than this number—32 examples—bear a total sum which is adjusted to a round figure not more than 10 dr. above or below that resulting from an addition of the regular percentage to the basic amount: the adjustment is in favour of the bank in (ii) G.O. 337, 340, 1522, B.G.U. 1314, 1317, G.O. 1347, 1348, Bodl. 2215, B.G.U. 1312, (iii) Str. 19, (vi) Gr. T. 11, (ix) Bodl. 2865, (xiii) Bodl. 63, (xv) Theb. O. 8, (xviii) Bodl. 1199, (xix) B.G.U. 1377, (xxi) G.O. 1351, 1504, 1507, Bodl. 817, 1596, G.O.

[1] In G.O. 1228 the *τρίτη περιστερώνων* is stated to be paid in *χαλκὸς οὗ ἀλλαγή*: as there is no second entry, this ostrakon is not included in my list.

1354, 1517, 1357, Bodl. 2140, Theb. O. 9, (xxiv) Bodl. 2156, G.O. 1359: and in favour of the payer in (ii) G.O. 339, B.G.U. 1315, G.O. 346, (xv) Bodl. 1196. In a few cases the adjustment goes beyond the amount of 10 dr.: in (ii) G.O. 349, 11 dr. are added in a payment of 2000 dr.: in (vi) Theb. O. 2, 17 dr. in 4180; in (xviii) G.O. 347, 18 dr. in 3100; in (xxi) G.O. 1508, 16½ dr. in 1040; in Bodl. 2141, 11 dr. in 1000; and in Bodl. 2208. 10½ dr. in 2000. The reason for the comparatively substantial addition in three of these six receipts was probably to make up the round thousand drachmas: the others do not offer such an obvious explanation, but there may well have been some balancing of accounts in question: and anyhow the amount involved, at most 18 copper drachmas, is not large.

There remain, however, four instances which do not seem to conform to the general principles which have been stated Three of these concern the same tax, *ἐννόμιον*, as to which the evidence is unfortunately rather fragmentary. The earliest receipt for this tax (Bodl. 2865) has an addition which is within half a drachma of 15 : the next in date (Camb. 4) is broken, but it shows a credit for the tax of 3350 dr. and a payment of something over 3800 dr. (the tens and units being lost), which points to an addition approximating to 15 %: both of these are from Diospolis. A few years later, in 129 B.C., G.O. 1620 from Krokodilopolis gives an addition of exactly 20 %: but, in 121 B.C., S.B. 4326 from the same place has apparently a credit of 1950 dr. and a payment of 2300, which if correctly stated would be 40 dr. below the full sum produced by an added charge of 20 . This is not an impossibly wide margin, if the transaction be assumed to be one of a series, in which adjustments were made from time to time, and it was found convenient for the payment to be in a round hundred. The two latest instances, however, which both come from Hermonthis (G.O. 319 and 324), cannot be brought into relation with an added percentage of 20: in the first the addition is 10 % plus $80\frac{1}{10}$ dr., in the second 10 plus 2 dr. The second at any rate suggests that for some reason the percentage at Hermonthis was at this period 10 only: as this was the rate for taxes paid in *χαλκὸς ἰσόνομος*, it may be that the *ἐννόμιον* was transferred about 120 B.C. from the category of taxes assessed on a silver basis to that of taxes assessed in copper: an instance of the converse transfer will be found in the case of *ἀπόμοιρα* at a later date.

The other abnormal document is an ostrakon from Apollonospolis (B.G.U. 1364) dealing with *νιτρική*. Three receipts for this tax from Diospolis conform closely to the general rates of 15 % before 129 B.C. and 20 % later: but that from Apollonospolis, which is dated in 126/5 B.C., and might therefore be expected to have an addition of 20 , shows a total payment of 18 talents 3400 dr. in respect of a tax of 15 talents: and, as the addition of the normal percentage would have given a round sum of 18 talents, it is not obvious why an extra 3400 dr. should have been collected.

Summarily it may be said that the evidence derived from the ostraka from Diospolis and Syene in respect of taxes payable in *χαλκὸς οὐ ἀλλαγή* is all in favour of the theory that payments were made in sums which included the amount due as tax and an added percentage, which was, before 129 B.C., 15 and, after that date, 20: small adjustments of the totals calculated on this basis were effected for convenience in obtaining round sums suitable to the units of currency, and possibly these adjustments might be brought into relation with previous or subsequent transactions. The apparent exceptions to the theory come from other places, and may perhaps point to local variations in practice: but the ostraka from these places—Krokodilopolis, Hermonthis, and Apollonospolis—are comparatively few in number, and do not provide sufficient material for a definite conclusion.

(B). Taxes assessed in Copper.

The receipts for taxes stated as paid in *χαλκὸς ἰσόνομος*—*viz.*, *ἀπόμοιρα*, *ἐπαρούριον*, and *οἴνου τέλος*—show much more variation than those in the previous group, and must be considered in more detail. With them may be classed a receipt for a payment *εἰς τὴν η̄∠ τῶν κλη()*[1] and one for *πυροῦ τιμή*, which appear to bear a general resemblance to them; and, as somewhat kindred, the receipts for *ζυτηρά*, *ἱστέων λινύφων*, and *ὀθονιηρά*, which form a sub-group with special rates.

The fullest evidence is that for the two taxes named first, the payments for which were in several instances lumped together: it will therefore be best to treat them as one series. The apomoira was originally farmed *πρὸς χαλκόν*, and a bank-receipt of year 23 of Euergetes I shows a payment of 8 dr. *χαλκοῦ ἰσονόμου* without any addition: the tax might also be paid in kind, as appears from a receipt of year 8, probably of Philopator, acknowledging 5 choes 3 kotylai of wine for *ἀπόμοιρα* and 10 choes for *οἰνολογία*[2]. The three earliest examples of double entries connected with this tax (Bodl. 2172, 1149, and 2209), dated respectively in years 32, 33, and 34 (of Philometor or Euergetes II), may perhaps be connected, as in all three a Peteminis appears as the payer: in the first he is described as prostates, paying for apomoira *τῶν ἄλλων χωρίων Ἄνω τόπου*, presumably to the bank at Diospolis: in the second the priests of Ammon pay through him into the bank at Diospolis *ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κοπτίτου*: in the third he pays into the same bank for the same district. The rates of addition vary: the first receipt is for 3200 dr. with a payment of 3300, the second for 3150 with 3315, the third for 4880 with 4980: the additions, in terms of the nearest exact percentages, would be 3 % + 4 dr., 5 % + 7½ dr., and 2 % + 2⅖ dr.: but the irregularity of these rates in what appear to be similar transactions suggests that the additions at this time were calculated in some manner other than a percentage on the sum due. Somewhat later, in the decade 130 to 120, there is a marked rise in the rates of addition: in 127 a receipt for apomoira from Diospolis (Str. 21) shows a charge of exactly 10 %: in 126 one for eparourion from Hermonthis (G.O. 350) one of exactly 7 %: in 123 two for apomoira from Diospolis for Koptos, given on the same day by the same bank (Gr. T. 1 and 2), have additions of 11¼ dr. under and 8 dr. over 7 % respectively, and one for eparourion from Syene (B.G.U. 1354) one of 3$\frac{13}{20}$ dr. over 7 %. In 121 an ostrakon from Hermonthis (Str. 22) with an entry for both taxes has an addition of 10 % less 4 dr.: and thereafter nearly all the receipts show additions closely approximating to 10 %. There is sometimes rather a large excess over the exact 10 %—in Bodl. 2166 26 dr., in G.O. 354 22½ dr., in G.O. 1345 40 dr., and in Bodl. 2171 20 dr.: but as in each of these cases the final sum is a multiple of a hundred, the calculation may have been adjusted to the nearest

[1] The meaning of the entry *εἰς τὴν η̄∠ τῶν κλη()* is not obvious. The abbreviated word may be, as proposed by Wilcken, *κληρούχων*: it suggests a connection with B.G.U. 1350, a receipt probably from Koptos for *δρα(χμῆς) λβ∠ κλη()*, where Kühn conjectures *κληρονομίων* or *κληρούχων*: the tax *δραχμῆς* also occurs in B.G.U. 1344 together with apomoira and in B.G.U. 1346 together with apomoira and eparourion, both from Apollonospolis. But these do not help to elucidate the meaning: the proportions of the charge *δραχμῆς* to the other taxes are not the same in the two cases: in the first the payments are 5275 dr. for apomoira and 215 dr. for drachme; in the second 6450 dr. for apomoira, 1570 for eparourion, and 750 for drachme. Also *η∠*, presumably 8½, does not seem to fit in with the drachma as a possible fraction of some larger unit. The most that can be said at present is that the tax evidently belonged to the same group as apomoira and eparourion, and may have been a special charge on kleruchs.

[2] My information about these two ostraka, Bodl. 1151 and 2869, is due to Tait.

hundred drachmas. The only noteworthy exceptions are Bodl. 1159, if this is correctly dated to 99 B.C.[1], where the addition is $4\frac{4}{5}$ dr. less than 8 %; G.O. 1234, where the excess over 10 % is 86 dr., and the resultant sum the rather peculiar one of 4970 dr. (which suggests that there is a clerical mistake in the entry, which should be 4900); and S.B. 1096, where the payment for apomoira is in *χαλκὸς οὐ ἀλλαγή* and the addition is 20 % + 1 dr., but that for eparourion, as to which the nature of the currency is not specified, is 10 % + $1\frac{1}{2}$ dr.

The earliest receipts for *οἴνου τέλος* (Str. 10 and 11) are stated to be in *χαλκὸς ἰσόνομος*, and show additions of approximately 5 %, the round sums paid being respectively 3 dr. and $3\frac{3}{5}$ dr. above the total of the sum credited plus the exact percentage: both are from Diospolis and dated in 161. Rather later, in 150 or 139, a receipt from the same place (G.O. 344) has an addition of $1\frac{2}{5}$ dr. above a percentage of 7: while in 99 another, also from Diospolis (G.O. 327), gives a round sum paid which is 1 dr. below that which would be produced by an addition of 10 %. These cases seem to follow a fairly regular progression.

The only instance of the tax *η̄∠ τῶν κλη()*, the meaning of which is obscure, comes from Diospolis and is dated in 115 (G.O. 1496): it may be treated as having an adjusted addition of 10 % similar to those for apomoira of the same period: the total is 200 dr. above that resulting from the addition of an exact 10 %, but, as it is a round sum of 20,000 dr., it may have been made up to this figure for convenience.

The one receipt for *πυροῦ τιμή* (Bodl. 829) does not conform very closely to the general practice: it is of the year 120 from Diospolis, when an addition of 10 might have been expected: but the payment is 30 dr. below this. It may, however, have been adjusted, like the last, to produce a convenient round sum, the actual amount paid being 2500 dr.: it was made by the pastophoroi of a god whose name is lost, who would be regular clients of the bank and so in a position to get a series of transactions balanced one against another.

The evidence as regards these five taxes may be summarized as follows. Before 130 B.C. there are six receipts, three approximating to a charge of 5 %, and one each to 2 %, 3 %, and 7 %: between 130 and 121 there are four instances of approximately 7 % and one of 10 %: from 121 onwards the charge in twenty-four cases is in the neighbourhood of 10 %, while one exceptional example, possibly of the year 99, is nearly 8 %: and the latest, probably of 37 B.C., shows a change in the medium of payment for apomoira to *χαλκὸς οὐ ἀλλαγή* and a consequent charge of 20 %.

The receipts for the other sub-group of three taxes are much fewer in number, and it is not easy to bring them into a regular series. For *ζυτηρά* there is only one example (Str. 13), from Diospolis, probably of 140 B.C., which has an addition of $15\frac{3}{5}$ dr. less than 6 % on a total payment of 45,840 dr. The earliest receipt for *ἱστεων λινύφων* (Str. 17), from Diospolis, of 149 or 138, states a payment of 2084 dr.: the final 4 is exceptional, and looks like an error of the scribe: if the entry should have been 2080, the addition is exactly 4 %. This correction seems the more probable as the percentage added in the other three receipts for this tax is always an exact one: in Bodl. 2497 of 133 from Diospolis it is 2 %, in B.G.U. 1359 of 121 from Apollonospolis and Bodl. 2146 of 117 from Diospolis it is 4 %.

[1] Tait suggests that the year 16 in which this ostrakon is dated is possibly of Alexander, *i.e.*, 99 B.C.: but there is nothing in the text to give a further clue. The variation in the rate of charges from that normal at Diospolis at this date may perhaps be explained by the fact that it comes from Hermonthis: as noted previously, the rates at Hermonthis do not always agree with those at Diospolis.

Of *ὀθονιηρά* there is only one example (G.O. 1499), of 110 from Diospolis, which has a charge of 40 dr. over 2 °/₀ in the total of 104,080 dr.

The rates of charges for these trade taxes seem therefore to have varied, not only as between the different taxes, but for the same tax at different dates. It may, however, be noted that they were normally lower than those on the taxes of the apomoira group.

(C). Payments for *πρόστιμα*.

The payments for *πρόστιμα* show a much larger percentage of addition than any others. The earliest (Bodl. 2224), of 151 or 140 B.C., from Koptos, is a receipt for 2030 dr. in respect of a tax of 1500 dr., the added charge being 5 dr. above 35 °/₀: the receipt is stated to be for *θέμα προστίμου* of the previous year, with *τὰ καθήκοντα τέλη διπλᾶ*. Another from Koptos (B.G.U. 1414), of 123, is for 41,250 dr. in respect of 30,000, giving an addition of exactly $37\frac{1}{2}$ °/₀: the entry is mutilated, and the words after *προστίμων* are lost. The next (Bodl. 2139), from Diospolis, probably dated in 113, is for 21,660 dr. in respect of 16,450, the addition being $28\frac{1}{4}$ dr. above $31\frac{1}{2}$ °/₀: this is for *πρόστιμον μεταφυτείας καὶ τὰ καθήκοντα τέλη*, the payer being a woman. The latest (Bodl. 2903), of 108 from Hermonthis, is for 8400 dr. in respect of 6000, so that the charge is exactly 40 °/₀: here the statement is for *πρόστιμον* simply. With these may be compared a fragmentary ostrakon (Bodl. 2207), possibly of the same period, where the name of the tax is lost, but the addition in a total of 5200 dr. is $44\frac{3}{4}$ dr. above the rate of $37\frac{1}{2}$ °/₀ found in B.G.U. 1414: it may be conjectured that this also relates to a payment for *πρόστιμον*, and it is definitely stated that it includes *τὰ καθήκοντα τέλη διπλᾶ* and is made in *χαλκὸς οὗ ἀλλαγή*.

It thus appears that in the collection of *πρόστιμα* the rate of extra charges was sometimes double the normal one on taxes paid in copper at a discount, and it is probable that this was the principle followed in all the cases quoted, though the doubling is not always specified: it was not a material point for the purposes of the receipt, and might be omitted, just as many receipts do not state whether a payment was made in copper at par or in copper at a discount, and many do not give a note of the sum actually paid as distinct from the sum credited against the tax. The additions made in the instances quoted above are not, it is true, always on a rate of percentage double that which has been found in regard to other taxes: in the earliest case a rate of approximately 30 °/₀ instead of 35 °/₀ might have been expected, in the second and third a rate of about 40 °/₀ instead of $37\frac{1}{2}$ °/₀ and $31\frac{1}{2}$ °/₀: the latest, however, is exactly double the normal rate of the period[1].

If all the classes of receipts are taken together, the evidence seems practically conclusive that after 110 there was an addition of 10 °/₀ in respect of taxes paid in *χαλκὸς ἰσόνομος* (reservation being made with regard to trade taxes such as *ζυτηρά*, for which there are no receipts after this date), and of 20 °/₀ in respect of those paid in *χαλκὸς οὗ ἀλλαγή*, except for *πρόστιμα*, on which the rate was double the last. Before that date the rates had been more variable and lower, but with a general tendency to increase: the charges on *χαλκὸς οὗ ἀλλαγή* had never been less than 15 °/₀ after the first appearance of the system of double entries on receipts, and had reached their final level of 20 °/₀ by 129 B.C.: the final rate of 10 °/₀ on *χαλκὸς ἰσόνομος* did not become normal till rather later, lower rates

[1] The possible meanings of *πρόστιμον* are discussed in my note in *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, II, 314: but they do not throw any light on the problem why the added charges should have been double the normal in the case of this tax. It is perhaps significant that the payment of *τὰ καθήκοντα τέλη* is regularly noted in the receipts for *πρόστιμον*, even though their amount is not stated (G.O. 342, 351, 1232, 1515).

occurring till 121 in receipts for apomoira and kindred taxes, while the trade taxes, which had always showed small percentages of addition, do not occur in any documents containing double entries after 110, and it is not possible at present to say whether they were brought into line with other taxes in this respect.

It remains to consider the nature and composition of these added charges—*τὰ καθήκοντα τέλη*—and here fortunately documentary evidence from another source is available. The fact that the addition in the case of taxes paid in copper at a discount is usually about 10 % higher than that in those paid in copper at par suggests at once that this difference represents the discount: and it is actually very close to the rate specified in P. Par. 62, the most probable date for which is 181 B.C.[1] Here the farmers are required to pay into the banks in respect of taxes farmed *πρὸς ἀργύριον* an *ἀλλαγή* of 10$\frac{5}{12}$ %, with other charges making a total in all of 12$\frac{1}{2}$ %, while different rates of charges were prescribed for taxes farmed *πρὸς χαλκόν*: in the case of *ζυτηρά*, the only one for which the rate is preserved, it is 3 %. All the other evidence as to the rate of discount on copper in Ptolemaic times agrees with this in placing it at about 10 %,[2] a rate which lasted on into the Roman period: and there seems to be no reason for doubting that this discount explains a part of the added charges.

The other charges are more obscure. As noted above, the total addition authorized in P. Par. 62 was, in the case of taxes farmed in silver, 12$\frac{1}{2}$ %, while the rates shown in ostraka from Upper Egypt are normally about 15 % or, later, 20 %. The total in P. Par. 62 is made up of the *ἀλλαγή*, with $\frac{1}{2}$ % for *καταγώγιον* and 1$\frac{7}{12}$ % for *τιμὴ σπυρίδων* and other expenses: and, as this papyrus states the conditions under which the farming was to be let in the Oxyrhynchite nome, if *καταγώγιον* refers, as is probable, to the charges for transporting the proceeds of the taxes from the place of collection to Alexandria, it is natural that a higher rate should be found in Theban receipts, since the distance for transport was greater in their case. This does not, however, fully explain the difference: if $\frac{1}{2}$ % were the proper charge for transport from Oxyrhynchos, 1 % might have been expected to suffice for Thebes on a reckoning by distance. On the other hand, the authorized charge for *καταγώγιον* from Oxyrhynchos as stated in the same papyrus in respect of *ζυτηρά*, which was farmed *πρὸς χαλκόν*, was 2 %: and, though the costs of transporting the proceeds of a tax nominally paid in copper might perhaps, at any rate in the view of a Levantine official, reasonably be put proportionally higher than those of one nominally paid in silver, the difference is still rather remarkable. It must also be remembered that P. Par. 62 is probably some years earlier than the oldest of the ostraka in the list given above (Bodl. 2865, probably of 166 B.C.); and, just as there was an increase in the scales of charges between 130 and 110, so there may have been an increase shortly after 180.

The specific evidence of P. Par. 62 at any rate shows that in the Oxyrhynchite nome in 180 B.C. one rate of 12$\frac{1}{2}$ % was fixed for added charges on taxes payable on a silver basis, another of 3 % on *ζυτηρά*, and a third, unfortunately lost, on other taxes payable on a copper basis. These are comparable with the figures from the Thebaid beginning at a somewhat later date, which give 15 %, rising to 20 %, for the first class, 6 % for *ζυτηρά*, and for the last class rates at first varying from 2 to 7 % which finally settled down to a

[1] P. Par. 62 is dated in year 1, and the writing seems clearly earlier than year 1 of Soter II. Professor Hunt considers year 1 of Philometor a more probable date: there is no definite evidence for a year 1 of Kleopatra II, which would be presumably 131.

[2] See GRENFELL and HUNT's Appendix II in *Tebtunis Papyri*, I, 580.

general 10 %. The most probable conclusion would seem to be that, apart from the charge for ἀλλαγή, which was approximately the same at all times and places, the government fixed the allowances for costs of collection when a lease of a tax-farm was granted, and these allowances might vary in different years and for different nomes, with special rates for certain classes, as the circumstances required: the "Revenue Papyrus" and P. Par. 62, which state the conditions of certain leases, go into details of the allowances more minutely than would be necessary if they were universal and invariable.

It might be supposed that the ἀλλαγή also would have varied substantially from time to time: but as a matter of fact this charge was an economic anachronism in the second and first centuries B.C. (and even more so under Roman rule), and showed the resistance to change which is natural in an anachronism. When the system of discounting copper was originally introduced is uncertain: but it occurs in the third century B.C., at which period there was an ostensible reason for its existence. The currency introduced by the Ptolemies was based on a silver standard, and the copper coins were reckoned as fractions of a silver drachma[1]: at first the various denominations of copper seem to have been struck with a metal content slightly below their nominal value in relation to silver, and consequently, if a payment were made in copper, the recipient would get a collection of coins whose currency value was rather more than their bullion value. The use of coins was comparatively new in Egypt, and the tradition of regarding them as bullion was probably still strong: so that it was not unnatural that, if a tax was supposed to be paid in silver, the collector, if paid in copper, should charge something extra in order to secure the actual equivalent in copper bullion of the amount due in silver. For some reason, which is not evident, the government had decided that some collections should be farmed in silver and others in copper: an instance of the latter is the oil-monopoly, as to which (in P. Rev. 60) it is stated that the collection was leased πρὸς χαλκόν, and 24 obols would be accepted as a stater: in the alternative of taxes leased πρὸς ἀργύριον, the rate of acceptance of copper would be about $26\frac{1}{4}$ obols to the stater.

The metal content of the copper currency, however, diminished rapidly towards the end of the third century: and it was probably to meet the economic confusion which would result from this depreciation that the government in the reign of Epiphanes introduced a copper standard. Thereafter the normal unit of account in Egypt was the copper drachma, and the copper coinage became purely a token-issue: conversions of copper drachmas into silver are stated at ratios of 300 to 1 and upwards, which are so vastly in excess of any possible ratio of metal-values that it is clear that the copper drachma was only a term of account. This change obviously destroyed the justification for the charge of an *agio* on copper when paid as the equivalent of silver: but the practice was well established, and the authorities were not likely to give up the opportunity of making an extra 10 % on the nominal proceeds of certain taxes. It would, however, have been risky to vary the rate: so long as it remained unchanged, the taxpayers might be expected to go on paying it without demur: but if it had fluctuated, some enquiring mind might have been prompted to look into the reasons for its fluctuation, and thence go on to investigate the reasons for its existence. So the government left well alone.

These considerations would not apply to the other extra charges for transport, packing, and costs of collection: and the general rise in the percentages charged during the latter part of the second century may be related to the rise in prices and cost of living at the

[1] See the article quoted in note 1 on p. 274.

same time of which there is independent evidence. These charges, as distinct from the ἀλλαγή, represented out-of-pocket expenses on the part of the farmers, and it is natural that the allowances for them should have varied in accordance with current prices in each district. The variations between the rates for different taxes in the same district is at first sight more remarkable: but it is clear from P. Par. 62 that these were officially recognized; and a similar variation occurs in Roman times in respect of extra charges—*e.g.*, in P. Lond. 372 the extra charges on one class of naubion are to be reckoned at $\frac{1}{10}$th and on another at $\frac{1}{5}$th. There may have been some reason originally for these variations, perhaps in the amount of labour supposed to be involved in the collection of particular taxes: but it is difficult to follow out the ramifications of Oriental financial administration, which is always full of seemingly meaningless survivals.

The adjustment of totals for payment to a round sum was a natural arrangement for the convenience of bankers and clients alike, and presents little difficulty if it is remembered that most of the payments under consideration were made by tax-farmers, who would have constant series of transactions with the bank and could consequently balance one adjustment against another. An arrangement of this kind is contemplated in the regulations of P. Par. 62, which allows tax-farmers to balance a deficit on one account against an excess on another. Where the taxes were paid in directly to the banks by the people assessed, there would be less room for such balancing: instances of taxes where direct payment was practised are ἀκροδρύων and περιστερώνων, the receipts for which are in some cases made out to women and in no case certainly to farmers: and in these two classes the percentages added are, with one exception only, exact, not adjusted.

The conclusions drawn from the foregoing discussion may be briefly recapitulated. In the second and first centuries B.C. the Ptolemaic government allowed the banks to charge on the farmers or payers of taxes and the farmers to charge on the payers an extra percentage to cover the costs of collection, and in the case of taxes assessed in silver a further percentage for the conversion of copper into silver. The percentages were fixed by the government on the letting of a farm of a tax (which was usually for a year and for a particular nome), and might vary from time to time and from place to place: the charge for conversion was practically stable at about 10%, but the other charges showed a general tendency to increase till towards the end of the second century, when they settled down to a normal percentage of 10, making a total of 20 on taxes assessed in silver: some special trades may, however, have had more favourable terms. A tax might be transferred from the category of those assessed in silver to that of assessment in copper, or *vice versâ*: the reasons for the assignment of taxes to these categories are not discoverable at present. In the receipts given by the banks to farmers and others, the sum credited against the tax was stated in the body of the receipt, but a further entry of the sum actually paid in cash including the extra charge was sometimes made. If the addition of the exact percentage for extra charges to the amount assessed did not produce a sum convenient for settlement in the ordinary currency, the total was adjusted to suit the circumstances.

This system of charges seems to have continued in its main features into Roman times: added charges are frequently found in tax-receipts of the first and second centuries A.D., under the name of τὰ προσδιαγραφόμενα, at varying rates which are generally comparable to the Ptolemaic: there were alternative methods of statement, but the results are the same[1]. The persistence of these charges illustrates the fondness of governments, in the

[1] For a full statement of my views on this point, see Liverpool *Annals*, VII, 61. KUHN (*B.G.U.*, VI, 95) appears to recognize the analogy of the Ptolemaic with the Roman charges.

East and elsewhere, for maintaining an out-of-date organization which appears to be to their own advantage: the justification for the charge for conversion had vanished a century and a half before the Roman conquest, when the copper standard was introduced; and the remodelling of the Alexandrian currency to relate it to the Roman, which took place in the middle of the first century A.D., removed this charge still further from economic reality: while the decay of the system of tax-farming, which went on steadily till the farmers had practically disappeared by the end of the first century, left the charges for costs of collection in the position of an extra impost for the benefit of the central government.

PAPYRUS LANSING: A TRANSLATION WITH NOTES

By AYLWARD M. BLACKMAN and T. ERIC PEET

About a year ago, after looking together at the photographic reproduction of Papyrus Lansing in Sir E. A. Wallis Budge's fine volume, *Facsimiles of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, Second Series, London, 1923, we decided to produce a joint translation, accompanied by some philological notes and explanations, for this *Journal*. The details of the work are of no particular interest. Both writers made separate collations of the original, and a draft translation, for which Blackman was entirely responsible, served as the basis for discussion and research[1]. A final collation was to be made by the two writers together, when all outstanding questions were to be settled for better or for worse. When our translation and notes were practically ready for press and while we were actually making this combined collation Blackman received, by the kindness of Dr. Erman, a copy of Erman and Lange's *Papyrus Lansing: eine ägyptische Schulhandschrift der* 20. *Dynastie*, in *Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab*, Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser, X, 3, Copenhagen 1925. So far from dissuading us from our attempt this event encouraged us to press on, and that for the following reasons. Although in several points these two mature scholars have outdistanced us in interpretation, especially in the hymn, we saw that there were others in which we had been more fortunate than they had. Further, at the moment when their translation reached us we were working with the papyrus before us. Consequently in cases where their reading[2] differed from ours it was often possible for us to decide between the two by examining the original.

Since our avowed aim was to give the readers of this *Journal* as accurate a translation of this papyrus as possible it would have been folly to print our version as it stood without embodying in it the improvements which were to be found in Erman and Lange's translation. We have therefore adopted these, but we have been most careful to indicate and acknowledge throughout every reading and every rendering which we owe to our two colleagues.

It is interesting to observe that at least nine-tenths of our version agreed exactly with that of Erman and Lange. That two groups of scholars working independently should come so near to complete agreement is a striking testimony to the soundness with which the main lines of Egyptian grammar and syntax have been laid down, a work in which Erman himself was a pioneer.

As this article is not an edition of the text[3], we do not propose to describe the manuscript, to give measurements, or to discuss the handwriting—all such details are, as a

[1] Blackman had the advantage of discussing some points of reading with Dr. Jaroslav Černý, who was working in the British Museum at the same time with himself, and some points both of reading and translation with Professor Griffith in Oxford.

[2] Erman and Lange worked from the facsimile assisted by some verifications of isolated readings by Professor Gardiner and Dr. Hall.

[3] We hope to produce an edition of the text with critical notes in another publication at no distant date.

matter of fact, supplied in Budge's and Erman and Lange's publications. We should like to point out, however, that the hymn, cols. 13, 8–16, 5, is written in a hand different from, or at least much more cursive than, that of the preceding text[1], and therefore, for purposes of decipherment, groups of signs in the one cannot necessarily be compared with groups in the other.

The contents of the papyrus have already been discussed by Dr. Erman in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1924, 513 ff., and by Mr. Warren R. Dawson in the *Asiatic Review*, 1925, 309–312. Lastly Dr. Spiegelberg, in *Orientalische Literaturzeitung*, 1924, 185–190, has dealt with many points of philological and archaeological importance, and translated a few passages. This article of Spiegelberg's proved exceedingly useful to us, and several references to it will be found in our footnotes.

In the following pages E.-L. stands for Erman-Lange, *An.* for *Pap. Anastasi*, and *Sall.* for *Pap. Sallier*.

Translation.

1, 1 [*The king's scribe.....Nebmaʿrēʿnakht.....*].....*to his subordinate, the scribe Wenem-dyamūn of.....the* ⟨*great*⟩ *overseer of the cattle of Amūn.....*[*this*] *noble*[2] [*profession*]; "*Follower of Thōth*," *they nickname him that practiseth it.* [*Let*] *him.....old men. Let him make friends with those who are greater than he. Glad.....write with thine hand, read with*
1, 5 [*thy mouth*][3], *speak as I speak.....thy* (?).....*my heart doth not sicken.....thee* (?).....*I am loved.....to my teaching of thee, for thou wilt find it profitable.....beer*[4]. *Magnify thyself among thy* [*fellows*?]. *If thou art sent on an errand.....love writing, hate dancing, that thou*
2, 1 *mayest be a magistrate of note*[5]. *Set not*[6] *thine heart on the playing-field* (?)[7], *put behind*[8] *thee throwing*[9] (?) *and hurling* (?)[10]. *Spend the whole day writing with thy fingers, and read by night*[11].

[1] See also Erman-Lange, 11 ff.

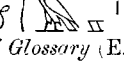
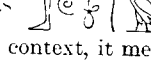
[2] So E.-L. rightly, who refer to the similar passage in *An.* III, 3. 11 = *An.* V, 8. 3.

[3] A trace of is still visible after . As no trace of remains, the tail must have gone down straight as in the writing of *ḥ3b-tw-k* in line 7. Cf. *sš m dt-k*, *šd m r k*, *An.* V, 8. 3 = *An.* III, 3. 10. See also *An.* V, 23. 4.

[4] Despite E.-L.'s observation the reading  "beer" is certain.

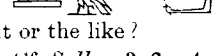
[5] Read . Clearly and not  as E.-L. assert. What they read as is simply a flourish in the writing of of which there are other instances in this papyrus.

[6]  *ib-k* is certain. Read *m rdì ib-k*.

[7]  is doubtless the same word as  which occurs in the *Golenischeff Glossary* (E.-L., 52). Perhaps, in view of the context, it means a piece of ground where various sports were indulged in.

[8] For this writing (*ḳ* for *k*) see *Sall.* I, 8. 10.

[9]  = "throw the boomerang or throw-stick"?

[10]  as parallel to *ḫmʾ* perhaps means "to hurl" some object in a game of skill,—a quoit or the like?

[11] Cf. *Sall.* I, 3. 6 = *An.* V, 10. 3.

Make to thyself friends of the roll and the ink-palette, for that is pleasanter than must[1]. *As for writing, to him who knoweth it, more profitable is it than any profession; it is pleasanter than bread and beer, than clothing, than oil, yea it is more precious*[2] *than an heritage (?)*[3] *in Egypt, than a sepulchre on the west.*

Young fellow[4], *thine heart is exceeding proud, and thou dost not hearken when I speak. Thy heart is heavier*[5] *than a great monument of a hundred cubits in height and ten in thick-*
2, 5 *ness, which is finished and ready for loading. It hath mustered many sailors*[6], *and it hath heard*[7] *the cries of the men. It is loaded on to a raft. Lo, they set out from Elephantine and convey it by river until it rests in its place in Thebes.*

The cow[8] *too is fetched this year*[9], *and ploughs at (?) the right season*[10]. *She becomes obedient to the herdsman*[11]; *she can all but speak*[12].

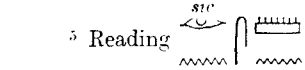
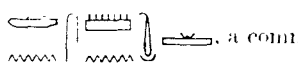
Horses which are brought in from the field forget their dams; they are yoked, and go to and fro on every kind of errand for his majesty. They grow up like those that bore them[13], *and there they stand in the stable, doing all this*[14] *for fear of a beating. Even if I beat thee with every kind of stick, yet thou wouldest not hearken. If only I knew*[15] *another way of doing it.*

[1] For this sentiment cf. *Sall.* I. 3. 10.

[2] For the epithet *šbk* applied to the scribe's profession see *An.* III, 3. 11–12 *šbk sḫ ḥsf ḥrt-f* "Of great value is the scribe who is skilled in his profession." For the meaning "precious," "of great value," see below 4. 10, where it is applied to gold.

[3] Reading . So also rendered by SPIEGELBERG, *O.L.Z.*, 1924, 186.

[4] SPIEGELBERG, *ibid.*, 188–9, regards *ḳr-šrỉ* as the earliest instance of καλάστρις, and suggests that it originally meant "young Nubian," but that like ϩⲛⲙⲥⲣⲉ, *ḫr-šrỉ*, lit. "young Syrian," it came to mean just "youngster," "young fellow."

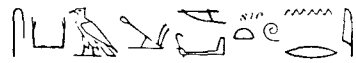
[5] Reading , a slip for , a common New Kingdom writing of *dnḥ*. See e.g. *An.* I. 10. 5; 24. 7; *Unamūn*, I. 17.  is a mistake for . This point has been strangely overlooked by E.-L.

[6]  *ḥsỉ* is clearly the right reading.

[7] Or perhaps better "hath understood the words of the men." Cf. *Unamūn*, 2. 77; *Pap. d'Orbiney*, 5. 9.

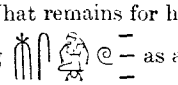
[8] Read  not . For the form cf. *Pap. Turin P.R.*, 10. 10, 75. 9, 133. 7.

[9] What does this mean?

[10] The reading here is certainly *mtw-ś* . E.-L. have read the as , which is of course possible, but have omitted the .

[11] Despite E.-L.'s note *c* on p. 40 we believe that this group must be read , *mỉnw*. The identity of the first sign with that used in *mỉnw* in 6. 4, which shows an extra stroke, can be proved by their promiscuous use in *Pap. B.M.* 10053. In more careful writings a  follows (6. 4), but this is frequently replaced as here by a mere .

[12] *Lit.* "What remains for her is to speak." So also E.-L.

[13] Reading  as against E.-L.; quite certain. Infin. with object suffix.

[14] After *r ḏrw* read possibly . E.-L.'s is surely impossible.

[15] *Cf.* , *An.* I, 7. 2, an obscure phrase translated by Gardiner "Thou didst enter knowing beforehand (?)." The rendering "If only I knew" is that of E.-L.

I would do it for thee and thou shouldst hearken, and thou shouldst be a man by virtue of writing[1], *although thou hast not yet*[2] *known woman.*

3, 1 *Let thine heart be understanding, thy fingers skilled*[3], *thy mouth apt* ⟨*in*⟩[4] *reading. As for writing, it is more pleasant than delighting the heart*[5] *with a basket of* bꜣy *and carob beans*[6]. *It is more pleasant than a mother that hath given birth*[7], *that is not weary at heart, but is constant in nursing*[8] *her son, and her breast*[9] *is in his mouth continually. Joyful is the heart that hath embraced the scribe's profession; it grows younger every day.*

The king's scribe, great overseer of the cattle of Amonrasōnthēr, Nebmaʿrēʿnakht, addresseth the scribe Wenemdyamūn and saith:—Thou art too busy going to and fro, unmindful of[10] *writing.*

3, 5 *Thou strugglest*[11] *with me against hearkening and settest my teachings behind thee. Thou art worse than the Nile-goose of the river-bank, that aboundeth in mischief. It spendeth the summer as the bane of the dates, the winter as the bane of the* mymy*-fruit. It spendeth its barren season*[12] *following the husbandmen. It suffereth not the seed to be cast to the ground, without taking its* (*the seed's*) *heat*[13]. *It cannot be caught by snaring, it is not offered at the temple. Thou evil bird of dazzling* (?) *eye*[14], *that doest no work! Thou art worse than a bubale*[15] *upon the desert, that gaineth its living by running and spendeth not the mid-day ploughing; never doth it tread the*

3, 10 *threshing-floor, but it liveth on the labour of the oxen, albeit it entereth not in among them. Lo, I spend the whole day saying to thee: "Write," though it is like.....*[16] *thy heart. Yet*

4, 1 *writing, this is pleasant exceedingly.....*[17].

Look for thyself with thine own eye, all the professions are set before thee.

[1] Read with certainty *n sꜣw*  *nk*.

[2] For *bw ḫr-tw-f šḏm* "he has not yet heard," see ERMAN, *Zeitschr. f. ag. Spr.*, 50, 104 ff.

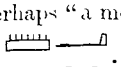
[3] The det. of *ssꜣ* looks like , but probably  is intended.

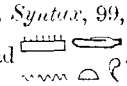
[4] It is very doubtful if the ~~~ read by E.-L. between *r-k* and *šd* is there at all.

[5] Reading *ndm šw r šndm-ib*.  is highly probable though a little crowded.

[6] Adopting E.-L.'s very attractive reading . It should be noted that no trace is left of the sign , nor of ~~~ after *bꜣy*, and quite possibly ~~~ was never there, for there is hardly place for it.

[7] Or perhaps "a mother of a child." *Cf.* possibly GUNN, *Syntax*, 99, note 2.

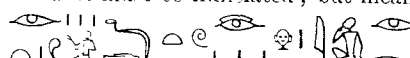
[8] Read . *sic*

[9] Read . *sic*

[10] E.-L. quote L., *D.*, III, 195a, and GREENE, *Fouilles*, Pl. 3, 36, for *ḫm r*="sich um etwas nicht kümmern." See also *Sall.* III, 2. 3; *Inscription dédicatoire d'Abydos*, 51, where *ḫm ḥr* has the same meaning.

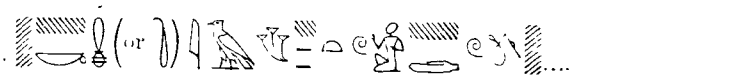
[11] For *ỉtḫ* used without object see *nꜣ n ỉḫw ḥr ỉtḫ* "the oxen are pulling" (GRIFFITH-TAYLOR, *Paheri*, Pl. III).

[12] *I.e.*, when there is no fruit ripe. [13] So the text as it stands must be translated; but meaning?

[14] The word  occurs also in *An.* I, 11. 4, , translated by Gardiner, "My eyes are dazzled (?) at what thou doest." This other occurrence of the word *ḏḏt* has been overlooked by E.-L.

[15] For this comparison cf. *Koller*, 2. 4 = *An.* IV, 2. 6.

[16] Reading ; but meaning?

[17] The signs still legible after *r ỉḫr* seem to be .. 

The washerman spends the whole day going up and down, every [limb][1] of his is aweary, whitening the clothes of his neighbour(s) every day, and washing their.....[2].

The potter (?)[3] is smeared with mud like a man one of whose folk has died. His hands and
4, 5 *feet are full of clay[4]. He is like one who is in the bog[5].*

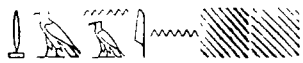
The cobbler mixes tan (?)[6]. His odour is marked. His hands are red with dye[7], like one who is smeared with his blood, while he looks behind him for the kite (?)[8]; like a man when he (or *who*) *finds his flesh*[9].

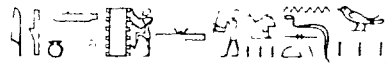
The florist (??) makes bouquets and makes gay the wine-jar stands[10]. *He spends a night of toil, like one on whose body the sun is shining*[11].

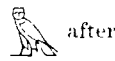
The merchants fare down stream and up stream and are as busy as can be[12], *carrying wares* ⟨*from*⟩ *one town to another, and supplying him that hath not. But the tax-gatherers*
4, 10 *exact (?) gold, the most precious of all minerals (?).*

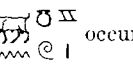
The ships' crews of every house (i.e. *commercial house*)[13], *they take up their freights. They*
5, 1 *depart (?) to....., to Syria. Each man's god (?) is with him*[14]. *Not one of them dares say: "We shall see Egypt again."*

[1] Reading .

[2] Reading . The seems certain to us.

[3] Such would seem to be the meaning in view of the det. . Is  in *Sall.* II, 5. 7, and also, so Dr. Gardiner informs us, in versions of that text on ostraca, a corruption of this the more difficult, and therefore the more probable, reading?

[4] For  see SPIEGELBERG, *Zeitschr. f. ag. Spr.*, 53, 110(9), a reference we owe to Dr. Černý. The word occurs below in 5. 6. There is apparently just room for  after .

[5]  occurs in the *Golenischeff Glossary*; see E.-L., 52.

[6] Such is the meaning suggested for *bḫ* by E.-L., who quote *Pap. Turin P.R.*, 56. 11, where *bḫ* is determined with  and not  as here and must be a different word. The connection with leather in that passage is probably accidental, and the word *bḫ* there used is perhaps that found in *Pap. Mallet*, 3. 6 and 4. 3. *An.* VI, 6. 4 and *Pap. Turin, P.R.*, 19. 3.

[7] For  see SPIEGELBERG, *O.L.Z.*, 1924, 187; also E.-L., 53, where it is pointed out that the word survives as **ⲁⲛⲉⲓ** in Coptic.

[8] The group before *ḏrw* looks more like  *sic* than . If *ḫ* is intended the writing is most abnormal.

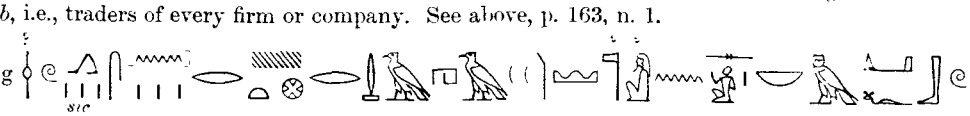
[9] There is no doubt about the reading or the translation of the text as it stands, but what does it mean?

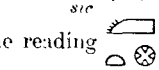
[10] Following E.-L., who refer to *Urk.*, IV, 22; see also *Pap. Harris*, I, 34 b, 3.

[11] *I.e.*, one who works by day.

[12] *Lit.* "They are busy like copper"; *cf.* below 17. 10, and frequently in N.K. letters.

[13] Cf. *Pap. Brit. Mus.* 10068, ro., 4. 2, where thieves are said to have sold stolen goods to the *šwtiw n pr nb*, i.e., traders of every firm or company. See above, p. 163, n. 1.

[14] Reading 

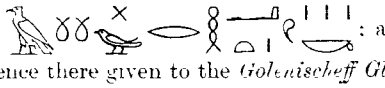
dd, etc. The reading  suggested by E.-L. is quite impossible, that word always being written with in this papyrus. One sign only with a long base seems missing above . is a mere guess,

The craftsman, he who is in the dockyard, carries timber and stacks[1] *it. If he renders to-day his dues of yesterday, woe to his limbs*[2]*! The chief workman stands just behind him saying to him: "Bad." His journeyman (?)*[3] *who is in the fields, that is more rigorous (than)*
5, 5 *any profession. He spends the whole day laden with his implements, tied down to his tool-chest. He goes back to his home at night laden with the chest of tools (?), his drinking vessel, and his whet-stones. But the scribe, he it is who reckons the labour of all those. Prithee, know that.*

Yet again. Come that I may expound to thee how it goes with the husbandman,—that other hard profession[4]*. The water is in flood and he is soaked*[5]*..... He stands preparing*
6, 1 *himself. He spends the day cutting instruments for cultivating the corn*[6]*; he spends the night twisting rope*[7]*. He spends the mid-day hour doing a craftsman's work*[8]*, that he may equip himself to go forth into the fields like any warrior (?). The tillage is clear of water and lies before him. He goes forth to draw his yoke (of horses), and many days pass by while he follows after the herdsman. When he has drawn his span, he comes back with it, that he may*
6, 5 *make a place for it in the fields. When day dawns, he goes out to make an early start (?)*[9]*. He does not find*[10] *it in its place. He spends three days seeking for it, and he finds it in the mud, (but) he finds not (even) the hides on them, for the wolves have chewed them! He goes forth with his cloak in his hand to beg for himself a span. When he reaches his field, he finds.....*[11]*. He spends time*[12] *standing cultivating barley, but the worm is behind him.*

which suits the traces of signs after *Dbḥ*.  seems certain. The idea of each man having his god with him finds some support in the account of Unamūn's adventures.  "protective amulet" is also possible. Nothing seems lost above the preceding *ś nb*.

[1] For the meaning of *wꜣḥ* cf. perhaps *Unamūn*, 2. 49 and 2. 62.

[2] Cf. *An* v, 23. 5 :—  ; also *ibid.*, 16. 2–3.

[3] See E.-L., 59, and reference there given to the *Golenischeff Glossary*.

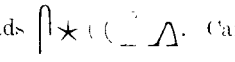
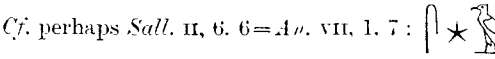
[4] A word, possibly *bin-t(y)*, has been purposely erased here, and the *t(y)* of *nḫt-t(y)* written in red above the line.

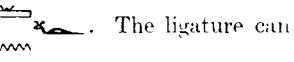
[5] The reading *tḫb-tw-f* is certain. All that is certain in the following word are the final signs .

[6] Or perhaps  is simply a determinative of *śkꜣ*, as possibly below in 6. 9, in which case render "instruments for husbandry."

[7] See SPIEGELBERG, *O.L.Z.*, 1924, 187.

[8]  before *bꜣk* is for  (because of following *b*). E.-L.'s reading *ḫwty* is impossible. The first sign in the group is probably  somewhat cursively written.

[9] The text reads . Can this be an equivalent of the Arabic *ṣbḥ* "to do a thing in the early morning"? *Cf.* perhaps *Sall.* II, 6. 6=*An.* VII, 1. 7 :  *ỉwḫ ỉbꜣt* "he (the gardener) works early (?) watering the leeks." Or is the word corrupt?

[10] . The ligature can hardly be read  alone. Does the *n* indicate the pronunciation ϭιπε?

[11] See E.-L.'s note, p. 65.

[12] At the end of l. 7 we are reluctantly forced to read instead of E.-L.'s attractive .

It[1] *finishes off the seed, when cast* ⟨*to*⟩ *the ground, and he never sees a green blade. He does*
7, 1 *it with three sowings of borrowed* (?)[2] *corn. His.....*[3] *has fallen to*[4] *the traders, but it has brought nothing in exchange.*

And now[5] *the scribe lands upon the bank registering the harvest. The porters are in attendance with rods and the negroes with staves*[6]. *"Give corn," say they. There is none. He is stretched out and beaten; he is bound and thrown into the canal; he sinks* (?) *as one drowned* (?)[7]. *His wife is bound in his presence; his children are in fetters. His neighbours*
7, 5 *leave them and take to flight. All is over*[8]*! The corn is not there!*

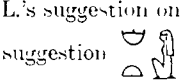
If thou hast any sense, be a scribe. Thou hast informed thyself concerning the husbandman. Thou couldst not be one. Prithee, know that.

Again. The scribe of the army, the ganger of the cattle of the estate of Amūn ⟨*to*⟩ *the scribe, Wenemdyamūn, saying further:—Be a scribe, that thy body may be bright*[9] *and thy hand become soft, and that thou mayest not smoke*(?) *like the lamp, as doth one whose body is weak, for there is no bone of a man in thee. Thou art*[10] *tall and reedy*[11]*. If thou wert to take up thy load to carry it*[12]*, thou wouldst collapse* (?)[13]*, thy legs would continually give way* (?)[14]*, thou wouldst*
8, 1 *be lacking in strength, thou wouldst be bereft of all thy members, and thy body would be in evil case.*

Set thine heart on being a scribe, the goodly profession of thy destiny. If thou callest to one, a thousand answer thee. Thou goest freely upon the road, so that thou dost not become like an ox to be handed over (?)[15]*. Thou shalt be at the head of others.*

[1] Despite the gender, the sense demands that *fn.f* should refer to *t3 ḥf3w t* "the worm." Cf. *Sall.* I, 6. 4 = *An.* V, 16. 3: "the remainder that lies upon the threshing floor, , thieves have finished it off."

[2] Following E.-L.'s suggestion on p. 66.

[3] E.-L.'s clever suggestion  cannot be verified as the papyrus is badly broken here; the traces are, however, not entirely convincing.

[4] For this meaning of *ḥ3y m* cf. *Pap. Mayer B*, 13, and *passim* in similar documents.

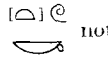
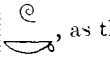
[5] From here to middle of line 5 there is a parallel text in *Sall.* I, 6. 5 ff. = *An.* V, 16. 5 ff. The variations are fully noted by E.-L. and so need not be enumerated here.

[6] For *bdn* see *Pap. Mayer A*, 1. 17 and *passim*, *Amherst*, 3. 6 (E.-L., *B.M.* 10052, 12. 18, etc.

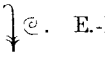
[7] For *dbḫbḫ* see E.-L.'s excellent note, p. 69.

[8] *Cf.* the similar use of the mod. Egyptian Arabic *khalaṣ*.

[9] For the use of *nḥ* here, cf. *Herdsman*, 5-6.

[10] Reading  not , as there is no room for .

[11] Our guess at the meaning of the verb *šmḥ* is confirmed by E.-L.'s interesting note, which shows that the word survives in Coptic as ϣⲟⲟⲙⲉ "thin."

[12] Reading . E.-L. wrongly read  instead of  which is almost certain despite the small and ill formed . is for the feminine object suffix *ś*,  being a writing for *3tpyt* = Copt. ⲉⲧⲡⲱ.

[13] *Cf.*  *An.* I, 7. 3.

[14] In view of the determinative  we prefer this rendering of  (i.e., *šḫ šḫ*) to that of E.-L

[15] *I.e.*, for sale, or, as E.-L. suggest, to be given as an impost.

I spend the whole day instructing thee, but thou dost not hear. Thy mind is like a public office[1], *what I teach thee*[2] *is not in thy heart. Take their* ⟨.....⟩ *to thyself. The playing-field*[3] *is*
8, 5 *before thee every day, like a chick after its mother*[4]. *Thou givest way to dancing. Thou consortest*[5] *with revellers. Thou makest for thyself a dwelling in the brewers' quarter, like one that craves to drink beer. When thou sittest in the reception-room*[6] *with "He is sated with his profession,"*[7] *thou holdest the scribes*[8] *in abhorrence and thou consortest with the Cassite*[9] *woman. Do not do these things, for what are they? There is no success (?)*[10] *therein. Prithee, know that.*

Again. See, I instruct thee and make sound thy body, that thou mayest take up the scribe's palette without let or hindrance; that thou mayest become a favourite of the king; that thou mayest open the door of the treasuries and the granaries; that thou mayest receive the ship[11]
8, 10 *at the door of the granary; that thou mayest issue the divine offerings on the festival days;*
9, 1 *arrayed in (fine) raiment, possessing horses, with thy boat upon the stream, furnished*[12] *with attendants, and striding proudly forward on a tour of inspection. A mansion is built in thy city, thou holdest high office, which the king hath given thee, and hast men-servants and maid-servants on thy estate. Men are in the fields to grasp thy hand*[13], *in tillage of thine own making*[14]. *Behold, I have made thee*[15] *(my) bondsman for life*[16].

Put[17] *writing in thy heart, that thou mayest protect thyself from hard labour of any kind*[18]

[1] Where all things come and go and nothing stays.

[2] Reading  certain.

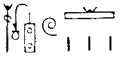
[3] See above, p. 285, note 7.

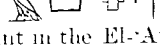
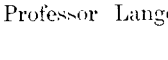
[4] The order of the simile is curiously reversed!

[5] See *Ins.* v, 17, 4–5.

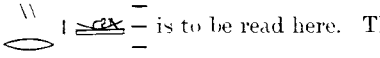
[6] *Lit.* "chamber of the couch (or 'divan')."

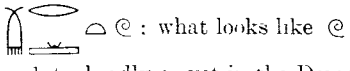
[7] Following E.-L.'s ingenious rendering.

[8] Or perhaps read  "books" as do E.-L.

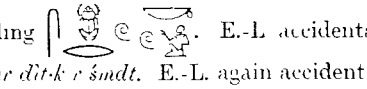
[9] The scribe has written , *ỉ3 Ks*, for *ỉ3 Kšỉ*. For *Ks* see KNUDTZON, *El-Amarna Tafeln*, 1576. Ka-si is a variant in the El-Amarnah letters for Ka-ši, *i.e.*, "Babylonian," "Cassite." For this information we are indebted to Professor Langdon. E.-L.'s  is equally possible palaeographically.

[10] The known meanings of *ḫ3m* (see GARDINER, *Zeitschr. f. ag. Spr.*) make no sense here.

[11]  is to be read here. There is no red point after .

[12] Read : what looks like before must be the dot of .

[13] *I.e.*, in salute, hardly as yet in the Demotic technical sense "go bail for."

[14] Reading . E.-L. accidentally omit the .

[15] *twỉ ḥr dỉt·k r šmdt*. E.-L. again accidentally drop a *k*.

[16] This is an attempt to translate the text as it stands. E.-L. may be right in restoring  and translating "a lord of villeins settled (on the estate)."

[17] The text from here onwards to the end of line 8 occurs also on an ostracon at Florence; see ERMAN, *Zeitschr. f. ag. Spr.*, 18, 96. The variant readings are cited by E.-L. and need not be repeated here.

[18] Cf. *Sall.* I, 6. 10 *ỉr sš ỉḫm·tw·f m bk mỉk·tw·f ḥr kỉt nb*, "Be a scribe; for he is saved from forced labour and protected from work of all kinds."

and be a magistrate of high repute. Dost thou not recall[1] *the unhandy one?*[2] *His name is unknown, when he is laden like an ass*[3]*, carrying (burdens) in front of the scribe who has his*
9, 5 *wits about him. Come, let me tell thee of the woes of the soldier, according as his superiors are many,—the general, the troop-commander, the* skt *who is at their head, the standard-bearer, the lieutenant, the scribe, the captain of fifty, the platoon-commander! They go in and out of their courts ⟨in⟩ the palace*[4]*. They say: "Produce him that can work! (?)*[5]*" He is awakened when an hour has gone by, and he is driven like an ass. He works until the sun sets bringing its darkness (?) of night. He is hungry, his body is exhausted (?), he is dead while yet alive. He receives the corn-ration when released from duty*[6]*, but it is not pleasant*
9, 10 *when it is ground. He is called up for Syria; he has no comfort (?) for there are neither*[7]
10, 1 *clothes nor (?) sandals, as the war-equipment is being assembled at the fortress of Tharu. His marchings are high up in the mountains*[8]*. He drinks water every three days, and it is brackish like the taste of salt*[9]*. His body is broken ⟨with⟩ dysentery (?)*[10]*. The enemy*[11] *comes and encompasses him about with arrows, and life is far from him. They say: "Haste thee onwards*[12]*, valiant soldier! win for thyself a good name!," albeit he is scarce conscious, his knee*[13] *is weak, and his face hurts him.*

When the victory[14] *comes, his majesty hands over the captives to be taken down (?) into*
10, 5 *Egypt. The foreign woman is faint with marching; she is placed on the neck of the soldier. His haversack*[15] *is dropped, and others take it, (while) he is loaded with the Syrian woman*[16]*.*

[1] Cf. *bw sḫ3·n·k ḫnỉ* (read *ḫỉ*) *ỉḫwtỉ*, *Sall.* I, 6. 2. The parallel passage, *An.* V, 15. 7, reads *sḫ3 k*, i.e., *sḏm·f* instead of *sdm n f*.

[2] For the converse of  see *An.* I, 26. 9–27. 1, *mḥr rḫ dt·f*. Cf. also *Sall.* I, 5. 9; *Bologna* 1094, 6, where the expression  occurs.

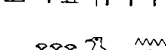
[3] Following the fuller text of the Florence ostracon.

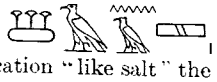
[4] Cf. *An.* V, 19 *twỉ wḏ·kwỉ m nỉ wsḫwt pr·nỉswt*.

[5] It is impossible to construe these words grammatically as they stand in either version. Should we render: "Let them know what work means"?

[6] So E.-L. clearly rightly.

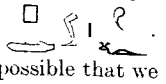
[7] *Cf.* "When the soldier goes up to Syria, *ỉw bn ḫwʿ bn tbtỉ*, there is no staff, no sandals," *Sall.* I, 7. 4. Is *św* in *Pap. Lansing* a scribe's error for *ỉw*? Also has *m* the meaning of "nor," or should we emend to  or omit?

[8] Read . E.-L. read instead of , regarding the signs as misplaced and emending *nỉ ṯst*.

[9] Written  in *An.* III, 5. 11; in Coptic ⲩⲛⲟⲩⲩ="to stink," "be foul," but in view of the qualification "like salt" the word as used here must surely have the meaning "brackish."

[10] See *Pap. Hearst*, 2. 5; *Ebers*, 47. 19. [11] *ḫrwỉ* has the plural strokes.

[12] Cf. *ms tw n ḫr·k* "get thee onwards," *An.* I, 15. 8; see also *ibid.*, 23. 3.

[13] Read . [14] Read . [15] Cf. *Koller*, 1. 3.

[16] Is it possible that we have here the first recorded example in Egyptian of the ethnic name "Syrian"? Professor Langdon supplies the following: The word *Sâru* occurs in KNUDTZON, *El-Amarna Tafeln*, 108. 17, where it stands for *Subari*, and is regarded as an error by Knudtzon. It is more likely that the labial *b* has here become a bilabial sonant *w* and then disappeared, as in *nabultu*>*nawltu*>*nultu*, etc. *Sâri* is then the original of the later Syria. This geographical term designates the region of Mitanni or northern Syria in the period covered by the 15th—14th centuries B.C. The gentilic should be *sârâ*, fem. *sârîtu*, which latter probably corresponds to the word *Srt* in *Papyrus Lansing*.

His wife and children are in their village, (but) he dies and does not reach it. If he comes out a survivor[1]*, he is weak with marching, (so) he is (put) on the farm (?)*[2]*, and among the hemp*[3]*. Then the soldier gets angry, and climbs out, and escapes from the drudgery (??). All his people are shut up in prison and he lies dead upon the high ground (?); there is no one to perpetuate his name. Grievous for him are life and death alike. A tall (?) basket (?)*[4] *is brought for him, he knows not his resting-place*[5].

Be a scribe, that thou mayest save ⟨thyself⟩ from being a soldier. (Then) if thou callest out, someone will say "Here I am!", and thou shalt be saved from a flogging[6]*. Everyone*
10, 10 *seeks to lift him* (a scribe) *up. Prithee, know that.*

Again. (To) the king's scribe, great overseer of the cattle of Amonrasōnthēr, Nebmaʿrēʿ-
11, 1 *nakht; the scribe Wenemdyamūn informs his lord in life, prosperity, health. It is a letter to let my lord know. Another communication to my lord, to the effect that I grew up as a child beside thee, and thou didst beat my back and thy teaching went into my ear. I am like a frisky horse, sleep comes not to me by day into my heart, and it is not upon me by night*[9]*. I would do what is profitable for my*[10] *lord, like a servant profitable to his lord*[11]*. I would build for thee a new mansion ⟨upon⟩ the ground of thy lord, ⟨planted⟩ with trees upon every side of it*[12]*. Its stalls are within it, and its granaries are full of barley, spelt, wheat*[13]*,* ʿm3mw[14]*,*
11, 5 *dates,* ḥryw-bỉwk, gmnn, *beans, lentils,* š3w(t)*-plants,* tḫw*-plants,* mymy*-fruits,* ʿdn*-fruits, flax, vegetables,* śwt(?)*-plants,* šwyw*-plants,* ỉbr*-plants,* ỉšty*-plants,* pnw*-plants*[15]*, winter* ḥryw, ʿnb*-plants, rushes* (k3m), *and* rrmt*-plants*[16]*, produced by the basketful. Thy herd doubles the droves*[17]*, and thy breeding-cows ⟨are pregnant⟩. I will plant for thee five acres with* b3n3*-fruit*[18] *to the southward.....*

12, 1 *Raʿia hath built a goodly mansion which is over against the Aphroditopolite nome*[19]*. He*

[1] *Cf.* "One who is interred in his pyramid,  and at whose burying (or coffin) a survivor stood by," *Suicide*, 42–43; also 64-65. This example of *ḥry-tȝ* has been overlooked by E.-L.

[2] *Cf.* the writing  in *r-ḫȝw* 12. 9 below.

[3] Is there here some allusion to the work assigned to soldiers invalided in a campaign?

[4] For *tnfyt* see *Tur.*, 74/4, *cf.* possibly ϫⲛⲟϥ "basket." This is a reference, perhaps, to the method of burying the unknown dead.

[5] *I.e.*, he is interred in a strange grave. [6] Following E.-L.

[7] For this word see *An.* III, 5. 6; 6. 10; *An.* IV, 9. 5; *Pap. B.M.* 10052, *passim*; *Pap. Turin P.R.*, 73. 6.

[8] The text from here to the end of line 7 also occurs in *An.* IV, 8. 7 ff. For the variants see E.-L.

[9] See SPIEGELBERG, *O.L.Z.*, 1924, 189.

[10] before is clear.

[11] over is clear.

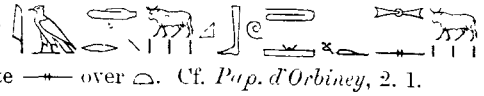
[12] Cf. *ḥr wȝt·f nbt*, *An.* I, 15. 3, where the meaning is clearly "on all (four) sides of it."

[13] Should we not read  (det. of grain) for E.-L.'s ?

[14] Cf. *Berlin Med. Pap.*, 3. 10; perhaps also *ibid.*, 3. 9; *Pap. Hearst*, 2. 15; 5. 16.

[15] *An.* IV, 8. 12 indicates that *ỉšty* and *pnw* are separate plants. But see *ibid.*, 12. 4.

[16] See GARDINER, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, XXXV, 265.

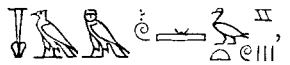
[17] The correct transcription is undoubtedly *pȝy·k* . As E.-L. point out the scribe wrote  and then wrote  over . Cf. *Pap. d'Orbiney*, 2. 1.

[18] E.-L.'s reading  seems certain.

[19] For the position of the mansion see E.-L., 103. *Cf.* also SPIEGELBERG, *O.L.Z.*, 1924, 189.

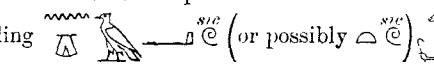
hath built it with (?) an embankment (?)[1], *strong (?)*[2] *in everlasting work, planted with trees* ⟨*on*⟩[3] *every side of it. A lake is digged in front of it, and sleep*[4] *is (only) broken*[5] *by the plash*[6] *of the wave*[7]. *One sickens not of the sight of it, one rejoices over its portal, one is drunken in its courts. The goodly door-posts are of limestone, carved and inscribed* ⟨*with*⟩ *the chisel. The goodly portals*[8] *are newly shaped (?)*[9], *the colour-spaces*[10] *being filled with lapislazuli. Its granaries are supplied with grain, overcharged (??)*[11] *with corn. The fowl-yard*[12] *and fowl-house*[13] *contain* ro-*geese; the stalls are full of oxen; the breeding-pool*[14] *contains* sr-*duck; horses are*
12, 5 *in the stables. Ships, ferry-boats, and a new cattle-transport*[15] *are moored to its quay.*

The poor come, old and young[16] *alike, to dwell in its confines. Thy sustenance is assured, abounding in fish and fowl*[17] *for all that come to thee, while thou walkest about in fresh domains*[18], *high-lying lands without limit*[19]. *Their grain is more abundant than the marsh-*

[1] A careful examination of the original showed E.-L.'s reading  to be untenable. We would read , for which cf. *Peasant*, R 44, and for the meaning GARDINER, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, XXXV, 266. *Cf.*  in 14. 3.

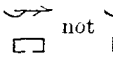
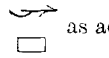
[2] See E.-L.'s note, p. 104. [3] No as stated by E.-L.

[4] Our translation of these five words is a pure guess. *nmˁ* without the det.  should however be the not uncommon root "to sleep" rather than the verb "to clothe in stone" or sim. quoted by E.-L.

[5] Reading  (or possibly).

Cf.  "a hammer."

[7] The final determ. of *ḥ³nw* "wave" is clearly not  (so E.-L.) but .

[8] *šb³w* is determined with  not  as accidentally given by E.-L.

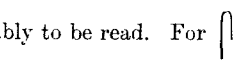
[9] Following E.-L.

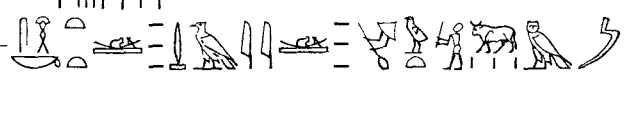
[10] For *ḏrw* see *Journal*, IV, 140; GARDINER, *Admonitions*, 28. We have adopted E.-L.'s suggested rendering of the word here.

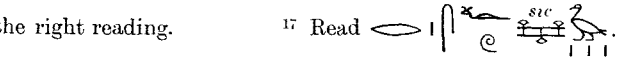
[11] The reading is surely  not *g³w³tn*.

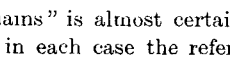
[12] For *mḫwn* see *Pap. Harris*, I, Pls. 28. 2; 48. 1. See also E.-L., 107.

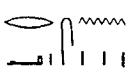
[13] For *ḥ³mw* see BRUGSCH, *Wörterbuch*, Suppl., 752; also E.-L., *ibid.*

[14]  is probably to be read. For  see *Inscription dédicatoire d'Abydos*, line 87.

[15] These words are to be read as follows:— .

[16]  seems to be the right reading. [17] Read .

[18] *I.e.*, newly reclaimed land. See the references below to what was once swampy ground. The reading of the word translated "domains" is almost certainly . Cf. *Amherst*, 3. 3; *B.M.* 10052, 10. 4; *B.M.* 10054, ro., 1. 6; in each case the reference is to *p³ ḏ(?) n Ỉmn-ỉpt*, a place on the West of Thebes.

[19] *nn*  clearly.

waters[1] *which were there aforetime. Shipmen*[2] *moor at its quay to gladden the granaries* ⟨*with*⟩ *many heaps of corn, without limit, for the lord of Thebes. Its west is a fowling-preserve*[3] *with* ro-*geese of all kinds*[4]*, a haunt of sportsmen*[5] *since it was first made*[6]*. One of its pools aboundeth in pond-fish. Its* ꜥḫ*-birds*[7] *are like marsh-birds*[8]*. Joy dwelleth in it, and none saith to it "Ah, would that I had!"*[9] *Many stalls are in its confines and a cattle-farm for the kine. There are many goats, capering kids*[10]*, and many lowing oxen. There are cool places*
12, 10 *abounding in green pasture both summer and winter. Many* wḏ*-fish*[11] *are in their ponds,* ỉnt*-fish,* šnꜥ*-fish,* ḏss*-fish*[12]*. Fish are more plentiful than the sand of the river-banks, their end cannot be reached. It is Amūn who hath founded it himself*[13]*; it is his region in truth.*

Thou sittest in their[14] *bowers*[15]*, and thou eatest their fruit*[16]*. Garlands are made for thee of*
13, 1 *their leaves, and thou art drunken with their wine. Boats are built for thee of their cedars,*
13, 5 *and a chariot of their* tg[17]*-trees. Thou art young and livest in plenty*[18] *every day, the sustenance of Amūn being with thee, O Raꜥia, the great overseer of the cattle of Amūn.*

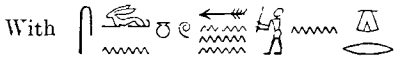
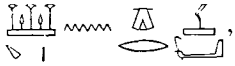
The following hymn is evidently addressed to Nebmaꜥrēꜥnakht by his pupil Wenemdyamūn. See E.-L.'s remarks on p. 7 f. of their publication.

Thou art beauteous of hands when bearing the censer in front of the lord of gods at every procession of his.

14, 1 *Thou art a father of the god, one who presides over*[19] *the mysteries. Thou bearest the fan*

[1] Read *šḥmyt* or *ỉšḥmyt* according as we take  as det. to  or as part of the following word.

[2] See GRIFFITH-TYLOR, *Paheri*, Pl. III, bottom register.

[3] With  *cf.* , *Inscription dédicatoire d'Abydos*, 87.

[4] Not "in jeder Zahl" as E.-L.; see GARDINER, *Literary Texts of the New Kingdom*, I, 7*, note 6.

[5] E.-L. aptly refer to *Peasant*, B 1. 205.

[6] *r šꜥ*  is probably to be read, not *ḫprw*.

[7] See *Koller*, 2. 3=*An.* IV, 2. 5; *An.* IV, 1b, 1; *Berlin Med. Pap.*, 21. 2.

[8] See SETHE *ap.* BORCHARDT, *Grabdenkmal des Königs Saḥu-reꜥ*, II, 127.

[9] *I.e.*, "no wish is left unsatisfied." Cf. *An.* III, 2. 10: "Joy dwelleth within it (Pi-Raꜥmesse), 'Would that I had' is not said to it." *Cf.* also *An.* I, 2. 7.

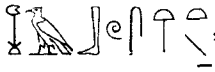
[10] See a note by BLACKMAN in this *Journal*, 210–212.

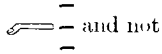
[11] For *wḏ*-fish cf. *An.* III, 2. 6.

[12]  is the correct reading; see *Berlin Ostracon* 10637, 5.

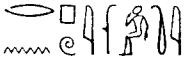
[13] Reading . Cf. *An.* III, 2. 1, and GARDINER, *Journal*, V, 185, with note 6.

[14] Probably the scribe has omitted a sentence containing some word or words to which the plur. "their" refers.

[15] Reading , or possibly as E.-L. (though not so likely),  instead of .

[16] Determ. probably just  and not .

[17] For *tg*-trees see GARDINER, *Literary Texts of the New Kingdom*, I, 37*, note 18; *Urk.*, IV, 707.

[18] Read .

[19]  is probably the correct reading.

on thy right[1] *and the royal linen on thy left*[2]. *The hand of Shu is in thy grasp, O beatifier of thy lord*[3].

Thou art an august Sem-priest in the House of Ptah[4], *instructed in all the mysteries in the House of the Magistrate*[5].

Thou art the Burial-priest of Kamēphis[6], *the Chief of the Seers of Rēᶜ in Thebes*[7], *the offerer of his oblations*[8].

Thou art wide of stride[9] *on the day of the festival of Seker*[10], *drawing the people of Timuris to thy lord, carrying the flail.*

14, 5 *Thou art one that is distinguished*[11] *of arms with the libation-vase, that offereth libation and incense and calleth out the praises.*

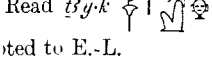
Thou art one that is beauteous of hands (when) making oblations (?)[12], *first (in) calling out the directions in the daily liturgy.*

Thou art the Embracer of the Wḏȝt*-eye of Mut*[13], *mistress of Heaven, on the first day of rowing her*[14] *on the* Išrw*-lake.*

Thou art one that poureth out water for Khons in Thebes[15], *on the day of making oblations in the House of the Magistrate.*

Thou art one that knoweth counsels, that is excellent in speech, far of vision at every time[16]; *what thou doest cometh to pass.*

14, 10 *Thou art one that judgeth hearts, the Ibis is like thee. Understanding art thou like all Wisdom, like Sight and Hearing*[17].

[1] Read *tȝy-k* . For the decipherment of these almost obliterated signs we are indebted to E.-L.

[2] Read . The signs and are often confused in N.K. hieratic.

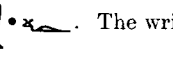
[3] Read . For the form of  *cf.* 16. 2 and 3 below.

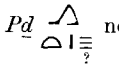
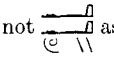
[4] Following the reading of E.-L.

[5] A building in Heliopolis.

[6] See SPIEGELBERG, *O.L.Z.*, 1924, 190.

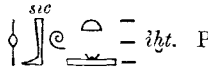
[7] Reading *ꜥr* .

[8] *Śmȝᶜ n* . The writing of *ᶜbt* is hopelessly confused.

[9] *Pḏ*  not  as E.-L.

[10] When the sacred boat-shrine of Seker was conveyed in procession round "the walls" of Memphis.

[11] In accordance with E.-L.'s note. But read  for  as elsewhere too, *e.g.*, in *mnw* (2. 4) and *ỉkr* (9. 3).

[12] *sic*  *ỉḫt*. Possibly what we have transcribed as  is a very cursive rendering of , which is properly written out in line 8. *Wḏb ỉḫt* looks like a mistake for *wdn ỉḫt*.

[13] See SPIEGELBERG, *O.L.Z.*, 1924, 189–190.

[14] E.-L. strangely disregard the fact that *św* is here simply a writing of the personal fem. sing. suffix *ś* governed by the infinitive *ḫn*.

[15] *sic*  is to be read here.

[16] , not as E.-L. Cf. *Pap. Turin, P.R.*, 17. 9.

[17] The reading  is certain. For the Gods of Seeing and Hearing, who are also two of the fourteen *kas* of Rēᶜ, see GARDINER, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, XXXVIII, 84–85 with note 13.

15, 1 *Thou art a good protector of thy villeins*[1]*; thy great*[2] *repasts*[3] *are plentiful like a high Nile.*

Thou art one that aboundeth in provisions, one that knoweth how to convey (?) them (?)[4] *unto all men whom thou willest, like a surging sea.*

Thou art a very magistrate in calmness, a son of praised ones, the darling of all men, possessing the favour of the king[5].

Thou art one that is magnified of estate since thy birth; thy dwelling overfloweth with victuals.

15, 5 *Thou art one that is wealthy in fields, one whose granaries are filled; corn accrued to thee on the day of thy birth.*

Thou art one that possesseth fine horses, one white of sails; thy ships are as carnelians upon the stream.

Thou art one that aboundeth in crews skilled in rowing; their cries[6] *are pleasant when carrying and stowing*[7].

Thou art one that is weighty in counsel, returning an answer; thine abhorrence is bawdy (?)[8] *speech since thou wast born*[9].

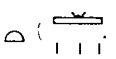
Thou art beautiful in thy body, happy of demeanour (?); the love of thee is in all mankind like a great Nile.

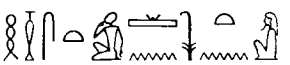
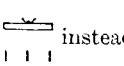
15, 10 *Thou art one that is choice of utterances*[10]*, wise in sayings*[11]*; all that thou sayest goeth straight to the mark, falsehood is thine abhorrence.*

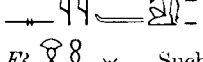
16, 1 *Thou art one that dwelleth magnifically in thine abode; thy servants answer*[12] *speedily.*

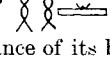
[1] ~~~ after *nfr* is clear. [2] Lit. "heavy."

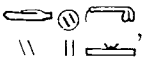
[3] The reading  is certain.

[4] Read *rḫ* . Perhaps the plur. suffix *w* is contained in the corrupt writing . We follow E.-L.'s rendering.

[5]  is the correct reading, or possibly  instead of .

[6]  certain.

[7] *Fy* . Such is clearly the reading despite the slightly abnormal form of the  (the looped appearance of its base is due to the detaching of a tiny flake of papyrus). E.-L.'s reading is surely impossible. The reference is to the carrying on board of cargo and the stowing of it in the hold. For the combination of *fy* and *wḥ* in this connection see above, 5. 2.

[8] If the reading , *dìdì*, is correct, cf. *Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr.*, 57. 115; also *pḥ-ì tḥ n wnš dìdì pḥ-k tḥ*, *Harris* 500, 2. 2, but meaning? See also NAVILLE, *Book of the Dead*, Ch. 125, Introduction, 15.

[9] Delete the first in E.-L.'s *mḥyt-k*.

[10] Read for E.-L.'s .

[11] The original does not to our mind justify E.-L.'s attractive reading; only  seems possible.

[12] Ending of *wšb* probably  and not .

⟨Thou art one⟩ that poureth out lordly drinks (?) hand over hand (?)[1]*; everyone*[2] *that beholdeth thee is festive with good cheer.*

Thou art one that is profitable to[3] *his city*[4]*, that maketh his villeins*[5] *live; every utterance of thine, the heart is content ⟨therewith⟩*[6].

Thou art one that offereth the beer-vessel[7]*, that filleth the bowl; a beloved one with ⟨.....⟩, that smiteth the ox as a pure offering*[8].

16, 5 *Thou art one that yoketh the jubilees ⟨for⟩ the sovereign, that setteth the Nine Bows under his feet, and preserveth his army.*

A Model Letter.

(Written on the back of cols. 5 and 6.)

Address:—

The king's scribe, great superintendent of the cattle of Amonrasōnthēr.

Letter:—

17, 1 *[The king's] scribe, great superintendent of the cattle of Amonrasōnthēr, Nebmaᶜrēᶜ-makht. The scribe Amenwaᶜ.....informs his lord in life, prosperity, health! It is a letter to inform my lord! Another communication to my lord, to the effect that I ask Amun-Rēᶜ-Harakhti, when he riseth and when he setteth, and all the gods who are in my district, to make*
17, 5 *my lord healthy, to give him life, prosperity, health, a long life, and a great old age! Let him be in the favour of Amun-Rēᶜ, Mut, and Khons, enjoying the favour of the Pharaoh his lord daily. And may my lord be sated with many good things which Amun-Rēᶜ, Mut, and Khons, his good lords, do for him, who keep his body sound continually! Another communication to*
17, 10 *my lord, to the effect that I am doing every commission, every item of business, which my lord commanded me to do, thoroughly and steadfastly as copper, without any negligence whatever. Another communication to my lord. The king's scribe, superintendent of the cattle.....*

[1] *Lit.* "Like hand drawing hand." Perhaps  not  should be read.

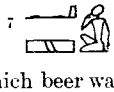
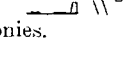
[2] *Ptr tw*  ; so E.-L. rightly.

[3]  is a mere dot.

[4] E.-L.'s reading  as against our  is undoubtedly correct.

[5] *smdt* is very cursively written, but E.-L. are correct in so transcribing the signs.

[6]  is the correct transcription.

[7]  is a corrupt writing, Professor Griffith suggests, of , *cš*, the name for a vase in which beer was presented; see *Urk.*, III, 64. 7. He also suggests that  is simply a corrupt writing of the well-known *ᶜ*-vase used in both temple and funerary ceremonies.

[8] We have adopted E.-L.'s interpretation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY (1924–1925): ANCIENT EGYPT

By Professor F. Ll. GRIFFITH, M.A., F.B.A.

The past year has seen the usual steady progress of Egyptology in all directions. The discoveries of Firth at the Step Pyramid of Saḳḳârah are very remarkable, and we are now looking forward to the completion of Carter's examination of the Tomb of Tutʿankhamūn and to Reisner's clearance of the Seneferu tomb at Gîzah. The Bibliography under the headings of Conservation, Science and Foreign Relations shows remarkable evidence of the development of Egyptology and its interplay with other lines of research. Spiegelberg by publishing a demotic grammar in place of his customary edition of an important text reminds us that the synthetic stage has been well reached also in this department of the language of ancient Egypt.

The remarkable collection of books and pamphlets on Egypt formed by the late Mr. Wilbour was presented in 1916 by his family to the Brooklyn Institute; the Institute has now issued a *Catalogue of the Egyptological Library and other books from the collection of the late Charles Edwin Wilbour*, compiled by W. B. Cook Jr.

Besides other reviews in the *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*, Mercer deals with twenty-one volumes published in 1923 in a special article entitled *Some Recent Books on Egypt*, op. cit., viii, 167. L. B. Ellis analyses the articles in the *Zeitschrift fur ägyptische Sprache* and notes of Egyptological interest printed in the *Comptes Rendus* of the Académie des Inscriptions in *Ancient Egypt*, 1925, 29–31 and 59–63.

The following works I have not seen:—Miethe, *Das Land der Pharaonen*, reviewed by Schubart, who praises the twenty-four pastels of which it chiefly consists, in *O.L.Z.*, xxviii, 366–8; Eckert, *Altvater Nil*, sketches of a journey in Egypt and the Sudan, reviewed by Wolf, *ibid.*, 368–9; and Fuhrmann, *Afrika. Sakralkulte. Vorgeschichte der Hieroglyphen*, 3rd edition, the work of a wild theorist who finds Indo-Germanic origins for words and writing in ancient Egypt, reviewed by Stübe, *ibid.*, 10–12.

An encyclopaedia of "pre-history" is in course of publication in Germany. It is intended to cover the whole field in Europe, Western Asia and the Nearer East, including their early history and embracing philology as well as archaeology in the widest sense; special articles are given to localities where important finds have been made and to modern peoples like the ʿAbabdah who live the life of their remote forefathers with little change. There have already been issued: vol. i (A–B) complete, ii (B–D) two parts, iii (E–F) complete, iv (F–G) one part, v (H–?) one part: these contain Egyptological articles by Ranke, Roeder and Scharff. Ebert, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*.

The Swedish periodical *Sphinx* which seemed to have been discontinued since the war has again appeared. The first part of vol. xxi, much delayed, was issued I think in 1918, the second late in 1924. As the beginning of vol. xxii has quickly followed we may expect it to continue regularly.

Guémard has published a bibliography of Napoleon I's Egyptian Institute and Commission, *Essai de bibliographie critique de l'Institut d'Égypte et de la Commission des Sciences et Arts*, in *Bull. Inst. d'Ég.*, vi, 135–57: volume vii also of the *Bulletin* contains interesting historical articles on the affairs of 1798–1833.

A congress of German Orientalists was held at Munich Oct. 2–4, 1924, with a special section devoted to Egyptology. A report is printed in *Zeits. d. Deutschen Morgenl. Ges.*, lxxviii; pp. lxv–lxvi, lxxiii–lxxv record communications concerning Egyptology, most of which have since been fully published elsewhere.

The International Congress of Geography was held in Cairo April 3–6, 1925. The circular of Sept. 1923 inviting to it is reprinted in *Sphinx*, xxi, 135–40, and an account of the proceedings of the Historical Section is in *Aegyptus*, v, 355–8.

A society known as Fama has been founded at Stockholm with the laudable aim of recording by photograph and description the objects of antiquity scattered in Museums and elsewhere (more particularly Egyptian antiquities), and to supply reproductions and records to members and others. *Sphinx*, xxii, 28–32.

A kind of All Fools' Day formerly observed in Egypt on Sept. 10, the day of the highest Nile, when a Lord of Misrule held the sceptre in town and village, is illustrated by F. P[ETRIE] from KLUNZINGER and RIFAUD. *The King of All the Nobles* in *Ancient Egypt*, 1924, 97.

Ahmed ZÉKI Pasha endeavours to support Herodotus' statement and Mr. DIXON's recent idea of a canal beneath the Great Pyramid by evidence of subterranean canals drawn from Arab writers. *Y a-t-il un canal sous la Grande Pyramide?* in *Bull. Inst. d'Égypte*, VI, 85–91. DARESSY answers the Pasha's question decisively in the negative. *La légende du canal sous la Grande Pyramide*, op. cit., VII, 63–9.

The death took place in March 1924 of 'Alî Bey BAHGAT, at first assistant, and eventually successor, to HERZ Pasha as Keeper of the Arab Museum in Cairo; he was well known for his exploration of the remains of El-Fosṭâṭ, and especially for his study of its ceramics. An obituary notice, *Aly bey Bahgat (1878–1924): sa vie et ses œuvres* in *Bull. Inst. d'Égypte*, VI, 103–13.

NEWBOLD has found remnants of a Nubian language at Gebel Haraza in Northern Kordofân where Arabic is now entirely dominant. *Sudan Notes and Records*, VII, 126–31. STIGAND, *Nuer-English Vocabulary*, is reviewed by Miss WERNER in *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1924, 727.

CONSERVATION.

Sites and Monuments.

The Survey Office has issued a *Map of the Theban Necropolis* in fifteen sheets on the scale of 1 : 1000, showing the position of every known tomb. It was made for the practical purpose of protecting the Department of Antiquities from squatters in the tombs, but apart from that its value to archaeologists as a guide and record is very great. Would that a corresponding survey of the antiquities could be carried over the whole country, valley and desert alike! For the methods of survey, etc., see COLE, *Notes on the Recent Survey of the Theban Necropolis*, in *Ann. Serv. Ant.*, XXIV, 151–6 and ENGELBACH, *Addendum to Survey Report on the Maps of the Theban Necropolis*, ibid., 157–8.

At Luxor the foundations of the granite portico and one of the columns are being strengthened. LACAU, *Les travaux du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte pendant les années 1923 et 1924*, in *Comptes Rendus*, 1924, 299.

At Abydos the temple of Seti I, left open to the sky since 1863, has lately shown signs of injury by rain and is being roofed by BARAIZE, *ibid.*, 299–300.

Hakim Efendi ABU-SEIF gives an interesting account of measures taken to prevent encroachment on lands belonging to the Antiquities Department and to diminish the evil effects of earlier encroachments so as to preserve the numerous archaeological sites in his province for future exploration. *Report on the Inspectorate of Tanta from September 1923 to January 1925* in *Ann. Serv. Ant.*, XXIV, 146–50.

Antiquities.

LUCAS, *Antiques, their Restoration and Preservation*, is a valuable and well-arranged collection of recipes in plain language by the well-known chemist who has now had several years' experience in the treatment of archaeological specimens in the Cairo Museum and at the Tomb of Tutʿankhamūn; reviewed (with many valuable remarks) in *Ancient Egypt*, 1925, 20–2, and by GLANVILLE in *Journal*, XI, 121–2. The same authority writes a *Note on the cleaning of certain objects in the Cairo Museum*, the removal of incrustation on jewellery (in some cases chloride of silver revealing a basis of silver to articles that appeared to be in solid gold), in *Ann. du Serv.*, XXIV, 15–16 (also as *Note sur le nettoyage de certains objets du Musée du Caire* in *Bull. Inst. Arch. Franç.*, XXV, 175–7); and *Methods used in cleaning ancient bronze and silver* in *Ann. du Serv.*, XXIV, 186, regarding the Buto bronzes and the silver hoard from Athribis. LUCAS also writes a *Note on the Temperature and Humidity of several Tombs in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes*, op. cit., XXIV, 12–14.

EXCAVATIONS AND EXPLORATIONS.

KORDOFÂN DESERT, etc. In a journey in the Libyan desert from Bara in Kordofân to Bîr Naṭrûn in Dongola Province and back, NEWBOLD found remarkable wheel-made pottery, stone axes, rude graffiti of elephants, giraffes, etc. at several points and a brick pyramid about 300 miles due west of Khartûm. The antiquities are now in the museum at Khartûm. NEWBOLD, *A desert Odyssey of a Thousand Miles*, in *Sudan Notes and Records*, VII, 43–83. Again, on the rocks at Owenat, eleven days south of Kufra Oasis, HASANEIN-Bey found graffiti of giraffes and ostriches (but not camels). *Through Kufra to Darfûr* in *Geographical Journal*, LXIV, 355 and 361.

MEROË. The Boston work from Nov. 1922 to 1923 completed the excavation of the Western Cemetery of royal relatives, proving that it began to be used in the time of Piankhi; from it were obtained a quantity of jewellery and scarabs. In finally clearing the northern pyramids of rubbish left by plunderers the excavators were unexpectedly rewarded by finding a silver bowl of Hellenistic workmanship at the pyramid of King Amentabale. REISNER, *Excavations in Egypt and Ethiopia, 1922–1925*, in *Boston Bulletin*, XXIII, 17–21. The bowl, decorated with a scene of judgement, is described, *ibid.*, 10, by Miss G. M. R[ICHTER]. Two intact burials of princesses, one of the Ethiopian family of about 600 B.C. with amulets and jewellery, the other of a Meroitic queen buried in a pyramid of the Western Cemetery with rich jewellery of about A.D., are described and illustrated as being the best preserved of the royal burials at Meroë by DUNHAM, *Two Royal Ladies of Meroë* (*Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Communications to the Trustees*, VII), reviewed by PEET in *Journal*, XI, 115.

NAPATA. GRIFFITH, *Oxford Excavations in Nubia*, in *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, IX, X (Sanam cemetery, temple, etc.), is reviewed in *Ancient Egypt*, 1924, 91–2, and the whole series as far as published in *Annals*, VIII–X, is reviewed by WIEDEMANN in *O.L.Z.*, XXVIII, 73–6.

KERMA. REISNER, *Excavations at Kerma*, is reviewed by CROWFOOT in *Sudan Notes and Records*, VII, 113–17, and GRIFFITH in *Journal*, X, 340–1.

SEMNA. From Jan. 1924 to May 1925 REISNER worked at the two forts and the cemeteries of their garrisons, recording also the rock inscriptions. It was found that a fortress stairway to the water had been continued down to the present water level before the end of the Middle Kingdom although as late as the beginning of Dyn. XIII the level was much higher. REISNER, *Excav. in Eg. and Eth.*, 1922–5 (as above), 18–28.

FARAS. First half of the description of the Meroitic cemetery, with fifty-seven plates. GRIFFITH, *Oxford Excavations in Nubia*, in *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, XI, 141–80.

EDFU. Clearances by *sebbâkhîn* and systematic excavations in the mounds west of the temple, yielding papyri etc. chiefly of Coptic and Arabic times, with plans. HENNE, *Tell Edfou*, 1921–2 (*Fouilles de l'Inst. Fr. d'Arch. Or., Rapp. Prélim.*, I, 2).

THEBES, *West Bank. A supplement to the Topographical Catalogue of the Private Tombs of Thebes*, Nos. 253–334, by ENGELBACH, adds no less than eighty-one to the list in GARDINER and WEIGALL'S *Catalogue* of 1913, and gives a retrospect of doings in excavation, publication and conservation since that date; encroachment of squatters has at last been definitely stopped, thanks to the mapping done by the Survey Department in 1920–1.

SCHIAPARELLI'S work in the Valley of the Tombs of the Queens, *Relazione sui lavori*, etc., I, is reviewed by FARINA in *Aegyptus*, V, 257–75, by PEET in *Journal*, XI, 117–18, and by WRESZINSKI in *O.L.Z.*, XXVIII, 13–16.

Following on work by Italians, Germans and French at Dêr el-Medînah, the Institut Français made systematic and complete clearances at the north end of the necropolis, throwing an entirely new light on the tombs of the priestly *sedem-ᶜsh* who were regularly interred there. All are of the New Kingdom, but each generation encroached on its predecessors' ground. The tombs are like temples with a square court entered by a gateway or a small pylon; at the inner end of this was a portico and chapel, either built or rock-cut, and consisting of one or more rooms, and surmounted by a pyramid; the burial shaft is in the court or the chapel and gives entrance to various chambers. The tombs found are already catalogued in ENGELBACH'S *Supplement*. Some clearance was also done at the south end to identify the chapel of the important tomb of Anḥer-khaᶜu whence LEPSIUS had obtained a series of names of deceased kings and princes. BRUYÈRE, *Deir el-Médineh* (1922–3) (*Fouilles de l'Inst. Fr., Rapp. Prélim.*, I, 1). BRUYÈRE publishes and ingeniously restores a fresco of Dyn. XVIII, apparently from the ḥarîm-quarter of a house, showing a lady with attendants, all nude, *Un fragment de fresque de Deir el Médineh* in *Bull. Inst. Franç.*, XXII, 121–33; and describes the isolated coffin of a nameless prince about 5½ years old found in rubbish as if abandoned *en route* from the Valley of the Queens to Dêr el-Baḥrî; this prince he suggests may be Khaemwast, a son of Ramesses III. *Un jeune prince Ramesside trouvé à Deir el Médineh*, op. cit., XXV, 147–65.

A note of CARTER'S work of last season at the tomb of Tutᶜankhamūn in clearing up the temporary store in the tomb of Sety II and dispatching the antiquities to Cairo is in *Aegyptus*, V, 363–4. SPIEGELBERG discusses (1) the sealing of the entrance and illustrates it from other instances and from the texts and (2) the serpent-standard representing the goddess Ḳebḥut who bathed and cooled the king. *Zu dem Grabfunde des Tutenchamun* in *O.L.Z.*, XXVIII, 140–4.

The report by LYTHGOE of *The Egyptian Expedition*, 1923–4 (*Bull. Metr. Mus.*, Dec. 1924, Part II), contains, 5–33, WINLOCK, *The Museum's Excavations at Thebes*, clearing round Dêr el-Baḥrî and rediscovering lost tombs of Dyn. XI and of Dyn. XXI when Hatshepsut's temple became a sacred place for priestly burials; at the foot of the temple ramp were found artificial T-shaped ponds with remains of papyrus thickets. 44–52, DAVIES, *The Graphic work of the Expedition*, chiefly concerned with foreigners, in Huy, Rekhmirē‘, also the Atenist additions to the tomb of Ra‘mose. The report for the previous season is reviewed in *Ancient Egypt*, 1924, 94–5. A very long and valuable paper, *The Tombs of the Kings of the Seventeenth Dynasty at Thebes*, has been contributed to *Journal*, X, 217–77, by WINLOCK who has brought together and critically used scattered information about early excavations from the most obscure sources and is able to mark out precisely the situation of the royal tombs of this dynasty in the Dirâ‘ abu 'l-Naga. He admits only one Seḳenenrē‘ (Ta-‘o II) and introduces two Sebekemsaf kings into Dyn. XVII, pointing out historical inaccuracies of naming in the Abbott Papyrus in the important series of royal tombs mentioned there.

East Bank. At Karnak PILLET is restoring Pylon X and has restored the temple of Amenophis II at the side of the preceding court; the temple proves to have been built of materials already once used by the same king. From Pylon III blocks of various earlier buildings continue to be extracted. LACAU, *Les travaux d. Serv. des Antiquités de l'Égypte pendant les années 1923 et 1924*, in *Comptes Rendus*, 1924, 300–1. The details are given in PILLET's report:—In the Hypostyle Hall the columns in the north-west have been freed of their stays, but in the south-east there has been further movement: the exterior of the north wall with the reliefs of Sety I has been safeguarded. From Pylon III sixteen more alabaster blocks of the sanctuary of Amenophis I and one of nearly ninety tons belonging to the roof of a sanctuary of Amenophis II and more blocks of the unfinished chapel of Tuthmosis IV have been extracted; also over fifty granite blocks of the chapel of Hatshepsut and a pedestal of Amenemmes III and IV. The obelisk of Tuthmosis I has been carefully examined and measured; it was originally 20·23 metres high, and though inclined it has not shifted since observations of 1880. A large part of the southern outer wall was cleared, yielding only fragments and a statue of Sety II. The walls of the Chapel of Tahraqa on two sides are built of stone in undulating courses; the reliefs are almost entirely destroyed but show persons on a hilly ground. At Pylon VII, portions from the top of the gateway have been found but none of the middle; also hammers of dolerite for "stunning" the stone. At Pylon VIII fragments of a stela of Amenophis II on the west side, and further portions of the doorway of Ramesses IX have been found. The clearance and restoration of the temple of Amenophis II have been completed. At Pylon X some blocks of Amenophis IV have been recovered and the restoration is proceeding. In some Christian buildings between Pylons IX and X a small obelisk of Ramesses III has been found.

At the Temple of Mont a quay at the north end of the approach is marked in MARIETTE's plan but not described; this was cleared and found to be unfinished but with the names of Nitocris and Psammetichus. Possibly a canal passed in front of it. PILLET, *Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak* (1923–4), in *Ann. Serv. Ant.*, XXIV, 53–88, with copies of inscriptions.

ḲUFṬ. Remains found by natives proved in June 1923 to be foundations of an Arab tower built of stones from a temple of Ptolemy IX. REISNER, *Excavations*, ibid., 18.

DENDERAH. BARAIZE continues clearing round the small temple of Isis which has been completely planned. LACAU, *Les travaux*, etc., *ibid.*, 299.

NAG‘ ED-DÊR. Some further excavation, Oct.–Dec. 1923. REISNER, *Excavations*, ibid., 18.

ABYDOS. The work of the British School in 1921–2 is recorded fully in PETRIE, *Tombs of the Courtiers and Oxyrhynkhos*. About a mile from the royal tombs, on the edge of the desert near the forts of Dyn. II graves of Dyn. I were found in a continuous line forming a hollow rectangle; three such rectangles were discovered, apparently graves of courtiers of Zer, Zet and Merneit respectively, who had probably been slain and interred simultaneously at the death of their king. The ground had been subsequently utilised for tombs of the Middle Kingdom and Saite periods. Many interesting finds were made of tools, etc., some inscribed, and of stelae from Dyn. I onward. A stela of Dyn. XI and a Ptolemaic (?) coffin are dealt with by GARDINER; an anchorite's cave in the wâdî beyond the royal tombs is described by Lady PETRIE and Miss MURRAY translates the inscriptions.

BARAIZE, while providing a roof to the temple of Sety, is also completing the clearance; this has brought to light vaulted brick magazines on the south side and in the first court two small enclosures for sacred trees. LACAU, *Les travaux*, etc., *ibid.*, 299–300.

EL-'AMARNAH. *The City of Akhenaten I*, by PEET and WOOLLEY, is reviewed by PIEPER in *O.L.Z.*, XXVII, 593–600. The excavations of 1923–4 are reported upon by NEWTON (houses on the main site yielding fine bronze knives and figure of a young king, house-plans showing mangers, granaries, etc., and north of the town a palace in which were found a fine drawing on an ostracon, sculptured stone mangers, and remains of fresco) and GRIFFITH (progress made in excavation of the town, statues of Akhenaten with queen in a shrine, slabs from sites on west bank). *Excavations at el-'Amarnah*, 1923–4, in *Journal*, X, 289–305. Note on work of last season completing the excavation of the palace, etc., *ibid.*, XI, 107.

BENI ḤASAN. Grave in the sand built of limestone slabs, plundered, containing fayence amulets. ENGELBACH, *Saite Tomb discovered at Beni Hasan*, in *Ann. Serv. Ant.*, XXIV, 159–60.

BAHNESÂ. Work of the British School in 1922 amongst Roman tombs and a theatre; the water level is reached in Roman remains. PETRIE, *Tombs of the Courtiers and Oxyrhynkhos*.

SEDMENT and MAYANA. The archaeologically rich results of excavations, apparently a final gleaning from the great but ruined cemeteries of Heracleopolis. PETRIE and BRUNTON, *Sedment*, I, II. These and PETRIE, *Lahun*, II, are reviewed by HALL in *Journal*, XI, 115–16.

FAYYÛM. WAINWRIGHT describes and figures many objects of household use from Kôm Washîm and Batn Ahrît. Though of Roman and Coptic date they must not be omitted from this report. *Coptic reading desks from the Fayum; Basketry, cordage, etc. from the Fayum; Household objects from Kôm Washîm* in *Ann. Serv. Ant.*, XXIV, 97–121.

Note on Miss Caton THOMPSON's prehistoric researches north-west of the Fayyûm. *Ancient Egypt*, 1925, 32.

LISHT. Further clearances at the south pyramid (Sesostris I) resulting in discovery of tomb remains of the period, fragments of the enclosure wall, etc. LANSING, *The Museum's Excavations at Lisht*, in LYTHGOE's *Report of the Egyptian Expedition*, 1923–4, 33–43.

SAḲḲÂRAH. QUIBELL, *Excavations at Saqqara 1912–14, Archaic Mastabas* was published in 1923 but has escaped notice in the Bibliography hitherto. The chief site was at the north end of the Saḳḳârah necropolis overlooking Abûsîr, where the tombs of Dyn. I–III were situated. The tombs had been thoroughly ransacked in remote antiquity and the site was scarcely utilised again; some are of great size and seem to represent an entire house underground. With these are published the tomb of the "dwarf" of Dyn. XXX near the Teta pyramid, and the remains of a tomb chapel of the same period midway between the pyramid and Mariette's house.

In 1923–4 FIRTH with GUNN and DUNHAM, clearing the pyramid chapel of Teti, found the sculptured wooden door of a mastaba still in position, and two Aegean vases in a grave of Dyn. XIX. The burial chambers of Dyn. VI prove to be decorated with funerary formulae from the writing of which figures of gods and men are excluded; on two sarcophagi are engraved curious prayers to the priests to deposit the body carefully. At the Step Pyramid two stone tombs were found of Dyn. III built of small blocks finely fitted, with engaged columns of two kinds, one imitating a single papyrus stem, the other of an entirely new type, the shaft lightly fluted, the capital consisting of two large leaves binding the top to right and left: one doorway is sculptured to represent the door thrown open against the wall. LACAU, *Les travaux*, etc., *ibid.*, 301–6. These last are published by FIRTH, *Two Mastaba Chapels of the IIIrd Dynasty at Sakkara*, in *Ann. Serv. Ant.*, XXIV, 122–7. The small mastabas or pyramids are north-east of the Step Pyramid and within its enclosure, probably for queens of Senefru; the chapels are on the south face, the papyrus columns on the side walls of the court in front, the fluted columns in the façade; the walls of the chapel plain. The tomb pits were outside the east wall of the court; one of them ends in a rough chamber plundered out early but with remains of stone vessels of Dyn. III at entrance of the chamber. In the continued work of FIRTH and GUNN at the Step Pyramid a statue of King Zoser (Dyn. III) has been found. *Journal*, XI, 107–8.

At the Maṣṭabat el-Far'ûn JÉQUIER has found the name of Shepseskaf (Dyn. IV). *Journal*, XI, 108.

GÎZAH. Full record of excavation in 1915 of a space 60 metres square in the necropolis behind the Great Pyramid occupied by small mastabas of Dyn. IV–V. FISHER, *The Minor cemetery at Giza* (Univ. of Pennsylvania, Eg. Section, Eckley B. Coxe Jr. Foundation, new Series, vol. I).

In 1923–4 BOULOS worked in the necropolis about the First and Second Pyramids, finding a granite house-sarcophagus with panther skin over it in sculpture in a mastaba of Dyn. IV; and between the Second Pyramid and the Sphinx a group of Dyn. IV–V mastabas on a new plan, one with two serdabs each containing five statues, the wall pierced in front of each. LACAU, *Les travaux*, etc., *ibid.*, 297–9.

In the cemetery of Cheops, east of the First Pyramid, a strip of 100 × 120 metres has been completely cleared by the Boston expedition from the queens' pyramids to the eastern edge of the plateau, exposing a number of streets of mastaba-tombs belonging to princes and great officials and showing their orderly arrangement. Two tombs of Dyn. VI were found and the intact tomb with the name of King Senefru which is to be worked out in the coming season. REISNER, *Excavations*, etc., *ibid.*, 28–9.

ABU RAWÂSH. The remnants of mastabas of Dyn. IV, etc. near the village have been systematically cleared and in Wâdî Ḳeren, north of the pyramid, a sanctuary and a large cavern with a fragment of Nekhtharhebi (Nekhtanebo II). BISSON DE LA ROQUE, *Abou-Roasch* (*Fouilles de l'Inst. Arch. Franç., Rapp. Prélim.*, I, 3).

BENHÂ. Record of earlier finds in the *tell* and of a find in 1924 of two jars filled with silver fragments including some amulets and a plaque of the prince Bakennif. ENGELBACH, *The Treasure of Athribis* (*Benha*), in *Ann. Serv. Ant.*, XXIV, 178–85.

SAMANNÛD. Discovery of two grey granite sarcophagi with scenes and inscriptions of Persian or Greek age in a modern cemetery. Hakim Effendi ABOU-SEIF, *Two granite Sarcophagi from Samannûd* (*Lower Egypt*), ibid., 91–6.

TELL FARA'ÎN. Clever seizure by the police of bronze hawks, etc. ENGELBACH, *Seizure of Bronzes from Buto* (*Tell Fara'în*), ibid., 169–77.

The new issue of PETRIE, *Ten years Digging in Egypt* (1881–91) is reviewed by WIEDEMANN in *O.L.Z.*, XXVIII, 214–15.

PUBLICATION OF TEXTS.

(*a*) *From sites in Egypt, etc.*

AMADA. GAUTHIER, *Quelques corrections à ma publication du temple d'Amada*, in *Ann. Serv.*, XXIV, 6–9, notably the stela of Amenophis II.

EDFU. BISSON DE LA ROQUE, *Complément de la stèle d'Amenemhat fils de Pathenf*, in *Bull. Inst. Franç.*, XXV, 47–8, stela of the time of Shabako published in 1921, now nearly complete, enabling most of a curious dedication to be read.

THEBES. DAVIES, *The Tomb of Tetaky at Thebes* (*no. 15*), in *Journal*, XI, 10–18, of the rare period of the beginning of Dyn. XVIII, hand-facsimile of the surviving scenes and inscriptions. DAVIES, *The Tomb of Puyemrê at Thebes*, is reviewed by WRESZINSKI in *O.L.Z.*, XXVIII, 215–21. A very difficult and fragmentary text of particular interest is edited from a new collation and translated by GARDINER, *The Autobiography of Rekhmerē*, in *Zeits. f. äg. Spr.*, LX, 62–76.

MÊR. BLACKMAN, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, I–III, is reviewed by WRESZINSKI in *O.L.Z.*, XXVIII, 215–21.

DERWAH-ṬÛNAH. LEFEBVRE has completed his great publication (in three volumes) of the tomb of Petosiris by the issue of the descriptive text, containing a study of the owner and his family, the architecture, art, literary features and date of the tomb, and a revised translation of the prodigious series of inscriptions which it contains. *Le tombeau de Petosiris*, 1ère Partie, *Description*.

TELL EL-MASKHÛṬAH. Trilingual decree celebrating the great victory of Raphia in year 6 of Ptolemy Philopator over Antiochus III of Syria: a fragmentary and faulty text combined with the duplicate fragment from Memphis gives the greater part of the demotic and small portions of the Greek and hieroglyphic. The circumstances of the decree are recited at great length without adding materially to the known facts; the decree confers honours and establishes festivals to commemorate the king and his sister-queen. GAUTHIER and SOTTAS, *Un décret trilingue en l'honneur de Ptolémée IV*, an excellent edition; *cf.* a notice of the decree by SOTTAS in *Comptes Rendus*, 1924, 199.

(*b*) *From museums, etc.*

CAIRO. Edition of the Dream stela of the Ethiopian King Tenutamen. ANDERSSON-AKMAR, *La stèle du songe*, in *Sphinx*, XXI, 43–134; reviewed by ANTHES in *O.L.Z.*, XXVIII, 463–4.

MUNICH. Inscriptions of two sculptured groups of Dyn. XVIII–XIX in the Glyptothek, hitherto misunderstood. One is from Thebes, the other from Memphis, the latter representing persons who reappear on a stela at Florence worshipping Apis, probably as childless and hoping for progeny. SPIEGELBERG *Aegyptologische Mitteilungen* (Bavarian Academy *Sitzb.*, 1925), 11–24.

BERLIN. The second volume of the inscriptions has been completed by the issue of a very thick instalment by ROEDER with indices to both volumes. These contain all except the purely religious inscriptions down to the end of Dyn. XXIV. The later inscriptions are reserved for a third volume. *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Stadtlichen Museen zu Berlin.* VIII Heft.

BRUSSELS. Fragment of a fine basalt naos of Apries, from the Amherst Collection, and evidently belonging to Sais, dedicated to the rare god Twawa son of Neith, with interesting mythological representations including the "children of the king of Lower Egypt" as figured in the Pyramid Texts. CAPART, *Un fragment de Naos Saïte* (*Mémoires* of the Brussels Academy, in-8°, 2me Sér., T. XIX).

LONDON. Fifty more plates of stelae, etc. of Dyn. XVIII, mostly from Thebes. HALL, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., in the British Museum*, Part VII.

The interesting text of the Lansing Papyrus of which a facsimile was given by BUDGE in his *Hieratic Texts* in 1923 has been edited for the first time by ERMAN and LANGE. The MS dates from the end of Dyn. XX and consists of seven letters of warning and advice from a master to his pupil, and three of thanks and praise from the pupil to the master. The latter was a high official who evidently had one or more clerks in training in his office, and it is suggested that this collection was written out as a final exercise of skill on leaving the school and preserved by the pupil as a witness to the education he had received. The beginning of a business report to the master from another person is partly preserved on the same sheet, having been written there earlier. *Papyrus Lansing, eine aegyptische Schulhandschrift der 20 Dynastie* (*Meddelelser* of the Royal Danish Scientific Society, X, no. 3).

(*c*) *Miscellaneous.*

SETHE finishes his edition of certain funerary spells in the Book of the Dead with the eighth spell (cap. 108 and 111 with 149 *d*) used by Seth against the great snake on the mountain of Bakhu which threatens the bark of Rēʿ. *Die Sprüche für das Kennen der Seelen der heiligen Orte*, in *Zeitschr. f. ag. Spr.*, LIX, 73–99. The complete memoir is also issued separately.

Group of man and wife in black stone on alabaster base with long inscriptions of titles, etc. in Heliopolis. GAUTHIER, *Un groupe Ptolémaïque d'Héliopolis*, in *Rec. Égyptologique*, N.S., III, 1–12.

A stela of year 22 of Osorkon II interesting for the style of sculpture; the original has gone to America. MARUCCHI, *Di una stela egizia dedicata in occasione del Giubileo del Faraone Osorkon II*, in *Rendiconti d. Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, I, 77–88.

(*d*) *Demotic.*

SOTTAS, *Papyrus démotiques de Lille*, is reviewed by JUNKER, *Wiener Zeits. f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes*, XXXI, 324.

HISTORY.

THE CAMBRIDGE ANCIENT HISTORY, vol. I, is reviewed by LUCKENBILL in *American Journal of Sem. Lang.*, XLI, 66–70. Sir Wallis BUDGE has written a small history *Egypt* in the series of the *Home University Library. The History of the Pharaohs*, by WEIGALL, vol. I, *The first eleven Dynasties*, has been published.

JÉQUIER'S *Histoire de la civilisation égyptienne* is reviewed by PIEPER in *O.L.Z.*, XXVIII, 223–9, with remarks on the Turin papyrus of kings.

PETRIE collects, classifies and discusses the abundant titles found on monuments of all periods: *The Palace Titles* in *Ancient Egypt*, 1924, 109–22; *The Royal Officials*, op. cit., 1925, 11–18; and *Justice and Revenue*, ibid., 45–54.

In an elaborate argument founded on style and chronology, and in some instances from the circumstances of finding, CHRISTIAN endeavours to show that the "prehistoric" cemeteries of Egypt and the other "predynastic" remains should be placed between Dyn. VI and XII, a time when Asiatics and Libyans poured into the defenceless country. *Untersuchungen zur Palaöethnologie des Orients* (*Mitteil. d. Anthropol. Ges. in Wien*, LV, 183–230).

The great palette found by QUIBELL at Hieraconpolis represents Narmer, who is probably Menes himself, not triumphing over "6000 enemies" but preparing to give the *coup de grâce* to the king of Buto, whereby the "Northland became his captive." It commemorates in fact the great historic union of the Two Countries. RANKE, *Eine Bemerkung zur Narmer Palette* (*Studia Orientalia, Commentationes in honorem Knut Tallqvist*, I, 167–75).

Titles of Queen Iput of Dyn. VI on bronze vessels found by Firth at Saḳḳârah and discussion of the entire series of titles of queens of the Old Empire. GAUTHIER, *La titulature des reines des dynasties memphites*, in *Ann. Serv. Ant.*, XXIV, 198–209. New forms of titles of Amenemmes IV and of Ramesses III. ID., *À propos de certains monuments décrits dans le dernier rapport de M. Pillet*, ibid., 196–7.

PETRIE takes (1) names from dated monuments of Dyn. XII, (2) names associated with Waḥ-ka names, (3) Miss MURRAY's collection of Old Kingdom names, comparing them in order to ascertain how far the Waḥ-ka series (so conspicuous in the great tomb at Ḳau) is distinctive. *The Historical value of Egyptian Names* in *Ancient Egypt*, 1924, 76–83.

According to BONNET, *Zur Baugeschichte des Mentuhoteptempels*, in *Zeitschr. f. ag. Spr.*, LX, 40–5, the funerary temple of Menthotp at Dêr el-Baḥrî, which BORCHARDT considered to have been built for two kings Menthotp III and IV, was for the former king alone, the tomb in the cliff and the pyramid with its tomb beneath being intended respectively as grave and cenotaph for ceremonial reasons.

ANTHES studies the titles of nomarchs of the Middle Kingdom, and places the important Neheri I of the Hare-nome in the time when Asyût had fallen to the Thebans and the Hare-nome was the southern bulwark of the Heracleopolitan kings, not many decades before Dyn. XII. *Die zeitliche Ansetzung des Fursten Nhrj I vom Hasengau* in *Zeitschr. f. ag. Spr.*, LIX, 100–8.

LUTZ thinks he can find a verbal reference to the assassination of Amenemmes I in Sinuhe. *Amer. Journ. of Sem. Lang.*, XLI, 192–3.

WOLFF proves that Amenḥotp was viceroy of Nubia under Tuthmosis IV. *Zeitschr. f. ag. Spr.*, LIX, 157–8. The word *aten* is very frequent in the reign of Amenophis III and some of the ideas of Akhenaten's Hymn to the Aten are found in the Cairo hymn to Amūn which must have been written in the reign of Amenophis III. On the other hand the worship of the radiant sun-disk and in art the scenes of royal family life are not traceable before the reign of Akhenaten. There is no evidence that Aten was intended to be adopted as a universal god acceptable to all nations under the empire. *Vorläufer der Reformation Echnaton's* in *Zeitschr. f. ag. Spr.*, LIX, 109–19. WEIGALL, *Echnaton, König von Ägypten, und seine Zeit*, is reviewed by WOLF in *O.L.Z.*, XXVII, 600–3.

NEWBERRY, *A duplicate text of Horemheb's coronation inscription*, in *Ancient Egypt*, 1925, 4, points out the equivalence of a fragment in PETRIE, *Memphis*, I, Pl. VI.

DAVIES endeavours to follow the history of the Audience-window and its changes of form in the sculptures and paintings of Dyn. XVIII; the king is first represented as presiding at public functions in the person of Hatshepsut; from Amenophis II such scenes are usual. *The Place of Audience in the Palace* in *Zeitschr. f. ag. Spr.*, LX, 50–6.

A slab of fine Memphite workmanship from the tomb of a priest Sai depicts a funeral cortège in which a general holds a place apart in front of the viziers: this can be none other than Haremheb before his elevation to the throne, dating the sculpture to the reign of Tutʿankhamūn. SPIEGELBERG, *Die Datierung des Berliner "Trauerreliefs,"* in *Zeitschr. f. ag. Spr.*, LX, 56–8.

LEFEBVRE, *Monuments relatifs à Amon de Karnak*, in *Ann. Serv. Ant.*, XXIV, 133–45, publishes a statuette of Reme, High Priest of Amūn in the time of Menephtah, states that he is identical with the High Priest Roy, hitherto treated as a different person, and illustrates some passages in the inscriptions from published and unpublished texts of other High Priests of Amūn; Si-Amūn called Mersu must be struck out of the list of High Priests of Amūn; edits a fragmentary granite stela of Amenophis II restored by Sety I, found by PILLET against west tower of Pylon VIII.

PEET, *A possible year date of king Ramesses VII*, in *Journal*, XI, 72–5, gives from papyri at Turin probable dates to year 7 of this king for whom no dates had previously been identified, with an addendum on the regnal dates by GARDINER. In a long article he analyses all the known documents concerning the Theban tomb robberies, dividing them into seven groups chiefly according to the particular robberies to which they refer. All are dated in the reign of Ramesses IX or in the epoch of "Repeating of Births" whatever that may mean. *Fresh light on the tomb robberies of the Twentieth Dynasty at Thebes, some new papyri in London and Turin*, in *Journal*, XI, 37–55.

GRIFFITH sketches the history of Nubia from the end of the New Kingdom to the fall of paganism in the sixth century A.D., remarking on the great monumental gap in Lower Nubia of a thousand years before the Meroitic period, and the incoming of Blemmyes and Nubians in the third century A.D. *Oxford Excavations in Nubia* in *Liverpool Annals*, XI, 115–25.

Cleopatra in choosing death by snakebite, far from seeking an easy death, adopted one suitable to an Egyptian queen. SPIEGELBERG, *Aegyptologische Mitteilungen* (in *Sitzb. Bayer. Ak.*, 1925), 3–6.

Prince Omar TOUSSOUN's extensive *Mémoire sur les finances de l'Égypte depuis les Pharaons jusqu'à nos jours* (*Mémoires de l'Inst. d'Égypte*, T. VI, also *Mém. de la Soc. arch. d'Alexandrie*, T. II) becomes important only with the Moslem period when the evidence of Arabic authors flows freely.

CAPART has published a fine quarto volume, *Thèbes, la gloire d'un grand passé*, illustrated with interesting photographs from various sources.

GEOGRAPHY.

Prince Omar TOUSSOUN has written an elaborate work on the history of the Nile, its mouths, canals and inundations, from Egyptian classical and Arabic sources, with illustrations and maps *Mémoire sur l'Histoire du Nil* (*Mém. de l'Inst. de l'Égypte*, VIII–X). Notes on traces of the Roman canal to Alexandria, and evidence of sinking and subsequent rising of the coast near Alexandria. *Ancient Egypt*, 1924, 96.

CLÉDAT studies the ancient routes from Rafa to Pelusium in inscriptions, the Greek and Roman geographers and the Arab authorities, also that from Pelusium to Alexandria. He considers Pelusium to have been a Greek foundation, and places Heracleopolis at Tennîs. *Notes sur l'Isthme de Suez* in *Bull. Inst. Franç. d'Arch. Or.*, XXII, 135–89; and, continuing, studies the road to Arabia from Babylon, the Petra route, Pelusium to Ailah, Pelusium to Memphis, Memphis to Clysma, Pelusium to Clysma—all these by land—and three canals, (1) "the Canal of the Jifâr" for irrigation from the Pelusiac branch to the edge of the Isthmus and eventually to Ostracine, (2) "the Canal of the Pharaohs" from high up on the Pelusiac branch through the Wâdî Tumîlât to the Red Sea following an ancient, prehistoric, branch of the Nile, (3) from the Nile through el-Gisr and Lake Timsâḥ to join the last; CLÉDAT argues against GARDINER's identification of Pelusium with the Residence of Ramesses, *op. cit.*, XXIII, 27–84.

In an addendum to his review of the *Cambridge Ancient History*, I, BLACKMAN has a note on the town of Het-nswt in Middle Egypt. *Journ. R. As. Soc.*, 1925, 506–7.

FOREIGN RELATIONS.

The Egyptians and the Aegean islanders were the navigators of the Mediterranean in early times, and much trade was done with the Phoenician coast; but the Phoenicians themselves were not navigators until the fall of Crete and the diminution of Egyptian power towards the end of the second millennium B.C. KÖSTER, *Schiffahrt und Handelsverkehr des ostlichen Mittelmeeres im 3 u. 2 Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (*Beihefte zum Alten Orient*, 1), with good illustrations. KÖSTER's larger work, *Das antike Seewesen*, is reviewed by SCHÄFER in *O.L.Z.*, XXVIII, 447–51.

PETRIE, *The Caucasian Atlantis and Egypt* (*Ancient Egypt*, 1924, 123–4), suggests that there may be a prehistoric basis for the idea of an Atlantis in the Caucasian Isthmus according to the theory of FESSENDEN.

The second part of WRESZINSKI, *Atlas zur Altagyptischen Kulturgeschichte*, is to contain photographs taken by the Berlin Academy expedition of 1912–13, which was sent to collect representations of foreign peoples on the Egyptian monuments, under the direction of the late Max BURCHARDT. These photographs of which there will be 167 in large oblong plates are to be interpreted by line drawings accompanying them. Six instalments have appeared as yet; the first two are reviewed by N. de G. DAVIES and F. P[ETRIE] in *Ancient Egypt*, 1925, 19–20, and by PIEPER in *O.L.Z.*, XXVIII, 295–9. BONNET reviews Part I in *Zeits. d. D. Morg. Ges.*, LXXVIII, 64.

Europe.

In *The Times*, Oct. 16–17, 1924, Sir Arthur EVANS describes his discovery of a road from Cnossus over the hills to a port on the south coast of Crete which seems to mark the way by which Egypt was reached and Egyptian wares were brought into Crete and Cretan wares into Egypt.

Miss E. PRICE re-examines the pottery discovered at Naucratis and endeavours to identify the fabrics of the founding cities, describing and illustrating the wares; she remarks that present opinion places the foundation of Naucratis in the reign of Psammetichus I, the decorated pottery beginning certainly as early as the last quarter of the seventh century B.C. *Pottery of Naukratis* in *Journal of the Hellenic Society*, XLIV, 180–222.

PIEPER discusses scarabs found outside Egypt and concludes that most are local imitations of Egyptian scarabs, and in Greek lands are especially Naucratite. *Die ägyptischen Scarabaen und ihre Nachbildungen in den Mittelmeerenländern* in *Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr.*, LX, 45–50.

Asia.

Note by MIGEOD on *Connexion of Egypt and India* from an Indian tradition recorded by Philostratus, *Man*, XXIV, 160, *cf.* ROSE, *op. cit.*, XXV, 15.

Studies in Early Pottery of the Near East, by FRANKFORT, is reviewed by HALL in *The Antiquaries*

Journal, v, 307–11, Meek in *Amer. Journ. of Sem. Lang.*, xli, 205–6, Peet in *Journal*, x, 338–9, Petrie in *Man*, xxv, no. 4, and calls forth an article by Andrae, *Alte Töpferware des nahen Orients*, in *O.L.Z.*, xxvii, 697–701.

Homs. Loukianoff, *Stèle du Pharaon Seti Ier trouvée à Tell-Nebi-Mendou en Syrie*, in *Ancient Egypt*, 1924, 101–8, discusses the figures and remains of inscription on the fragment.

Haurân. Hrozny has been excavating at Shêkh Sa'd where there is a deserted Moslem "Shêkh" on an ancient site marked by the "Job Stone" of Ramesses II. *Comptes Rendus*, 1924, 267.

Byblos. Amongst the objects of the Old and Middle Kingdoms found in 1922 beneath the pavement of the "Egyptian" temple was a large jar packed with hundreds of torques and pins, and some girdles, in bronze, together with a few others in silver; they were accompanied by Egyptian jewellery, beads and scarabs of Hyksos style. A torque and a pin of the same kind were found by Petrie at Kahun and thus would belong to the later period of the Middle Kingdom. Hubert of the Musée de St. Germain publishes a sample of these objects and discusses them, tracing their ultimate provenance to the region of the Caucasus or perhaps Armenia. *De quelques objets de bronze trouvés à Byblos* in *Syria*, vi, 16–29.

Montet reports the exploration of four more tombs vi–ix in the royal necropolis, all rudely quarried and all plundered. vii contained a rude sarcophagus, ix two fragments of vases with cartouches of a "prince of Gebal Ab-shemu" [apparently to be read together as name with title]; these he places after Dyn. XII. Between ii–iv and the Crusaders' Wall were earlier graves, one still containing hand-made pottery of a kind which had been found in a grave pierced by Tomb i. Interesting [Dyn. XVIII] vases, etc. were found in other graves southward near the seashore. *Les fouilles de Byblos en 1924* in *Comptes Rendus*, 1925, 25–33, cf. *id., ibid.* 1924, 295–6, *Syria*, v, 385, and Dussaud, *Rapport sur l'activité du Service des Antiquités de Syrie pendant les premiers mois de 1924*, in *Comptes Rendus*, 1924, 207–8, who mentions the clearance of three grottoes by the soldier-guardian.

The publication by Dussaud of the Phoenician inscriptions from Byblos is reviewed in *Ancient Egypt*, 1925, 24–5. Bauer accepts Dussaud's dating while correcting the translation in several passages and eliminating the name of Hathor. *Eine phönikische Inschrift aus dem 13 Jahrh.* in *O.L.Z.*, xxviii, 129–40. Dussaud gives the views of a number of scholars on the Ahiram inscription: the name of Hathor disappears and its place is taken by the word *ḥoṭer*, "sceptre." *Syria*, v, 386–8. The same scholar announces the acquisition by the Louvre of a bust of Osorkon I (vaguely known since 1885) with a Phoenician dedication by Elibaʿal king of Gebal (*cf.* that of Abibaʿal on the figure of Sheshonk I in last year's Bibliography). *Comptes Rendus*, 1925, 39–40.

In Tomb i with the name of Amenemmes III was a plate of gold rolled over and impressed inside and out with a design, weighing nine grammes, apparently a gold *kite*-weight certified by the monetary stamp, as a standard long before coinage for circulating in trade was invented. Weill, *La kite d'or de Byblos*, in *Rev. Égyptol.*, N.S., iii, 21–37.

An interesting example of *Kbn* changing to *Kpn* as the Egyptian name of Byblos is quoted by Sethe from the Middle Kingdom. *Zeitschr. f. ag. Spr.*, lix, 156–7. The name of Byblos in its unique Biblical occurrence in Ezekiel is vocalised Gebal; this is an error of the Massoretes: Eusebius declares that in his day the Hebrew text gave Gobel and earlier it must have been pronounced Gubel. R. D[ussaud], *Syria*, v, 388.

The address given by the Chairman (Dr. H. R. Hall) at the Annual Meeting of the Palestine Exploration Fund was on the subject of the discoveries at Beth Shan and Byblos. *Quarterly Statement*, 1925, 116–19.

Sidon. Among numerous finds in the great necropolis of Kafr Garra on the east of the city, vases of blue glaze and alabaster imported from Egypt occur with bronze implements and Babylonian cylinders. Virolleaud, *Comptes Rendus*, 1924, 281.

Samaria. Reisner's memoir on the *Harvard Excavations at Samaria*, 1908–10, is reviewed by Smith in *Amer. Journ. of Sem. Lang.*, xli, 64–5. In the palace was found an alabaster vessel with the cartouche of Osorkon II.

The work at Beisan is to be continued for Philadelphia by Rowe and Fitzgerald; Fisher is to commence work for Chicago at the interesting site of Megiddo; and there is a possibility of work for the British School at Dor. *Br. Sch. of Arch. in Jerus., Bull.* no. 7, 102.

Semitica. The term Semitic should be confined to linguistics whereas modern scholars have persisted in talking of Semitic peoples and Semitic religion. Richardson, *The Semites*, in *Amer. Journ. of Sem. Lang.*, xli, 1–10.

In a long paper, *Der semitische Triliterismus und die africanische Sprachforschung* (*Wiener Zeits. f. d.*

Kunde des Morgenl., XXXI, 219–36, 249–77, XXXII, 1–30), DREXEL takes his illustrations largely from Assyrian, Egyptian and Haussa.

A new reading of a word in the Sinai inscriptions is suggested by STRUVE in *Journal*, X, 335; GRIMME, *Althebraische Inschriften vom Sinai*, and VÖLTER, *Die althebraischen Inschriften vom Sinai*, are reviewed by GRESSMANN in *O.L.Z.*, XXVIII, 309–17.

The "Book of the Sycamore and Date-palm" named on a tablet from the archives of Tell el-'Amarnah, may represent the Assyrian fable of "The Date-palm and the Tamarisk." OPITZ in *Zeitschr. f. Assyriologie*, XXXVI, 80–1.

HITTITES, ETC. Translations of selected documents, historical, treaties, royal ordinances, letters, laws, business documents, all of high interest and several touching on the history of Egypt. FRIEDRICH, *Aus dem hethitischen Schrifttum*, 1 Heft (*Der Alte Orient*, 24. 3).

Some passages in the correspondence between the Hittite king and the widow of Tut'ankhamūn are commented on by GÖTZE, *Zum Briefwechsel zwischen Šuppiluliuma und der Witwe des Bibḫururijaš*, in *O.L.Z.*, XXVII, 581–2. FRIEDRICH, *Zu den keilschriftlichen ägyptischen Wörtern aus Boghazkoi*, in *O.L.Z.*, XXVII, 704–7, identifies *nib tawa* = *nb tawi* in Egyptian royal titles and suggests that the cuneiform texts from Egypt might be examined for traces of Egyptian idiom.

Philological Method in the Identification of Anatolian Place-names by ALBRIGHT in *Journal*, XI, 19–22, is a defence of GARSTANG's identifications as against Sidney SMITH's criticisms; and *Kizzuwadna and other Hittite States*, by MAYER and GARSTANG (*ibid.*, 23–35), deals especially with the countries named in Egyptian documents, upholding the theory that Kizzuwadna corresponded to Pontus. MAYER and GARSTANG's *Index of Hittite Names, Section A, Geographical*, and GÖTZE, *Kleinasien zur Hethiterzeit, eine geographische Untersuchung*, are reviewed by CHRISTIAN in *Wiener Zeits. f. d. Kunde des Morgenl.*, XXXI, 320–2, and by HALL in *Journal*, XI, 112–13.

EARLY HEBREW HISTORY, ETC. The Hyksos invasion of Egypt was probably the extension of the Hittite Empire with the aid of Khabiri = Hebrews in the seventeenth century B.C., as indicated by the Boghâz-keui tablets. PIEPER, *Zum Hyksos-Problem*, in *O.L.Z.*, XXVIII, 417–19.

In *Die Wanderungen der Hebräer im 3 und 2 Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (*Der Alte Orient*, 24. 2), JIRKU distinguishes between Hebrews and Israelites, the former being a wandering warrior tribe (Gen. xiv) a large portion of which eventually united with Israel. In the third millennium B.C. the Khabiru were in south Babylonia, in the second under the rule of the Hittites. The 'Apiru of the Egyptian papyri were wanderers into Egypt, and remnants were still there in Dyn. XX after most had been absorbed in Israel.

In *Israel in Aegypten?* (*O.L.Z.*, XXVIII, 420–4) JENSEN divides the record into "sagas," Moses-saga, Jacob-saga, etc. and points out type-features common to them and to the Babylonian legends.

OPITZ reads the cuneiform name of the Syrians as Ḫurri (Horites) not Ḫarri. *Zeits. f. Ass.*, XXXVI, 81.

LATER HISTORY. GADD, *The Fall of Nineveh*, is the subject of a long review by LEWY, who in his *Forschungen zur Alten Geschichte Vorderasiens* (*Mitt. d. Vorder-As. Ges.* 1924, 2), 68–90, re-translates the tablet and has many remarks on the relations of Egypt with Asia.

Sidney SMITH in *Babylonian Historical Texts relating to the Capture and Downfall of Babylon* from his new "Esarhaddon Chronicle" and the "Babylonian Chronicle" shows that Esarhaddon fought three campaigns against Egypt: in 675 he marched against Egypt but was driven back by a great storm (apparently this is the disaster connected with Sennacherib in II Kings and Herodotus); he recommenced operations in 674 and captured some important frontier city, perhaps Pelusium, and he conquered Egypt in 671; reviewed by DUSSAUD in *Syria*, V, 257–8, and PEET in *Journal*, XI, 117, who states concisely the results for Egyptian history.

The Amorites were not western Semites between the Euphrates and Jordan but Mitannians of Subaru on both sides of the Tigris. SAYCE, *Who were the Amorites?* in *Ancient Egypt*, 1924, 72–5.

SALAMAN, depending largely on the evidence of the Egyptian monuments for the characteristics of the Philistines, considers that they survive in the "pseudo-Gentile" type of Jew as opposed to the Armenoid-Teutonic-Hittite Jewish type so well known over the world. A majority of the young Palestinian Jews with their pseudo-Gentile faces and tall vigorous physique are a re-creation of the old Philistine type derived from the ancient admixture of Aegean or Philistine blood. *What has become of the Philistines? A biologist's point of view* in *P.E.F. Qu. St.*, 1925, 37–45, 68–79.

ENGELBACH, *The Egyptian name of Joseph* (*Journal*, X, 204–6), in view of the Massoretic and Septuagint vocalisation suggests that Zaphnath is a metathesis for *zathnaph*, "who is called" in Egyptian, and that the name is Paaneah alone, meaning "The Life" or "The Living."

ERMAN has found a foreign word in Pap. Lansing for "skipping" kids which can be identified with a unique Hebrew word in the Song of Solomon. *Hebraisch* גלש "*springen*" in *O.L.Z.*, XXVIII, 5. His discovery of an Egyptian source for Proverbs (*Eine ägyptische Quelle der Sprüche Salomos*) is reviewed by LÖHR in *O.L.Z.*, XXVIII, 72–3, and is dealt with by GRIMME, *Weiteres zu Amen-em-ope und Proverbien*, ibid., 57–62, with several suggestions for correcting the Hebrew text, and GRESSMANN, *Die neugefundene Lehre des Amen-em-ope und die vorexilische Spruchdichtung Israels* (*Zeits. f. Alt-Test. Wiss.*, 1924, 272–96); amongst other things GRESSMANN points out that in the expression "these thirty," though the number appears to be borrowed from the thirty chapters of the Egyptian book, it corresponds well to the short sections of the third collection of Proverbs (Prov. xxii. 17–xxiv. 22), each of which consists of from one to four verses of our Bible.

VARIOUS. EISLER suggests that *Brkt-rl*, a shipowner in the Report of Unamûn, may be the same name as Barakhel in the Jewish Testamentum Naphtali which would refer to the middle of the second cent. B.C.; if so, it would show the continuous existence of a firm for about seven centuries. *Barakhel Sohn & Cie, Rhedereigesellschaft in Tanis* in *Zeits. d. D. Morgenl. Ges.*, LXXVIII, 61–3.

BÉNÉDITE compares the pit for lowering the sarcophagus found in some Egyptian tombs in addition to the entrance for the mummy with a Davidic tomb having two pits found by WEILL at Jerusalem. *Comptes Rendus*, 1924, 229.

BONNET looks to Syria for the source of the "Tell el-Yahudiyeh" pots as against JUNKER's theory of their Nubian origin. The vessels were imported not as pottery but for the sake of their contents. *Zur Herkunft der sogenannten Tell el-Jahudiye-Vasen* in *Zeitschr. f. ag. Spr.*, LIX, 119–30.

SAUSSEY discusses the types of pottery attributed by various authorities recently to the Philistines, and finds that none agree in age with their arrival and occupation of Palestine; the Philistines were a warrior tribe without distinctive arts. *La Céramique Philistine* in *Syria*, V, 169–85.

ALBRIGHT writes on *The Evolution of the West-Semitic divinity ʿAn-ʿAnat-ʿAtta*; for ʿAnat much of the evidence is Egyptian. *Amer. Journ. of Sem. Lang.*, XLI, 73–101, also *Further Observations on the name ʿAnat-ʿAttah*, ibid., 283–5.

AIMÉ-GIRON publishes a Phoenician inscription on a statuette of Imuthes (Imhotep) suggesting that he was identified with Eshmun; the diadem of Berenice, the deified daughter of Euergetes I, was adopted for Hathor of Byblos, and in Egypt for a new form of Isis which afterwards spread widely with Isiac worship. *Glanures de Mythologie syro-égyptienne* in *Bull. Inst. Franç.*, XXIII, 1–25. The same scholar discusses and restores a limestone stela with a representation of Astarte from a mosque in Cairo, probably made in Syria (Byblos?) about the time of Alexander and dedicated in Memphis, and illustrates the monuments of this little-known goddess. *Un ex-voto à Astarté*, op. cit., XXV, 191–211, see the important review by R. D[USSAUD] in *Syria*, VI, 97–8.

Africa.

Die Ägypter und ihre libyschen Nachbarn, a lecture by the late Georg MÖLLER, printed with illustrations in *Zeits. d. D. Morgenl. Ges.*, LXXVIII, 36–60, utilises the evidence of dress, colour, proper names and texts to construct a connected account of Libyan tribes from the earliest monumental times in Egypt, following their characteristics down to the present day and as far west as the stone-age Guanches in the Canary Islands a few centuries ago. The earliest Libyans known to Egypt were the Tehnu who resembled the Egyptians in many ways; the Temhu appeared in the Sixth Dynasty, and Rebu, Mashwash, etc., in the New Kingdom.

CONTI ROSSINI writes a learned article on the names in Ethiopia and the Egyptian Sudan preserved in classical authors. *Comenti e notizie di geografi classici sovra il Sudàn Egiziano e l' Etiopia* in *Aegyptus*, VI, 1–26; BIASUTTI lays weight on the increasingly negroid character of the Egyptians in modern times, a tendency which began probably as far back as the Ptolemaic period. *Egiziani ed Etiopici*, ibid., 27–35; FARINA has begun a study of the "barbarian lands of the South" on ancient Egyptian monuments, *Contributo alla geografia dei "paese barbari meridionali" dell antico Egitto*, ibid., 39–53.

DARESSY quotes a remark of SCHWEINFURTH on the Galla type of face in the black sphinxes of Tanis. *Ancient Egypt*, 1925, 32.

NAVILLE, in a lecture on *The Land of Punt and the Hamites* (*Victoria Institute Transactions*, May 1925), makes Punt the home of the Hamites who thence spread widely in Asia and Africa.

PHILOLOGY.

The training of an Egyptian scribe is the subject of an interesting article by DAWSON, *Education in Ancient Egypt* (*Science Progress*, 1925, 109–19), illustrated especially from Ramesside papyri, but following the subject down to Coptic times. REICH has published *A grammatical exercise of an Egyptian Schoolboy* (*Journal*, X, 285–8), ["what I (thou, he, etc.) said" and ["what was said to me (thee, him, etc.)"] in demotic.

ERMAN, *Kurzer Abriss der aegyptischen Grammatik*, is reviewed by SPIEGELBERG in *O.L.Z.*, XXVIII, 213–14. Fräulein BEHNK's dissertation, *Grammatik der Texte aus El Amarna*, a grammar of the hieroglyphic texts of the tombs, etc. (not published), is reviewed by ERMAN in *ibid.*, 293–5.

SETHE, *Die Vokalisation des Aegyptischen*, is reviewed by GARDINER in *Journal*, XI, 123–4. FARINA analyses a portion of it and suggests that Babylonian transcriptions are insufficient to prove that in the New Kingdom ā corresponded to Coptic ō, since Babylonian writing cannot render ō distinctly. *Le vocali del antico egiziano* in *Aegyptus*, V, 313–25.

The study of demotic, until recently viewed with suspicion, has now reached an advanced stage when Palaeography, Grammar, Dictionary, Name-book and Handbook to the documents are urgently demanded. SPIEGELBERG takes the opportunity to point out the great gains to the study of Egyptian philology, religion, manners and law which may be expected to ensue when these demands are satisfied. He has a grammar on the point of publication and he has full collections for Palaeography, Dictionary and Name-book. *Der gegenwartige Stand und die nachsten Aufgaben der demotischen Forschung* in *Zeitschr. f. ag. Spr.*, LIX, 131–40. Needless to say, SPIEGELBERG's *Demotische Grammatik* which has now appeared (published seventy years after its only forerunner, the *Grammaire Démotique* of HEINRICH BRUGSCH) is admirably up to date, with rules and plentiful illustration from each of the three main periods of demotic; a review of it by SETHE is in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1925, 1316–19.

ERMAN reports progress on the Berlin *Worterbuch* in *Sitzb.* of Berlin Academy, 1925, LX–LXI; in a special article he announces that the complete vocabulary will appear in 1925–6 in four lithographed parts, each accompanied by a corresponding section in type to contain references and German index; this publication will be followed by supplements with fuller treatment of certain words and textual quotations of passages on which meanings are founded. *Das Worterbuch der aegyptischen Sprache* in *O.L.Z.*, XXVII, 553–4.

Origin of the auxiliary of the perfect in Coptic: the name Neḥemesoḥ in Aramaic writing: Westcar 8,17: the name of the Fayyûm. SOTTAS, *Notes de philologie égyptienne*, in *Rec. Égyptol.*, N.S., III, 13–20.

Ingenious explanation of the form *n-n-k* as n(i)-(')n(w)k "belongs to me." TILL, *Zeitschr. f. ag. Spr.*, LIX, 157.

SPIEGELBERG points out ancient words for "spinning" and "thread" which survive in Coptic. ϩⲓⲥⲉ (*S*): ϩⲓⲥⲓ (*B*) "*spinnen*" in *O.L.Z.*, XXVII, 568–70; interprets Restêw as meaning "necropolis," giving evidence for its vocalised pronunciation, recognises the Coptic derivation of *dd mdw*, and discusses the origin of the final ⲛⲧⲁⲣⲓ, *Zeitschr. f. ag. Spr.*, LIX, 159–61; and of *Die neuaegyptische Praposition m-dr* "*wegen*," *ib.* LX, 59–61; and Greek use of translations of Egyptian names, *Aegyptologische Mitteilungen* (*Sitzb. Bayer. Ak.*, 1925), 6–8.

Miss MURRAY offers a new and ingenious translation of a difficult passage in the stela of Sen-irtî (Louvre, C. 14). *The Stela of the Artist* in *Ancient Egypt*, 1925, 33–5.

GARDINER, a new interpretation of Westcar VII, 5–8. *The secret chambers of the sanctuary of Thoth* in *Journal*, XI, 2–5.

JUNKER reviews BOESER, *Transcription und Übersetzung des Papyrus Insinger*, in *O.L.Z.*, 1925, 371–5.

KEES points out a special use in early texts of the absolute pronoun and of the negative-verb *ỉm*. *Grammatische Kleinigkeiten* in *Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr.*, LX, 84–6.

RANKE collects personal names derived from animals, excluding however those in which the animal seems to represent a deity and the animal name to be an abbreviation. *Tiernamen als Personennamen bei den Ägyptern*, op. cit., LX, 76–83.

A valuable Chrestomathy of texts of the Middle Kingdom by SETHE has appeared, consisting of solid extracts or complete texts in hieroglyphic with variants, all in clear autograph. *Aegyptische Lesestucke zum Gebrauch im Akademischen Unterricht, Texte des Mittleren Reiches.*

PALAEOGRAPHY.

JENSEN's history of writing (*Geschichte der Schrift*) shows well the progress that has been made and the expansion of the field of research since Isaac TAYLOR's *Alphabet* was written. The Sinai inscriptions of PETRIE and GARDINER naturally hold an important place in the new work, and Meroitic has its own corner.

SOTTAS and DRIOTON, *Introduction à l'étude des hiéroglyphes*, is reviewed by FARINA in *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, X, 322–7, by PEET in *Journal*, XI, 122, and by ROEDER in *O.L.Z.*, XXVII, 588–90.

DÉVAUD, *L'âge des papyrus égyptiens hiératiques d'après les graphies de certains mots, de la XII^e dynastie à la fin de la XVIII^e dynastie* (dedicated to ERMAN, autographed): the spellings of selected words show clear and concordant divisions according to age, and confirm the evidence of the forms of the hieratic signs, making it possible to arrange the principal papyri in a definite chronological order. It is to be noted that the Prisse papyrus now falls to the end of Dyn. XII or the beginning of XIII and is later than the Berlin literary papyri. Reviewed by PEET in *Journal*, XI, 119–20.

According to MONTET the sign of life is a tie worn round the neck or head or loins and named *m·ʿnḫ·t*, whence the phonetic value *ʿnḫ* and its use for the word "live." *La Croix ansée des anciens Égyptiens* in *Rev. Archéol.*, V sér., XXI, 101–14.

PATON has produced a special work containing illustrations of, references for and opinions on the hieroglyphs which represent mammalia, arranged sign by sign. *Materials for a sign list of Egyptian Hieroglyphs*, "*E*," *Animals of Ancient Egypt*.

ENGELBACH, *Notes on the Fish of Mendes*, in *Ann. Serv. Ant.*, XXIV, 161–8 suggests identification with the *shilba* (ancient name not known); the *bwt*-fish may be the same, while the *ḥꜣ*-fish is the *Mormyrus*.

RELIGION.

HOPFNER has published the fourth volume of his *Fontes Historiae Religionis Aegyptiacae*, from Eusebius to Procopius.

SPELEER's *Les textes des pyramides égyptiennes* is the basis of an article by DAWSON, *The oldest religious book in the world*, in *Asiatic Review*, 1924, 663–8. The work is reviewed by Miss MURRAY in *Ancient Egypt*, 1925, 23 and by ANTHES in *O.L.Z.*, XXVII, 590–3.

ANDERSSON-AKMAR suggests that "pure" is the basal idea of *ntr* "god." *L'être pur: celui qui est pur. Notice du mot* neter, in *Sphinx*, XXII, 1–5.

LEWIS' article on *The Mother worship in Egypt* is commented on in *Ancient Egypt*, 1924, 95, and by PEET in *Journal*, X, 339–40.

RUSCH has written an important study of the composition of the Ennead of Heliopolis and the rise of Osiris. The priests of On at a very early period adopted Shu and Tefnut of Leontopolis as children of their local sun-god Atum, and thereafter, in or before Dyn. V by identifying Atum with Rēʿ converted him into a cosmic god for all Egypt. Atum was son of Nut the sky-goddess and probably of Geb the earth-god; but now the supreme Atum had to be the original god and Nut and Geb were placed lower down in the genealogy, next after the children of Atum; finally Osiris, Isis, Seth and Nephthys, the children of Geb and Nut in the separate Busirite system, were joined to the Heliopolitan series, completing the Ennead of Heliopolis, the model on which the other local cosmogonies of Egypt were thenceforth built. The surviving monuments do not mention Osiris before Dyn. V, though so abundantly from that time onwards as god of the dead and of the rising Nile. Osiris seems to have been identified rather than identical with ʿAnzeti; RUSCH traces causes for the relationships and hostile or friendly attitudes of the numerous deities of the Osiris group. *Die Stellung des Osiris im theologischen System von Heliopolis* (*Der Alte Orient*, 24. 1).

Further, in *Ein Osirisritual in den Pyramidentexten* (*Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr.*, LX, 16–39), RUSCH points out that the adoption of Osiris into the Heliopolitan pantheon, probably in Dyn. V, as a leading deity to represent the dead king, resulted in great additions to the funerary ritual which appear first in the earliest Pyramids of Dyn. VI and in the later ones hold the principal place on the west wall of the sarcophagus chamber. The special ritual of Osiris can be to some extent reconstructed from scattered portions preserved in the Pyramid Texts: they can be classified in groups of Water-ritual (the drowning and its consequences), the Horus ritual, the ritual of the Eye, and the ritual of Geb and Nut.

JÉQUIER, *Le Sekhem d'Abydos*, in *Comptes Rendus*, 1924, 268–75, considers it to be the symbol of the jackal god Khentamenthes surviving after that god had become Osiris.

FAULKNER, *The God Setekh in the Pyramid Texts* (*Ancient Egypt*, 1925, 5–10), illustrates the mixed beliefs attributing to him a favourable (good) and a hostile (evil) character.

SHORTER, *A possible late representation of the god 'Ash*, in *Journal*, XI, 78–9, three-headed on a very late mummy-case in the Brighton Museum.

NAVILLE looks upon Amūn-worship as introduced by the pharaonic Egyptians to a country in which the Heliopolitan Rēʿ-worship was indigenous ; reviewing the religious and dynastic history of Dyn. XVIII he ascribes considerable influence to foreign queens and queen-mothers ; the magnificence of the cult of Amūn for the king's life on earth overshadowed the ancient cult of Rēʿ, which however was supreme in the Tombs of the Kings. *La révolution religieuse à la fin de la XVIII^e^ dynastie égyptienne* in *Rev. d'hist. et de philos. religieuses*, 1924, 297–313.

In 1882 WIEDEMANN bought at Luxor a fragment of a Mithraic statuette, apparently from Ḳûs in Upper Egypt. *Die Mithrasdenkmaler von Memphis* in *Wiener Zeits. f. d. Kunde des Morgenl.*, XXXI, 310–12.

LEFEBVRE publishes a rude stela in the Cairo Museum representing the rider-god Heron, little earlier than the Coptic paintings of military saints. *Un bas-relief du dieu* Ἥρων in *Ann. Serv. Ant.*, XXIV, 89–90.

MEUNIER, *Isis et Osiris, traduction nouvelle avec avant-propos, prolégomènes et notes*, is reviewed by R. DUSSAUD, *Syria*, VI, 92.

SPIEGELBERG writes on the *pataikos* or dwarf god, apparently a diminutive of Ptah. *Aegyptologische Mitteilungen* (*Sitzb. Bayer. Akad.*, 1925), 8–11 ; Ἀθερνεβθφηι = "Hathor of Aphroditopolis" ; ψαου in the *Gnomon* = "the Feast" ; the end, in the fourth century A.D., of the sacred falcon (the Soul of Rēʿ) worshipped on the Island of Philae. *Ägyptologische Beitrage* in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, VII, 183–9.

BLACKMAN, *Luxor and its Temples*, is reviewed by PIEPER in *O.L.Z.*, XXVIII, 223–9.

FOUCART has written an elaborate memoir on the festal visit of the User-ḥat bark of Amen-Rēʿ to the west of Thebes from Karnak, apparently as a semi-funerary rite of the sun traversing the sky from east to west. *La belle fête de la Vallée* in *Bull. Inst. Arch. Franç.*, XXIV, 1–148.

The name of the sanctuary of Sebek at Illahun is Re-Sehui, not Re-ḥent ; Sebek is associated with the city of Busiris, whence perhaps came the prominence of Osiris in the Fayyûm at a later date. KEES, *Der Name des Suchos-Heiligtums von Illahun*, in *Zeitschr. f. ag. Spr.*, LIX, 154–6.

In *Zu den ägyptischen Mondsagen* (*Zeitschr. f. ag. Spr.*, LX, 1–15) KEES brings together a quantity of mystic detail, hitherto little noticed, if at all, with which the myth of Thoth was embellished.

The first Egyptian evidence of the belief in the Evil Eye was brought forward by SPIEGELBERG thirty years ago. He now brings the subject up to date : the evidence consists almost entirely in proper names, beginning about Dyn. XXVI but continuing into Coptic times. Possibly the belief came into Egypt (where it still survives) from Libya or from Nubia. *Der böse Blick im altägyptischen Glauben* in *Zeitschr. f. ag. Spr.*, LIX, 149–54.

Balls of clay sealed and containing cloth, papyrus or human hair occur at various ancient periods. In modern Egypt tufts of hair are cut off and dedicated to a shêkh, enclosed in a clay ball. Miss W. S. BLACKMAN, *An ancient Egyptian custom illustrated by a modern survival*, in *Man*, XXV, 65–7. Trees are associated with Moslem Saints : the soul of the shêkh is supposed to be in the tree, suggesting a connexion with the Ancient Egyptian idea of the *bai* or soul in a tree. ID., *Sacred Trees in Modern Egypt*, in *Journal*, XI, 56–7.

ROSCHER'S *Ausführliches Lexicon der Griechischen und Romischen Mythologie*, Lief. 92–5, contains articles by ROEDER, *Usire* (25 cols.), *Uto* (3 cols.).

The following articles and reviews are to be found in *O.L.Z.* : XXVII, 558–64, RANKE, *Die Vergötterung der Glieder des menschlichen Korpers bei den Ägyptern*, finds that the lists of deified members fall into multiples of nine, connected with the Heliopolitan Ennead : the Ennead may indeed represent the component parts of the sun-god ; XXVII, 709–10 and XXVIII, 71, HOPFNER, *Fontes*, II, III, reviewed by WIEDEMANN ; XXVIII, 16–17, KEES, *Horus und Seth als Gotterpaar*, 2 Teil, reviewed by WIEDEMANN ; XXVIII, 71–2, KRISTENSEN, *De loofhut en het loofhuttenfeest in den egyptischen Cultus*, reviewed by KEES (not approvingly) ; XXVIII, 281–2, ERMAN, *Zum Leidener Amonshymnus*, points out that FRANK-KAMENETZKY had preceded him in showing that the Leyden hymn to Ammon was composed after the overthrow of the Aten-heresy ; XXVIII, 461–3, RUSCH, *Die Stellung des Osiris*, reviewed by KEES.

SCIENCE.

MARRO has written an article on the effect of the great monuments on the Egyptian mind. *Monumenti ed orientamento mentale nell' antico Egitto* (*Archivio Italiano di Psicologia*, III, 137–57). *Egyptian Mummies*, by ELLIOT SMITH and DAWSON, is a popular introduction, on a large scale and very complete, to the history of embalming in Egypt; reviewed by HALL in *Journal*, XI, 111–12, and by PEET in *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology*, XI, 135–8. DAWSON draws attention to a highly scientific description of a mummy by Dr. A. B. GRANVILLE in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society for 1825. *A mummy of the Persian Period* in *Journal*, XI, 76–7. THOMAS compares the artificially deformed head of a Mangbettu girl with the portrait of a daughter of Akhenaten. *Deformation of the Head* in *Ancient Egypt*, 1925, 3.

KUENTZ shows that the dance of the ostrich is in the morning and illustrates the subject from representations in the royal tomb at Tell el-'Amarnah and the temple of Ramesses III at Medînet-Habû where ostriches are taking part in the general rejoicings. *La danse des Autruches* in *Bull. Inst. Franç.*, XXIII, 85–8.

DAWSON writes on the virtues of the Hoopoe in Graeco-Egyptian and later medicine and magic. *The Lore of the Hoopoe* (Upupa Epops *L.*) in *The Ibis*, 1925, 31–9. HORNBLOWER adds some comments to DAWSON'S *The Mouse in Egyptian and Later Medicine* in *Journal*, X, 334–5.

GAILLARD has published a substantial memoir, *Recherches sur les poissons représentés dans quelques Tombeaux égyptiens de l'Ancien Empire* (in *Mémoires Inst. Franç.*, LI), working as a zoologist on photographs supplied by MONTET and with help from LORET and KUENTZ for the ancient and Arabic names. The large series figured in the fishing scenes of Ti Mera and another bas-relief are thus identified in most cases specifically and with much more authority and completeness than hitherto. The truthfulness of the Egyptian representations in the Old Kingdom, compared to the accurate figures in BOULENGER, *Fishes of the Nile*, is a subject of comment. The absence of certain species now common in the Nile and well known to the natives implies changes in the fauna such as are observable in other countries.

KEIMER, aided in his researches by the veteran botanist SCHWEINFURTH, has produced as the first of two volumes a valuable study of 44 species of plants figured or occurring in Ancient Egyptian remains, with discussion of their names and uses. They are dealt with in botanical order beginning with the Compositae (lettuce, Carthamus, Centaurea, Chrysanthemum) down to the Castor oil (Ricinus). He has identified the mandrake in the pictures. *Die Gartenpflanzen im Alten Ägypten*, I Bd. In a special article he shows that Min and the corresponding figure of Ammon are commonly accompanied by a representation of a field of lettuces; probably the milky juice of the lettuce was one reason for this association. *Die Pflanze des Gottes Min* in *Zeitschr. f. ag. Spr.*, LIX, 140–3. Elsewhere in a brief but important paper he records that SCHWEINFURTH observed in Tunis artificial bouquets of flowers, etc. made to be worn by the men in their turbans; he illustrates the composition of Ancient Egyptian bouquets made up with fruits of Mimusops set in flowers of lotus or umbels of papyrus, etc., and finds three names employed for them. *Egyptian Formal Bouquets* in *Amer. Journ. of Sem. Lang.*, XLI, 145–61.

SCHMIDT, *Drogen und Drogenhandel im Altertum*, is a useful book by a writer who has had practical experience of the drug trade, treating of drugs in antiquity for medical, technical, cosmetic and religious use, poisons and spices, sources and methods of procuring drugs, and the falsification of drugs, with references to the widely scattered articles in which further information can be obtained.

EBBELL identifies an Egyptian word for the pain of teething in children; recognises a section in the Ebers Papyrus which concerns chest complaints, identifies words for "cough" and "asthma"; also a word for "diarrhœa"; and suggests that a foreign word *ḥmk* may be the Arabic *ḥumāk*, apparently a feverish complaint with spots on the skin. *Die ägyptischen Krankheitsnamen* in *Zeitschr. f. ag. Spr.*, LIX, 144–9.

HOPFNER in a learned and closely reasoned paper argues that all the evidence that Greek philosophers studied in Egyptian priestly schools is late and vague. Their admission to such schools is improbable in face of the hostility of Egypt to foreigners; moreover the Egyptians had little to teach them. *Orient und griechische Philosophie*, *Beihefte zum Alten Orient*, Heft 4.

PEET, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, is reviewed by JUNKER in *Wiener Zeits. f. d. Kunde des Morgenl.*, XXXI, 323–4, and by SETHE in *Jahresbericht d. Deutschen Mathematiker-Vereinigung*, XXXIII, 139–43.

SELLERS, *Intervals in Egyptian Music*, publishes a double "oboe" in the Haskell collection and suggests that the Ancient Egyptians had a seven-tone system. *Amer. Journ. of Sem. Lang.*, XLI, 11–16.

Literature.

Erman, *Die Literatur der Ägypter*, is reviewed by Bonnet in *Z. d. Deutschen Morgenl. Ges.*, lxxviii, 65–7.

Budge, *The Teachings of Amen-em-âpt*, is reviewed by Naville, *Un traité égyptien de morale*, in *Rev. Arch.*, v. sér., xxi, 323, and by Wiedemann in *O.L.Z.*, xxviii, 300–1.

Dawson contributes an article, *New Literary works from Ancient Egypt*, concerned especially with the Lansing Papyrus, to *Asiatic Review*, 1925, 305–12.

[Petrie] reviews Scott's *Hermetica*, i, upholding his own dating in the Persian period for the ideas expressed as against Scott's in the third century A.D. *Ancient Egypt*, 1925, 55–7.

Grapow collects the figurative expressions in Egyptian literature, classified and arranged so as to make at once a readable book and a book of reference. *Die bildlichen Ausdrucke des Aegyptischen.* Lexa writes an interesting article classifying instances of rhetorical and poetical ornament. *Les ornements poétiques du langage dans les monuments littéraires des Égyptiens Anciens* in *Rev. Égyptol.*, N.S., iii, 60–70.

Law.

Griffith points out that whereas under the Old Kingdom the rights of numerous *ka*-priests in a single endowment led to disputes and legal difficulties, in the Middle Kingdom to avoid these dangers it was usual to make a single *ka*-priest responsible in permanence. *Tomb-endowment in Ancient Egypt* in *Zeitschr. f. ag. Spr.*, lx, 83–4.

Spiegelberg writes on the origin and nature of the formulae in the demotic documents. They appear to be the phrases necessary to be pronounced by one of the parties in legal transactions and afterwards put on record in writing. *Aegyptologische Mitteilungen (Sitzb. Bayer. Akad.*, 1925), 25–35.

Archaeology.

Ranke discusses the lion-hunt palette. He places it by its style in the pre-dynastic period, but owing to the presence upon it of writing-symbols, which were unknown in Upper Egypt at that time, attributes it to Lower Egypt, suggesting that it may have been intended to commemorate an organised and successful attack by the inhabitants on predatory lions. *Alter und Herkunft der ägyptischen "Löwenjagd-Palette"* (*Sitzb.* of the Heidelberg Academy, 1924–5).

The first half of the text of Capart's systematic work on Egyptian art is very welcome in its fully developed form with abundant references and index. *L'art égyptien, études et histoire*, tome i, *Introduction générale, Ancien et Moyen Empires.* A preliminary issue of the bare text of the whole work has been made in 1920, as *Leçons sur l'art égyptien.*

Weigall has published a collection of some five hundred photographs, arranged chronologically, illustrating as far as possible some of the best work of each reign or period. *Ancient Egyptian works of Art.*

In 1923 and 1924 Jéquier published two magnificent collections of photographs completing his *L'architecture et la décoration dans l'Ancienne Égypte: Les temples Ramessides et Saites*, and *Les temples ptolémaïques et romains.* He has now written a *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne, les éléments de l'architecture* (dedicated to M. Naville on his eightieth birthday). It deals with materials and methods of building, with walls, columns, etc., and with accessories such as shrines, statues and sphinxes; and concludes with a bibliography and index of localities.

Bissing draws attention to capitals of columns of the seventh or sixth century B.C. found in Cyprus, showing Egyptianising style of the type of the pillars of Nectanebo at Philae. *Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr.*, lix, 158–9.

Pillet explains the working of the lion-headed bolts with which doors of one leaf were closed: they occur in bronze and wood from Saite to Roman times; temple doorways show that a cylindrical bolt was usual in Dyn. XVIII, but the square form of the lion-bolt can be traced as far back as Hatshepsut. *Le verrou* in *Ann. Serv. Ant.*, xxiv, 187–95.

The late Georg Möller, an experienced craftsman in metal-work as well as an Egyptologist, at his death in 1921 had completed a memoir on the art of the metal-worker in Ancient Egypt; it is now published with many illustrations and describes the metals and ornamental stones employed, the technical processes used, and the origins and fashions of Egyptian jewellery and ornament. *Die Metallkunst der alten Ägypter.* The methods of the ancient jewellers are minutely investigated in Mrs. C. R. Williams' fine

work on the collection of the New York Historical Society. In this the "Menes circlet" from the Abbott collection is put into an appendix as a palpable forgery; a Ramesside circlet for the head and the Cheops-signet of Saite age remaining as the choicest pieces of the collection. *The New York Historical Society: Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities, nos. 1–160, Gold and Silver Jewelry and related objects.* Reviewed by HAYTER in *The Antiquaries Journal*, v, 304–5.

Egyptian jewellery of the finest workmanship shows gold plated on silver or otherwise economised, proving the rarity of gold; a fine pectoral from Tell Moqdâm is figured as an example. VERNIER, *L'or chez les Anciens Égyptiens*, in *Bull. Inst. Arch. Franç.*, XXV, 166–73.

BISSING, *Persische Trinkgefasse aus Glas* (*Acta Orientalia*, III, 94–6), suggests that this rare kind of glass vessel may have been made by the Persians and not imported from Egypt. The "millefiore glass" of Dahshûr is really a variegated paste protected by a thin plate of felspar, a technique found also in the tomb of Tutʿankhamūn.

At Karanis in the desert north-west of the Fayyûm the Service des Antiquités obtained seventy pieces of plain Roman glass contained in ten decorated wooden boxes, apparently the stock-in-trade of a dealer of about 400 A.D. They are published and described by WAINWRIGHT, *Roman Glass from Kom Washim*, in *Musée Égyptien*, III, 64–97.

BISSING quotes early instances from Dyn. XVIII of horn-shaped cups of pottery ending in the head of an animal, with parallels of the Persian period and others of Greek manufacture; certain vessels found by PETRIE of Dyn. XVII–XVIII suggest that they originated from real horns. *Zur Geschichte der antiken Rhyta* in *Jahrb. d. D. Arch. Inst.*, 1923–4, 105–10. He also collects and describes the bowls in bronze and other metals, often with Egyptian features which have been attributed to the Phoenicians; they have been found in many countries, notably in a deposit of the time of Sargon, 721–705 B.C., at Nimrûd, also in Greece, Cyprus and Italy. Though local and stylistic groups can be detected, there are certain features which are constant. BISSING also compares the Egyptian fayence vessels which he considers to be imitations of vessels in metal. *Untersuchungen über die "Phoinikischen" Metallschalen*, ibid., 180–241. This study will be concluded in a further number.

The new part of the *Expedition Ernst Sieglin*, Band II, Teil 2, VOGT, *Terrakotten*, contains a classification of types with references to and occasional illustrations from other collections, followed by a catalogue raisonné of the extensive SIEGLIN collection of terracotta figures, chiefly of the Roman period, illustrated by 109 plates.

Fragment of a large thin bowl (?) of serpentine sculptured with flutings, from the Derehib mine in the Wâdî ʿAlâqi. THOMAS, *Note on a fragment of Stone Vessel from an ancient mining site*, in *Ann. Serv.*, XXIV, 10–11.

MONTET has written a very thorough and systematic guide to the multitudinous scenes, often accompanied by inscriptions, in the tombs of the Old Kingdom; they are described and discussed with much detail and an index is not forgotten. *Les scènes de la vie privée dans les tombeaux égyptiens de l'ancien Empire.* DAWSON has contributed an article inspired by this very interesting work, *Everyday Life in the Pyramid Age*, to the *Asiatic Review*, 1925, 513–18.

BISSING publishes a slab in Munich sculptured on both sides with funerary ritual scenes, etc., probably from a tomb at Saḳḳârah of the end of Dyn. XVIII. *Ueber eine Grabwand aus Memphis in der Glyptothek Konig Ludwigs* in *Munchener Jahrb. d. bildender Kunst*, N.F., I, 207–24.

In a lecture on burial fashions in Egypt and the Near East BISSING points out that while in Egypt the dead body was buried for preservation far from the dwellings of the living, in Mesopotamia it was buried with little care amongst the city buildings. *Das Begräbniswesen im Altertum in Ägypten und dem Vorderen Orient* (*Bonner Jahrbücher*, Heft 129, 1–14).

BOREUX has begun the publication of an extensive work on Egyptian shipping; the first part is an exhaustive treatment of the prehistoric and earliest historic boats, both for navigation, fishing, etc. and in religious ceremonial. *Études de Nautique Égyptienne, l'art de la navigation en Égypte jusqu'à la fin de l'ancien Égypte* (*Mém. de l'Inst. Fr.*).

JOHL has written an interesting memoir on Ancient Egyptian weaving. He upholds the doubtful theory that tablet-weaving was employed. *Altägyptische Webestühle und Brettchenweberei in Altägypten* (SETHE'S *Untersuchungen*, VIII).

LUTZ, *Textiles and Costumes amongst the peoples of the Ancient Near East*, is reviewed by CHRISTIAN in *Wiener Z. f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes*, XXXI, 318–19.

The Leyden Museum has published its collection of statuettes of kings and private persons in wood, bronze, stone, etc., together with the ushabtis. BOESER, *Beschreibung der Aegyptischen Sammlung d. Niederlandischen Reichsmuseum der Altertümer in Leiden*, Bd. XII, *Statuetten*.

The Egyptian collections in the Berlin Museum illustrating the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, an exhibition of papyri, and the collections from Nubia have been arranged in two rooms vacated by the Greek and Roman department; of these the Nubian collection of pottery having been in store for some time is briefly described with illustrations. SCHARFF, *Zur Neuaufstellung der Nubischen Altertümer*, in *Berliner Museen*, XLVI, 19–23.

Before his retirement from the British Museum Sir Wallis BUDGE published a guide to the large collection of coffins and other funerary remains with many illustrations. *A Guide to the First, Second and Third Egyptian Rooms*, 3rd edition.

Sales of Egyptian antiquities were held by Messrs. Sotheby and Wilkinson on 11 November 1924 (the very important Hood collection, the *Catalogue* illustrated and with introductory note by Prof. NEWBERRY), 15–17 December (Bethell, etc., illustrated), 8–9 June 1925 (Mezger, etc.).

In various journals the following articles on archaeological subjects occur:—

Ancient Egypt, 1924, 65–71, ENGELBACH, *Origin of the great hypostyle hall at Karnak*. Amenophis III who had placed obelisks before Pylon III removed them probably to his funerary temple on the west bank in order to make room for a colonnade with flanking walls (like those at Luxor and Soleb). This colonnade, left unfinished and abandoned by Akhenaten, was expanded by the Ramessids into the Hall of Columns. 83, CAPART, *Note sur les bateaux préhistoriques*, quotes the use of leafy branches as sails among the islands near Stockholm. 92, review of Mrs. CROWFOOT and Ling ROTH, *Were the Ancient Egyptians conversant with Tablet-weaving?* 96, *Notes and News*, use of white of egg for fixing colours, but *cf.* LUCAS, *ib.*, 128. 1925, 1–2, PETRIE, *The Ethiopian revival*, figures the Hood plaque of King Aupet as the earliest known example of the revived art probably under the influence of the Ethiopian kings. 22–3, reviews of JÉQUIER, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne, les éléments de l'architecture* (weak as regards brickwork) and CAPART, *L'art égyptien, études et histoire*, tome I. 36–9, TARRELL and PETRIE, *The Great Pyramid Courses*, variations in height of the courses give hints as to the quarrying and preparation of the stones for the building, and suggest that foreign measures were used in parts. 40, MOGENSEN, *A Tut-ankh-amon portrait at the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek*, an adult royal head. 58, review of WEIGALL, *Ancient Egyptian works of Art*.

American Journal of Semitic Languages, XLI, 200–2, BREASTED reviews Mrs. WILLIAMS, *Gold and Silver Jewelry*. 202–5, Mrs. WILLIAMS reviews ALLEN, *Handbook of the Egyptian collection* at Chicago.

The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, X, 203, *A lost statue of the Seventeenth Dynasty*, Prince Ahmose son of Taʿo II. 283–4, SOBHY, *An Eighteenth Dynasty Measure of Capacity*, an alabaster jar of 3½ hins with name of Tuthmosis III. 350, ENGELBACH, *The Problem of the Obelisks*, reviewed by DAWSON. XI, 1, HALL, *An alabaster figure of the Fourth Dynasty in the British Museum* of a woman, the head perfect, feet and base lost. 36, *Tomb-chapel 525 at Tell el-ʿAmarnah*, elevation of the shrine as restored by the late F. G. NEWTON. 123, Mrs. Ransom WILLIAMS, *Catalogue of Gold and Silver Jewelry*, reviewed by PEET.

Man, XXIV, 151–2, THOMAS, *Netting without a knot*, describes a fine modern example from Fazogli and states that an ancient example is in the Cairo Museum, a loosely constructed bag of osier.

Orientalistische Literaturzeitung, XXVII, 554–8, BONNET, *Die Rechts- und die Linksansicht im ägyptischen Reliefstil*, argues that the reversed replica is not the normal mode of representing a man turned to the left; the Egyptian artists strove to make a distinction, but were held by the conventional figure of the chest and waist and so produced unnatural postures. 570–3, WRESZINSKI, ΤΕΡΠΩΛΗ, the "delight" offered by the Jews to Pompey in the shape of a piece of gold plate representing a vineyard on a hill with animals and fruit trees is paralleled by the gold objects in the New Kingdom shown only as tribute from Nubia: doubtless the raw material alone was Nubian, the workmanship perhaps even Syrian. 707–8, DUCATI, *Guida del Museo Civico de Bologna*, reviewed by V. MÜLLER. XXVIII, 221–3, LUTZ, *Textiles and Costumes among the Peoples of the Ancient Near East*, unfavourably reviewed by PIEPER. 369–70, JOHL, *Altägyptische Webestühle*, reviewed by DALMAN. 464–8, BÉNÉDITE, *Un thème nouveau* (lily harvest), reviewed by KEIMER.

Revue Archéologique, V. sér., XXI, 1–20, NAVILLE, *L'âge du cuivre en Égypte*. As at one time BRUGSCH and later RENOUF supposed, the metal *zʿm* is generally bright copper, though sometimes electrum. The Pharaonic Egyptians came from the south, apparently Arabia, bringing with them copper and the impulse to civilisation. 159–162, review by NAVILLE of JÉQUIER, *Les temples ptolémaiques et romains*.

PERSONAL.

The grave loss to Egyptology and particularly to our Society in the early death of F. G. NEWTON is not to be measured by the short time which he had given to archaeological work in Egypt. Mr. NEWTON's wide experience elsewhere gave him a rare sense of the nature and purpose of architectural and archaeological details, and his decision taken early in 1924 to devote himself for the future to work in Egypt carried with it a promise of great results of which his illness and death on Christmas Day alone prevented the fulfilment. He was but forty-six years old when he died. An obituary notice, *Francis G. Newton*, with portrait is in our *Journal*, XI, 70–1.

H. LING ROTH of Halifax, the well-known anthropologist and archaeologist, died last May aged 70. His contributions to the history of looms brought him into the domain of Egyptology. An obituary notice by A. C. HADDON with portrait and bibliography is in *Man*, 1925, 97–9.

Of Jacques de MORGAN, geologist, etc., and formerly Director-general of the Service des Antiquités in Egypt, there are notices by POTTIER in *Comptes Rendus* of the Académie des Inscriptions, 1924, 195–6 and in *Syria*, V, 373–80, in *l'Anthropologie*, XXXIV, 467–71 by M. B[OULE], also in *Bulletin de l'Inst. de l'Égypte*, VII, 173–4 by PIOT-BEY and in *The Antiquaries Journal*, V, 71. Born in 1857 and dying 12 June 1924 he was a brilliant investigator of the prehistoric antiquities of Egypt, discoverer of the early royal tomb at Nagadah and of the Dahshûr jewellery, and afterwards the successful explorer of Susa.

In *Comptes Rendus*, 1924, 294–5, and *Syria*, VI, 100 are brief notices by SCHEIL and R. D[USSAUD] of J. E. GAUTIER, 1861–1924; he financed several archaeological expeditions in the Near East including an important excavation at Lisht in 1894–6, and excavated with success at Elephantine in 1910. Unfortunately with the exception of the Lisht results, which were published with JÉQUIER, no substantial record has appeared of these enterprises, nor of his search for the site of Kadesh in the mound of Tell eṭ-Ṭîn on an island in the lake of Homs in 1894.

The doyen of Egyptology, Valdemar SCHMIDT of Copenhagen, a man of varied learning in archaeology and a frequent visitor to England, died on 26 June 1925; according to a statement in *The Times* of 7 July he was born in 1836 and had been professor in the University since 1869.

Josef PARTSCH, the jurist, who collaborated on the subject of legal documents from Egypt with SPIEGELBERG and SETHE, died on March 30, 1925; he was born in 1882 and was a pupil of MITTEIS. P. DE FRANCISCI in *Aegyptus*, V, 333–6.

A commemorative notice of Ahmed Pasha KAMAL (cf. *Journal*, X, 323), "le seul égyptologue de nationalité égyptienne qui se soit jusqu'à présent révélé," is contributed to *Bull. Inst. d'Ég.*, VI, 171–2 by its president MOSSÉRI.

Professor MORET's inaugural lecture at the Collège de France recalled his predecessor's work on the royal tombs at Thebes. He sketched the history of exploration in the Valley of the Kings. After the visit of LEPSIUS in 1844 nothing was done until the arrival of MASPERO in 1880; in 1881 MASPERO laid hands on the arch-plunderer 'Abd er-rasûl and the wonderful relics of the famous *cachette*, and thereafter interest and activity revived. *Rev. Égyptol.*, N.S., II, fasc. 3–4, 38–59.

GUÉMARD describes the persons composing Bonaparte's Commission and the doings of the first Institute of Egypt which ended in 1801 with the fall of Alexandria, *Essai d'histoire de l'Institut d'Égypte et de la Commission des Sciences et Arts* in *Bull. Inst. d'Égypte*, VI, 43–84, and edits letters preserved at the École des Ponts et Chaussées in Paris written by the engineers of NAPOLEON's expedition, many of whom like JOLLOIS and DEVILLIERS are connected with important archaeological researches during the stay of the Expedition, *Nouvelle contribution à l'histoire de l'Institut d'Égypte et de la Commission des Sciences et Arts*, op. cit., VII, 71–93.

SOTTAS' edition of CHAMPOLLION's *Lettre à M. Dacier*, with an introduction on the history of the decipherment of hieroglyphic, is reviewed in *Ancient Egypt*, 1924, 84 and by NAVILLE in *Rev. Critique*, 1925, 223–7. NAVILLE, *Champollion*, is reviewed by HALL in *Journal*, X, 346.

MARRO publishes eleven letters of 1826–9 concerning CHAMPOLLION's visit to Turin and his expedition to Egypt, now in the possession of a great-grandson of DROVETTI; six are from CHAMPOLLION le jeune, two from CHAMPOLLION FIGÉAC, one each from ROSELLINI, the Comte de FORBIN and a certain MECIQUE and all but one are addressed to DROVETTI. DROVETTI it may be mentioned had been made consul of France in Alexandria by Napoleon to counteract English influence and continued in his post

under Louis XVIII and Charles X until 1829. *Bernardino Drovetti e Champollion "le Jeune"* in *Atti* of the Turin Academy, LVIII, 548–82.

The centenary of BELZONI's death on 3 Dec. 1823 is commemorated by SAMMARCO, *Per il primo centenario della morte di Giovanni Battista Belzoni*, in *Bull. Inst. d'Égypte*, VI, 27–42. The discoverer of the Tomb of Sety I, he holds an honourable place amongst the early explorers of Egyptian antiquities; after labouring there from 1815–19 he wrote his well-known and useful *Narrative*; he died of dysentery in West Africa at the early age of 45.

The retirement of ERMAN from his professorship at Berlin and the attainment of his seventieth birthday last October have furnished the occasion for many expressions of gratitude and good will. A delightful memento is a bronze replica of a group in the Berlin Museum which represents a scribe writing in the warning presence of the baboon of Thoth; its wooden base is engraved with a laudatory text and a prayer that the full measure of 110 years of life be granted by Thoth to his faithful servant. This was presented to ERMAN in a gathering of admirers and former pupils with addresses and speeches by SETHE and SCHAFER, WILCKEN, Eduard MEYER and others. The number for October 1924 of the *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* is dedicated to ERMAN and an article was contributed by BISSING, *Adolf Erman und die Deutsche Aegyptologie*, to the *Munchener Neuste Nachrichten* of Oct. 31. SCHUBART expresses the debt owed by papyrology to ERMAN both as the author of the fundamental work *Aegypten und Aegyptisches Leben im Altertum* and for his sympathetic help in acquiring Greek papyri for the Berlin Museum, *Vom Werdegang der Papyruskunde* in *O.L.Z.*, XXVII, 564–8. A hearty word of thanks from ERMAN, *Dank!* is printed in *O.L.Z.*, XXVIII, 48.

Mrs. RICHARDSON, formerly of the New York Metropolitan Museum, has been appointed curator of the Egyptian collection of the New York Historical Society; Mrs. Grant WILLIAMS, however, hopes to continue the scientific catalogue of the collection in her spare time. *Bulletin, N.Y.H.S.*, 1924, 48–9.

BIBLIOGRAPHY (1924–1925): CHRISTIAN EGYPT

By DE LACY O'LEARY, D.D.

This Bibliography covers only the nine months September 1924—June 1925 and so is rather briefer than the previous Bibliographies, which covered in each case a year or more.

I. Biblical.

(*a*) *Old Testament.*

The critical edition of the Bohairic Pentateuch (cf. *Journal* (1924), 324) in preparation by H. Dévaud and O. Burmester is nearing completion: it will contain (i) the text of the Vatican manuscript, (ii) variants, and (iii) French translation.

Patrologia Orientalis xviii (1925), 209–339, contains Porcher, *Le livre de Job; version copte bohairique*, the text from two MSS. besides those of Tattam edited with a French translation.

H. Dévaud and O. Burmester are preparing a new edition of the Bohairic Psalter published in 1875 by De Lagarde: the text is however in Coptic letters and not transliterated as in the earlier edition. About half has been printed and it will probably be published in the coming autumn.

O. Burmester is also preparing a critical edition of the Bohairic text of Proverbs based on the John Rylands Copt. 8 (Crum 417) with the variants of B. Mus. Ad. 18,997, Or. 423, a codex in the patriarch's library, Cairo, and the Berlin text (Reg. Berolin. 447) given by De Lagarde. This will probably be ready in the late autumn.

O. Burmester also promises a critical edition on the Minor Prophets, the text based on B. Mus. Or. 1314 which will be ready a little later. Wessely, *Duodecim Proph. Min. vers. Achmimicae*, published in 1895 has been reviewed by E. Drioton in *R.O.C.*, xxiii (1922–23), 441.

(*b*) *New Testament.*

The most important Coptic publication during the past year is Sir H. Thompson's *Gospel of St. John*, London (1924), xxxix+70, 43 plates. This, the earliest known Coptic text of the gospel, is the codex discovered in 1923 (cf. *Journal* (1923), 226, the discoverer being Brunton not Petrie). The text begins at 2. 12, and ends at 20. 20. The editor describes the dialect used as "sub-Akhmimic," *i.e.*, intermediate between Sahidic and Akhmimic. The codex probably belongs to the third quarter of the fourth century. There are important textual variants (*cf.* pp. xv–xvi, xxiv sqq.) and these are collated with Westcott and Hort's edition of the B. ℵ text (*cf.* pp. xxxi–xxxix). A descriptive note by R. Kilgour in the *Expositor* (1924), 303–5, deals with the general character of the manuscript but was written before the edition mentioned above was published.

G. Horner, *Coptic Version of the New Test....Saʿidic*, vii, Oxford (1924), 565, containing the Catholic Epistles and Apocalypse has now appeared. Vol. vi has been reviewed by E. Drioton in *R.O.C.*, xxiii (1922–23), 441, and by Lefort in *Muséon*, xxxvi (1924), 130–43.

II. Apocryphal, Gnostic, etc.

(*a*) *New Testament Apocrypha.*

Hennecke, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, Tübingen (1924), xii+32*+668, of which parts 3–6 appeared in 1923 is now complete. It includes the agrapha, the Coptic and Syriac "Acta Pauli," etc. It has been reviewed by B. Violet in *O.L.Z.*, xxviii (1925), 81–82, by H. v. Soden in *Z. f. Kirch. Gesch.* (1924), 463–5, and to p. 512 (*i.e.* so far as published in 1923) by M. R. James in *J.T.S.*, xxv (1924), 422–5, as well as in conjunction with Dr. James' edition (*cf.* below).

M. R. James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, Oxford (1924), xxxi, 584, also includes the agrapha. It has been very carefully reviewed by J. Rendel Harris in *J.T.S.*, xxvi (1925), 181–5, and, in conjunction with Hennecke's edition, by J. Behm in *Theol. Lit. Z.*, 1 (1925), 73–78, and by P. P(eeters) in *Anal. Boll.* (1925), 154–6.

(*b*) *The Logia.*

E. BUONAIUTI, *Detti extracanonici di Gesu*, Rome (1924), 38, dealing with the Oxyrhynchus λόγια, etc., appears as No. xi of the "Scrittori cristiani antichi" series.

BESSON, *Les Logia Agrapha* (cf. *Journal* (1924), 325), is reviewed by P. D. in *Rev. Bibl.*, XXXIII (1924), 287–8.

E. J. JENKINSON, *The Unwritten Sayings of Jesus*, London (1925), 160, with a preface by Prof. J. A. FINDLAY, gives special attention to the agrapha contained in papyri from Upper Egypt.

J. DONOVAN, *The Logia in Ancient and Recent Literature*, Camb. (1924), 44, is an attempt to trace the exact meaning of λόγια as used in early Christian material and misused by modern writers. It has been reviewed by T. H. BINDLEY in *J.T.S.*, XXVI (1925), 310, who regards it as showing a retrograde position.

(*c*) *Gnostic and Manichaean.*

The *Pistis Sophia* has this year received unusual attention. A translation has been published by G. HORNER, *Pistis Sophia, literally trans. from the Coptic* by G. HORNER, introd. by F. LEGGE, London (1924), xlviii+206. This is the first direct translation from the Coptic into English as MEAD's translation was made from SCHWARTZE's Latin version checked by AMÉLINEAU's French version. It has a full and useful introduction in which the constituent documents are carefully examined. Mr. LEGGE believes "that all the documents in our text belong to the School of Valentinus. As to date, the First and the greatest part of the Second are probably taken from documents written by Valentinus himself, and therefore before A.D. 160, while the last part of the Second, and the whole of the Third, Fourth, and Fifth, are by the degenerate successors of his school and are arranged in date order. These last may be of any date between A.D. 245 and 388 when we last hear of the Valentinians as an organised sect, and some parts of them may not improbably be later still." (Introd. p. xlviii.) It is reviewed by Dr. BURKITT in *J.T.S.*, XXVI (1925), 391–8.

The text has been published by G. SCHMIDT, *Pistis Sophia* (Coptica II, Inst. Rask-Oersted, Copenhagen (1924), xxxix+456). The text (pp. 1–385) is beautifully printed like other volumes in this series and has full indices. The introduction agrees with HARNACK and assigns the work to the second or the third century A.D. Dr. SCHMIDT does not favour the suggestion that VALENTINUS is the author of any portion and regards all the constituent documents as the work of one hand. This introduction is the fullest and completest examination of the text and the problems connected with it as yet available.

This edition has been followed by a reprint of the translation published by Dr. SCHMIDT in 1905, and appears as C. SCHMIDT, *Pistis Sophia, ein gnostisches Originalwerk*, Leipzig (1925), xcii+308, the introduction being substantially a reproduction of that attached to the Copenhagen edition.

E. BUONAIUTI, *Frammenti gnostici* (cf. *Journal* (1923), 227), has been reviewed by P. D. in *Rev. Bibl.*, XXXII (1924), 301. It has been reproduced in an English translation by E. COWELL in BUONAIUTI, *Gnostic Fragments*, London (1924), 120 pp.

H. LEISEGANG, *Die Gnosis*, Leipzig (1924), viii+404, has been reviewed by H. RUST in *O.L.Z.*, XXVIII (1925), 70.

Reference may here be made to E. DE FAYE, *De l'influence du gnosticisme sur Origène*, in *Rec. de l'Hist. des Relig.* (1923), 181–235.

F. BILABEL, *Ein kopt. Frag....Manichaismus* (cf. *Journal* (1924), 325), has been reviewed by C. SCHMIDT in *O.L.Z.*, XXVIII (1925), 378–9.

III. LITURGICAL.

H. J. M. MILNE, *Early Psalms and Lections for Lent*, appears in *Journal* (1924), 278–82.

H. DELEHAYE, *Synaxarium et Miracula S. Isaiae Prophetae*, in *Anal. Boll.*, XLII (1924), 257–65, gives a Greek office but the saint appears frequently in Coptic synaxaria, etc.

O'LEARY, *Theotokia* (see *Journal* (1923), 227), has been reviewed by P. P(EETERS) in *Anal. Boll.*, XLII (1924), 417.

M. JUGIE has supplemented his *Homélies Mariales Byzantines* (cf. *Journal* (1924), 326) by an article *Les homélies Mariales attribuées à S. Grégoire le Thaumaturge* in *Anal. Boll.*, XLIII (1925), 86–95, in which he discusses and rejects their authenticity. These have a close relationship to the Theotokia.

P. JERNSTEDT, *Ein Kirchenpoetisches Papyrusfragment*, in *Aegyptus*, V (1924), 183–4, gives a short hymn of seven lines in Greek strongly influenced by Coptic. It resembles a fairly well known type of canon.

Much interest has been aroused by the hymn fragment (with musical notation) in P. Oxy. 1786 (cf. *Journal* (1923), 227). It has been examined from different points of view by TH. REINACH, *Un ancêtre de*

la musique de l'église, in *Rev. Musicale*, III (1922), 8–25, by R. WAGNER, *Zum christl. Dreifaltigkeitshymnos aus Oxyrhynchos*, in *Philologus*, LXXX (1924), 209–13, both these writing from the musical standpoint; also by C. DEL GRANDE, *Inno cristiano antico*, in *Riv. Graeco-Ital.*, VII (1923), 11–17, and by W. N. STEARNS, *A Church Hymn 1700 Years Old*, in *Classical Journ.*, XIX (1923–24), 563–4.

IV. LITERATURE AND THEOLOGY.

(a) Patres Apostolici.

(See also "New Test. Apocrypha," ii *a* above.)

LIETZMANN, *Die Apostolischen Vater*, Tübingen (1923), 644, is reviewed with HENNECKE's *Neutest. Apokr.* (*cf.* ii *a* above) by H. v. SODEN in *Z. f. Kirchengesch.*, XLIII (1924), 463–5.

Attention is drawn to HORNER, *New Frags. of the Didache* (cf. *Journal* (1924), 326), by E. HENNECKE in *Theol. L. Z.*, XLIX (1924), 409. C. SCHMIDT, *Das koptische Didache-Fragment des British Museum*, in *Z. f. d. neut. Wissen.* (1925), 1–99, gives a more detailed examination of these fragments and reproduces the text with translation and critical notes.

HARDEN, *Ethiopic Didascalia* (cf. *Journal* (1922), 177), has been reviewed by P. P(EETERS) in *Anal. Boll.*, XLII (1924), 426–7.

MONACHESI, *Il pastore di Erma* (cf. *Journal* (1923), 228), has been reviewed by P. D. in *Rec. Bibl.*, XXXIII (1924), 301. M. DIBELIUS, *Der Hirt des Hermas*, Tübingen (1923), v + 415–644, makes use of papyrus evidence in the introduction. It is reviewed by P. THOMSEN in *Phil. Woch.*, XLIV (1924), 1269–71.

The first six manuals of the "Scrittori cristiani antichi" series have been reviewed by J. BEHM in *O.L.Z.* (1924), 531–2.

NEPPI MODONA, *Doc. della prim. letteratura cristiana* (see *Journal* (1924), 326), is briefly noticed in the *J.H.S.*, XLIV (1924), 132.

(b) Patristic Theology.

J. DE ZWANN writes on *A gap in the recently discovered Greek of the Apology of Aristides* (cf. *Journal* (1923), 326), in the *Harvard Theol. Rev.* (1925), 101–12. The text published by J. MILNE in *J.T.S.* (1923), 73–77, has been reproduced by G. KRUGER, *Aristides Apologie 15. 6–16*, in *Theol. L. Zeit.* XLIX (1924), 47–48, and by A. D'ALÈS, *L'Apologie d'Aristide et le roman de Barlaam et Josaphat*, in *Rev. d. Quest. Hist.*, LII (1924), 354–9 (but see H. I. BELL's remarks in *Journal* (1925), 90). In this connexion reference should be made to E. W. BUDGE, *Baralâm and Yĕwâsĕf...Ethiopic version*...Cambridge (1923), 2 vols. xvi + 246 and cxxii + 351, which has been reviewed by P. P(EETERS) in *An. Boll.* (1925), 146–9, and by W. R. DAWSON in *Asiat. Rev.*, XXI (1925), 333–5. J. RENDEL HARRIS, *The Sources of Barlaam and Joasaph*, in *Bull. John Rylands Libr.*, IX (1925), 119–29, has an important bearing on the sources used including the Apology of Aristides.

HERING, *Étude sur la doctrine de la chute et de la préexistence des âmes chez Clément d'Alex.*, Paris (1923), iii + 47, has been reviewed by A. HARNACK in *Theol. L. Zeit.*, XLIX (1924), 558–9.

Mention has already been made of DE FAYE, *De l'influence du gnosticisme sur Origène* (*cf.* ii *c* above).

J. DAVID has published *Éclaircissements de S. Athanase sur les Psaumes, fragments d'une traduction en copte sahidique* in *R.O.C.*, XXIV (1924), 3–57.

M. CHAINE publishes *Catéchèse attribuée à St. Basile de Césarée* in *R.O.C.*, XXIII (1922–23), 150–9 and 271–302, containing Coptic text from the Vatican Cod. Copt. 67, with translation and introduction. It contains two parts, the first describing the building of the first church dedicated to the Blessed Virgin by the apostles, the other relating the building of another church also dedicated to the Blessed Virgin.

V. HISTORY.

(a) The Egyptian Church, general history and special periods.

W. SCHUBART, *Aegypten von Alexander*... (cf. *Journal* (1923), 230), has been reviewed by F. ZUCKER in *D.L.Z.*, XLV (1924), no. 6, and by a writer in *Klio*, XIX (1924), 231–2, as well as by F. Z. in *Byz. Zeit.* (1924), 429.

J. MASPERO, *Hist. des patriarches d'Alex.* (cf. *Journal* (1924), 327), has been reviewed by W. E. CRUM in *J.T.S.*, XXV (1924), 425–32, and by H. I. BELL in *Journal* (1924), 209–12.

A. JULICHER, *Zur Gesch. der Monophysitenkirche*, in *Z. f. neut. Wissen.*, XXIV (1925), 17–43, examines MASPERO's work and makes several fresh contributions to Egyptian Church history.

H. I. Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt* (cf. *Journal* (1924), 327), is reviewed by A. v. Harnack in *Litteris*, I (1924), 115–22, and by W. Schubart in *O.L.Z.* (1924), 712–14, and by P. P(eeters) in *An. Boll.* (1925), 140–3. (*Cf.* also *Journal* (1925), 95.)

N. H. Baynes, *Athanasiana*, in *Journal* (1925), 58–69, deals with the recall of Athanasius from exile and his return.

P. Battifol relates *Un épisode du concile d'Éphèse (juillet 431) d'après les actes coptes de Bouriant* in vol. I of the *Mélanges offerts à M. Gustave Schlumberger* (Paris, 1924), xxxi + 282).

C. Graf, *Ein Reformversuch* (cf. *Journal* (1924), 382), is reviewed by J. Leipoldt in *O.L.Z.* (1924), 605, and by G. Ficker in *Theol. Lit.* (1924), 228.

M. Chaine, *La durée du patriarcat d'Isaac*, in *R.O.C.*, xxiii (1922–23), 214–16, and E. Porcher, *Les dates du patriarcat d'Isaac*, in *R.O.C.*, xxiv (1924), 219–22, offer corrections of certain dates in Tisserant-Wiet, *Liste des patriarches* (cf. *Journal* (1924), 328).

M. Chaine, *La chronologie des temps chrétiens de l'Égypte et de l'Éthiopie*, has been announced and will shortly appear. It will contain about 350 pages with some 80 tables giving concordances of the Coptic-Ethiopic calendars with the Julian and Gregorian, chronological tables, nineteen lists of officials, etc. According to the published description it will be a valuable guide to Egyptian chronology.

M. Casanova has written on *L'incendie de la bibliothèque d'Alexandrie chez les Arabes* in *C. R. Ac. Inscr. B. Litt.* (1923), 163 sqq., and G. Furlani publishes *Sull' incendio della biblioteca di Alessandria* in *Aegyptus*, v (1924), 205–12.

U. Monneret de Villard, *Sul castrum romano di Babilonia d'Egitto*, in *Aegyptus*, v (1924), 174–82, has an important bearing on the narrative in the chronicle of John of Nikiu.

A. Fortescue, *The Uniate Eastern Churches* (1923), xxiv + 244, was left incomplete at the author's death. It contains some useful information about the Uniates of Egypt but this is of less interest than the same author's earlier work on the "Minor Eastern Churches." This book as well as F. Macler, *Chrétientés orientales*, Strasburg (1923), 51, and R. Janin, *Les églises orient.* (cf. *Journal* (1924), 328), are reviewed by J. Simon in *An. Boll.* (1925), 135–9, and Janin's work is reviewed by P. D. in *Rec. Bibl.*, xxxiii (1924), 305.

Wigram, *Separation of the Monophysites* (*Journal* (1924), 327), is reviewed by Dr. Burkitt in *J.T.S.* (1925), 427–31.

A new edition of El Makin is announced as now in preparation by Wiet and Tisserant.

Les Professeurs de N.D. de France à Jérusalem, *La Palestine, la Syrie Centrale, la Basse Egypte*, etc., Paris, 3rd ed. (1922), xliv + 802, is a guide book by the Assumptionist Fathers at Jerusalem: it is mainly concerned with Palestine and gives only slight attention to Egypt.

L. Eckenstein, *History of Sinai* (cf. *Journal* (1922), 182), is reviewed by J. Simon in *An. Boll.*, xlii (1924), 424–5.

Vol. xviii of the *Patrologia Orientalis* contains the *Histoire de Yahya-Ibn-Saʿid d'Antioche continuateur de Saʿid-Ibn-Bitriq* (*Patr. Or.*, xviii (1925), 699–834), edited by J. Kratchkovskya and A. A. Vasiliev, but it has little bearing on the history of the Egyptian church.

(*b*) *Monasticism and the Apophthegmata.*

H. Bousset, *Das Monchtum der sketischen Wüste*, appears in *Z. für Kirchengesch.*, xlii (1923), 1–41. The same writer's *Apophthegmata* (cf. *Journal* (1924), 326) is reviewed by E. Seeberg in *O.L.Z.*, xxviii (1925), 83–86, by P. P(eeters) in *An. Boll.*, xlii (1924), 430–5, and by Th. Lefort, who gives his attention chiefly to the portions containing the life of S. Pachomius, in *Rec. d'Hist. Eccles.*, xxi (1925), 101–4. C. Mackean, *Christian Monasticism in Egypt* (cf. *Journal* (1922), 181), is also reviewed by Th. Lefort in *Rev. d'Hist. Ecc.*, xxi (1925), 104–6. Villecourt, *Une même parabole* (cf. *Journal* (1924), 326), is reviewed in *Folk Lore*, xxv (1924), 406–7.

(*c*) *Institutions, Canon Law, etc.*

Von Woess, *Asylwesen* (1923), xii + 282, refers to the κάτοχοι problem, the writer bringing forward the theory that they were refugees in asylum. This is approved by H. Lietzmann who reviews the work in *Z. neut. Wiss.*, xxii (1923), 313, and by C. F. Lehmann-Haupt in *Klio*, xix (1924), 217–31, but opposed by H. Lewald in *Z. Sav. Stift.*, xliv (1924), 536–8, whilst P. Koschaker who reviews the *Asylwesen* in *O.L.Z.*, xxvii (1924), 195–9, is undecided. The contrary view that they were religious devotees is maintained by Wilcken, *Urkunden der Ptolemaerzeit*, Berlin-Leipzig, ii (1923), 147–296, and this author further defends his theory in *Archiv*, vii (1924), 299–301, where he reviews his own book: he is supported by

L. WENGER in *D.L.Z.* (1924), 297–306, but K. SETHE who reviews WILCKEN's work in *G.G.A.* (1923), 106–23, maintains that the κάτοχοι were persons arrested for debt.

H. I. BELL, *The Episcopalis Audientia in Byzantine Egypt*, in *Byzantion*, I (1924), 139–44, is based chiefly on a study of P. Lond. inv. no. 2217, a document not earlier than A.D. 398 and not later than Justinian's Novel. 79, as appears from internal evidence as to procedure, unless local bishops exercised powers greater than those they legally possessed at the time.

C. DE LEONTOPOLIS, *Le patriarcat oecuménique vu de l'Égypte*, in *Échos d'Or.*, XXVIII (1925), 40–55, is translated from *Pantainos* a weekly review of the patriarchate of Alexandria. It is controversial in tone and throws a curious light on the strong feeling for local autonomy which apparently exists and on the opposition to a universal patriarchate.

(*d*) *Martyrs and other Saints.*

On martyrology must be noted DORNSEIFF, *Der Martyrer, Name und Bewertung*, in *Arch. f. Relig. Wissen.*, XXII (1923–24), 133–53. H. DELEHAYE, *Les martyrs d'Égypte* (cf. *Journal* (1923), 231), has been reviewed by S. R(EINACH) in *Rev. Arch.*, V (1923), 212.

P. CHENEAU, *Les Saints d'Égypte*, Jerusalem (1923), 2 vols., pp. 598 and 707, with the lives of the saints arranged for reading according to the days of the year, is frankly a work intended for edification and more particularly to instruct young Egyptians in a branch of history which has fallen into neglect. It is reviewed by H. D(ELEHAYE) in *An. Boll.* (1925), 143–5, where the reviewer, whilst fully recognising the real purpose of the book and the writer's successful effort to arouse interest in the lives of the Egyptian saints, points out that the work is not critical in character and contains an element of fiction, *e.g.*, in the description of S. Macarius of Alexandria as "petit de taille, visage imberbe, fines moustaches, manières attirantes..." on which H. D. remarks, "On voit bien dans Pallade que Macaire était τραγήματα πιπράσκων ; mais on cherche en vain les fines moustaches et le reste, dont il faut faire honneur à l'imagination du P. Ch." (*ibid.*, 145).

H. DELEHAYE, *Les miracles des saints*, in *An. Boll.*, XLII (1925), 5–85, deals largely with the Greek material (pp. 7–73), and with the narratives of St. George, St. Theodore (41–45), and St. Menas (46–49), all of primary importance in Egyptian hagiography. Although a very useful and valuable contribution it has hardly yet cleared a way through the jungle of Theodore legends—but more is to follow.

H. DELEHAYE promises the publication of the Greek lives of St. Pakhom, TH. LEFORT is undertaking the Coptic lives and has collected many photographs of codices at Mt. Athos which show interesting variants: P. PEETERS takes the Arabic lives.

VI. NON-LITERARY TEXTS AND COLLECTIONS OF VARIOUS TEXTS.

(*a*) *Collected Texts.*

CRUM-BELL, *Wadi Sarga Coptic and Greek Texts* (cf. *Journal* (1923), 232), is reviewed by U. WILCKEN in *Archiv*, VII (1924), 314, by E. DRIOTON in *R.O.C.*, XXIII (1922–23), 442, and by H. (HALL) in *Journ. Hell. Stud*, XLIV (1924), 131–2.

Oxyrhynchus Papyri, XV (1922) has been reviewed by J. BIDEZ in *Rev. Belge Hist. Lit.*, III (1924), 603–5, and XVI (1924) by U. WILCKEN in *Archiv*, VII (1924), 311.

W. H. WORRELL, *Coptic Manuscripts in the Freer Collection* (cf. *Journal* (1924), 324), is reviewed by I. GUIDI in *R.S.O.*, X (1924), 364–5, by J. LEIPOLDT in *O.L.Z.* (1924), 710, by P. D. in *Rev. Bibl.*, XXXIII (1924), 132–3, by P. P(EETERS) in *An. Boll.*, XLII (1924), 415–17, and by D. O'LEARY in *Journal* (1925), 113–15.

C. WESSELY, *Les plus anciens monuments du Christianisme écrits sur papyrus*, II (Greek and French trs.), appears as part of *Patrol. Orient.*, XVIII (1924), 341–511.

(*b*) *Letters and separate documents.*

G. GHEDINI, *Lettere cristiane* (cf. *Journal* (1924), 329), has been reviewed by W. M. CALDER in *Class. Rev.*, XXXVIII (1924), 30–31, by a writer in the *Rech. Sci. Relig.* (1924), 380–1, by C. DEL GRANDE in *Riv. Indo-gr.-it.*, VIII (1924), 172–3, by P. D. in *Rev. Bibl.*, XXXIII (1924), 301–2, and in *Rev. Belge Phil. Hist.*, III (1924), 605–7. An English translation is now under consideration.

MEECHAM, *Light from ancient letters: Private correspondence in the non-literary papyri of Oxyrhynchus*, London (1922), 189, is reviewed by P. D. in *Rev. Bibl.*, XXXIII (1924), 457–8.

P. JERNSTEDT, *Aus den Coptica der Sammlung Lichačov*, in *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Sciences de Russie* (1924), 99–100, gives a text (18 lines) of a private letter in Coptic with notes.

F. BILABEL, *Zu dem Testament des Bischofs Abraham von Hermouthis*, appears in *O.L.Z.* (1924), 701–4.

CHASSINAT, *Un papyrus medical* (cf. *Journal* (1922), 183), has been reviewed by W. H. SCHOFF in *Journ. Amer. Orient. Soc.*, XLV (1925), 76.

(*c*) *Magical Papyri.*

S. EITREM has now made the field of magical papyri practically his own. His *Greek Magical Papyri in the British Museum* appears as no. 3 of the *Videnskapsselskaps Forhandl.* (1923, pp. 27), and his *Les papyrus magiques grecs de Paris* as part of the *Vidensk. Skrifter* (1923, pp. 49). This latter has been reviewed by A. CALDERINI in *Aegyptus*, V (1924), 109–10, by K. PREISENDANZ in *D.L.Z.* (1924), 1505–7, and by H. J. ROSE in *Class. Rev.*, XXXVIII (1924), 213. The same writer's *Christliches Amulett* (cf. *Journal* (1922), 185 and (1923), 233) has been reviewed by U. WILCKEN in *Archiv*, VII (1924), 113, and by CH. GUIGNEBERT in *Rev. H. Relig.*, LXXXVII (1923), 128–9.

G. MEAÚTIS, *Notes sur quelques papyrus magiques*, in *Aegyptus*, V (1924), 141–52, contains material bearing upon Christian and Gnostic formulae.

VII. GRAMMATICAL.

H. WIESMANN contributes *Verwechselung von* ϩHT (*Herz*) *mit* ϩH (*Bauch*) to *Z. f. ag. Spr.*, LIX (1924), 162–3, also *Das Geschlecht von* ϩOEITE (*Kleid*) (*ib.*, 162), and ⲁⲉ *zur Einleitung der Apposition* (*ib.*, 162), *Bemerkenswerter Gebrauch von* ϩⲛ (*ib.*, 163), and *Der Artikel bei* ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲧⲉ (*ib.*, 163).

W. SPIEGELBERG, *Der gegenwartige Stand u. die nächsten Aufgaben der demot. Forschung* (*ib.*, 131–40), and *Der böse Blick im altagyptischen Glauben* (*ib.*, 149–54), contain important notes on Coptic vocabulary and grammar, and so the same writer's *dd mdw im Koptischen* (*ib.*, 160–1) and *Der Ursprung des Finalis* ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲉ, ⲧⲁⲣⲉ (*ib.*, 161).

BATTISCOMBE GUNN, *The writings of the word for "grapes"* (*ib.*, 71–72), refers to the word which appears in Coptic as ϵⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ : ⲁⲗⲟⲗⲓ.

W. SPIEGELBERG contributes ϩⲓⲥⲉ (*S*) ϩⲓⲥⲓ (*B*) "*spinnen*" to *O.L.Z.* (1924), 568–70, and P. JERNSTEDT, *Koptisches* ⲙⲉϣⲉ "*du (Frau) weisst nicht*" appears in the *C. R. de l'Acad. d. Sci. de Russie* (1925), 23–26.

I. GUIDI, *Elem. Ling. Copt.* (cf. *Journal* (1924), 329), is reviewed by W. SPIEGELBERG in *Muséon*, XXXVII (1924), 313–14, and DÉVAUD, *Etud. d'étymol. coptes* (cf. *Journal* (1923), 233), by DRIOTON in *R.O.C.*, XXIII (1922–23), 442.

M. CHAINE, *Note sur l'expression copte* ϵⲑⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ ϵⲛ̂ⲟⲗ, in *R.O.C.*, XXIII (1922–23), 209–13, deals with a term apparently used to denote the feast of the Epiphany.

VIII. ARCHAEOLOGY.

(*a*) *Explorations.*

An account of the *Monastery of Epiphanius* by H. E. WINLOCK, W. E. CRUM, and H. G. EVELYN WHITE is to appear shortly in two volumes of which one is already printed and the other will be completed in the autumn (pub. Metrop. Mus. of N. Y.), and H. G. EVELYN WHITE, *New Texts from the Monastery of St. Macarius* (Metrop. Mus. N. Y.), is promised for this winter.

The Times of 11 March 1925 reports that Prof. UGO MONNERET (DE VILLARD) who has been making excavations near Aswân has discovered an eighth century church belonging to the monastery of St. Simeon and has found there a large quantity of Coptic papyri and pottery.

H. ABEL, K. BREITH and H. RANKE are projecting a work to be called *Koptische Friedhofe bei Karara und der Tempel Scheschonks I bei el Hibe* (circ. 70 pp. and numerous illustrations) giving the results of explorations in 1912–1914. The work is to be published at 140 M. and to proceed only if sufficient subscribers are secured by 1 March 1925. I understand that the required conditions have been satisfied and the work is now in preparation.

A description of the Wâdî Naṭrûn and its monasteries appears in *L'Illustration* (1925), 264–7 (8 illustr.), by M. A. KAMMERER.

(*b*) *Sculpture.*

U. MONNERET DE VILLARD, *La scultura ad Ahnas; note sull' origine dell' arte copta*, Milano (1923), 97, has been reviewed by G. STUHLFAUTH in *O.L.Z.* (1924), 518–20.

Mgr. KAUFMANN, *Altchrist. Frauenstatuetten der Menasstadt*, appears in *Byz. Neugr. Jahr.* (1924), 303–10.

H. MUNIER, *Une scène de la nativité sur un bas-relief copte*, in *Ann. du Serv.*, XXIV (1924), 128–32 (1 illustr.), describes a sculpture perhaps from Edfu (p. 128, note 1). The scene represents the bathing of the child Jesus by the two midwives (cf. *Protev. Jacobi*, XIX–XX). Such representation is fairly common in Byzantine miniatures, frescoes, etc., but the details are not usual in Coptic art.

(*c*) *Inscriptions.*

J. DE ZWAAN, *No Coptic in the Koridethi Codex*, in *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, XVIII (1925), 112–14, refers to a scrawl on the inner side of a cover of the Koridethi codex (cf. *Harv. T. R.* (1923), 280–3), suggested to be a "melange of Georgian and Coptic letters and one Coptic word, viz., *ḫeppe* (ἰδού)." The writer holds that **ⲏⲡⲡⲉ** is really **ⲏⲩⲡⲉ**, etc., and Georgian, part of a quotation of Heb. x. 7 (= Ps. xl. 7). The article is followed by a rejoinder by R. P. BLAKE (*ib.*, 114).

(*d*) *Textiles.*

M. S. DIMAND, *Early Christian Weavings from Egypt*, in *Bull. Metrop. Mus. of Art* (N.Y., XX (1925), 55–58, 5 illustr.), is chiefly concerned with a woven band now in the Metrop. Mus. (fig. 5) of the fifth to the sixth century representing the Annunciation, Nativity, Bathing (cf. sect. *c*, above) and Adoration of the Shepherds.

E. KUHNEL and VOLLBACH, *Coptic and Islamic Stuffs* (with 98 plates, 48 in colour), is announced as to appear shortly.

M. DIMAND, *Die Ornamentik der ägyptischen Wollwirkereien; Stilprobleme d. spätantiken und koptischen Kunst* (Leipzig (1924), 80 pp., 83 illustr., 18 plates), is a publication of the Museum of cultural history at Lund.

(*e*) *Magic.*

Published texts of magical papyri are noted under sect. vi *c* above.

E. DRIOTON, *Le "fronton" et les "tasseaux" de la porte*, in *Bull. de l'Inst.*, XXVI (1925), 15–19, deals with the ritual of ch. CXXV of the "Book of the Dead" but incidentally gives various references to the housetop (**ϫⲉⲡⲉⲙⲱⲣ**) in Coptic literature and to the **Ⲗⲱⲉ̀ⲓ** of the door.

PERDRIZET, *Negotium perambulans in tenebr.* (cf. *Journal* (1923), 234), is reviewed by E. PETERSON in *Byz. Neugr. Jahrb.*, IV (1924), 409–10.

(*f*) *General Manuals, etc.*

C. KAUFMANN, *Handbuch* (cf. *Journal* (1923), 234), has been reviewed by C. L. SMIT in *Museum*, XXX (1923), and by G. STUHLFORTH in *D.L.Z.*, XLV (1924), No. 7.

BIBLIOGRAPHY (1923–1924): GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

By MARCUS N. TOD, M.A.

In the following Bibliography, which continues that published in this *Journal*, IX, 235 ff., I attempt to give a brief survey of the books and articles which appeared in the years 1923 and 1924 dealing with Greek inscriptions found in Egypt or Nubia: reviews are referred to only when they make some contribution of real value to the studies concerned or for any other reason appear to call for special mention. My task has been greatly facilitated by the generous assistance of Dr. F. Ll. Griffith and of Dr. E. Breccia, to whom I here tender my hearty thanks.

Although his name is mainly associated with papyrology, F. Preisigke rendered important services to epigraphical studies also, notably by his valuable *Sammelbuch*. In my last Bibliography I referred to the *Namenbuch*, which has been warmly welcomed by no less an authority than K. Sethe (*Gott. Gel. Anz.*, 1923, 227 ff.), and, though his tireless activities have been cut short by death, he fortunately lived long enough to complete the MS. of his *Wörterbuch*, a lexicon of the Greek papyri, inscriptions, ostraca, etc. found in Egypt, which is in course of publication by his executors and will, it may be confidently foretold, prove of the greatest value to all workers in this field for many years to come. Two fascicules were published in 1924, the first at Heidelberg and the second at Berlin, bringing the dictionary down to the word ἔχω.

G. Capovilla has devoted a detailed study to the god Heron in Thrace and in Egypt (*Riv. Fil.*, LI, 424 ff.); this he takes to be the original form of the name, modified under Greek influence to Heros, just as the Thracian Τιλεσπορις was transformed into Τελεσφόρος. After examining the nature of the Thracian god and also the references to his cult found in Egyptian inscriptions, especially at Magdola and at Theadelphia (*ibid.*, 439 ff.), the author concludes that the god was imported into Egypt by Thracian mercenaries in the early years of the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus.

In an able and interesting article (*Rec. Ét. Gr.*, XXXV, 198 ff.) M. Holleaux investigates the meaning of the title ἡγεμὼν (τῶν) ἔξω τάξεων found in inscriptions of Coptos (Dittenberger, *Orient. gr. inscr. sel.*, 69, Breccia, *Iscrizioni gr. e lat.*, 109) and Hermopolis Magna (Breccia, *op. cit.*, 44 a, Preisigke, *Sammelbuch*, 599) and in a Theban papyrus (Wilcken, *Arch. Pap.*, III, 188): he rejects the current interpretation "commandant of detachments stationed outside Egypt," and by a careful analysis of Diod. XIX, 22, 1–3 supports Lesquier's theory that the person so entitled was an officer "à la disposition," *i.e.* not on active service.

In an excellent monograph on Egyptian asyla (*Das Asylwesen Ägyptens in der Ptolemaerzeit und die spätere Entwicklung*, Munich, 1923) F. von Woess relies chiefly on papyrological materials; he has, however, made full use of the epigraphical evidence, which is summarized at the beginning of the work (p. 7 ff.), and has in an appendix (p. 246 ff.) republished the four inscriptions recording grants of ἀσυλία which are omitted, or only partially published, in the standard collections of inscriptions. In a detailed discussion of this book C. F. Lehmann-Haupt emphasizes its historical value, summarizes its main arguments and confirms its conclusions against Wilcken's criticism (*Klio*, XIX, 217 ff.).

E. Breccia has published two articles entitled "Note Epigrafiche," in which he makes valuable additions to Graeco-Roman epigraphy. In the first (*Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex.*, n.s., V, 123 ff.) he deals with thirty inscriptions, almost all of which are now in the Alexandria Museum. Three come from Tell Timai,—one (p. 123 f., No. 1) set up, probably in 255–4 B.C., in honour of a Macedonian Leonidas by his son who bore the same name, the second inscribed in the Roman period on the same base, the third (p. 125 f., No. 3. *Cf.* S. de Ricci, *ibid.*, 281) a list of names and demotics of the Ptolemaic period. A stone from Kôm Saggari (Delingat) records the dedication of a banqueting hall (ἑστιατόριον) by the members of a guild to Ptolemy IV, his queen Arsinoe and their son Ptolemy in the closing years of the third century (p. 126 f., No. 4). From Canopus (Abukîr) come a statue-base of Cleopatra III dated 116–5 B.C. (p. 127 f., No. 5. *Cf.* S. de Ricci, *ibid.*, 281) and a fragment, not later than the first century A.D., mentioning a ζωθήκη (p. 134 f., No. 10),

of which a partial restoration is suggested by S. DE RICCI (p. 282). A well preserved text found at Alexandria tells how a certain Dorion, who held the priesthood of Alexander for the twenty-fifth time, dedicated to Apollo in the early Roman period *τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὴν ζωθήκην* ("tabernacle" or "chapel") *καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ πάντα* (p. 128 ff., No. 6. *Cf.* S. DE RICCI, *ibid.*, 281). A block of white limestone of unstated provenance, probably of the age of Vespasian, bears the dedication of a Roman knight Valerius Longus (p. 131, No. 7. *Cf.* S. DE RICCI, *op. cit.*, 281, G. VITELLI, *op. cit.*, 283). Karanis (Kôm Ushîm) has yielded two dedications of L. Valerius Serenus, a soldier of *Legio II Traiana Fortis* (p. 132 f., No. 8. *Cf.* S. DE RICCI[1], *ibid.*, 281 f.), while from Kôm el-Wahal comes a marble slab set up in honour of Marcus Aurelius in the name of "the city" (presumably Pachnemunis) between 169 and 172 A.D. by Archias, whose offices and distinctions, together with those of various members of his family, are set forth at considerable length (p. 133 f., No. 9). Thirteen painted grave-stelae from Hadra (p. 135 ff., Nos. 11–23) bear the names of the deceased, who in at least six cases were foreigners. Four epitaphs acquired from a Greek merchant of Kafr ed-Dawâr are said to come from Mariut (p. 140, Nos. 25–28), and a similar inscription (p. 141, No. 29) has come to light at Kôm Abu Ismâ'îl (Beḥêrah). The last text of the series is a metrical epitaph in four couplets, acquired in the Fayyûm, commemorating a girl who had died, shortly after her marriage, at the age of sixteen (p. 141, No. 30)[2]. In his second article (*ibid.*, 267 ff.) BRECCIA deals with a group of eleven inscriptions from the neighbourhood of Sidi Gabr presented to the Alexandria Museum by Dr. A. OSBORNE: all save one (No. 2) are in Latin and most of them, if not all, relate to soldiers of the Roman garrison or members of their families. Two more Latin texts are added (Nos. 12, 13) together with corrections of three similar inscriptions in the Museum (BRECCIA, *Iscrizioni gr. e lat.*, 480, 483, 486) and a brief epitaph from Hadra. Six interesting documents follow from the excavations carried out by Breccia at Theadelphia (p. 272 ff., Nos. 15–20): one of these, bearing the name *Πετεσούχου θεοῦ μεγάλου ἀειζώου*, accompanies a relief, probably dating from the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes II, representing the adoration of the crocodile-god; a second, dated 162–3 A.D., with the crocodile in the lunette, bears the dedication *συνγενικῆς θεᾶς Ἴσιδος Σασόφεως*; a third consists of three *graffiti*, of which one is an epitaph, inscribed on a limestone slab showing in flat relief scenes of Egyptian religion; two attest the cult of *Ἥρων Σούβαττος* (one of them already discussed by LEFÈBVRE, *Annales du Service*, XX, 237 ff., and by CAPOVILLA, *Riv. Fil.*, LI, 445), and the sixth is a dedication *τῷ κυρίῳ Σούχῳ*. Passing over four minor texts (Nos. 21–24), we have an interesting sixth-century fragment from Mariut, of which BRECCIA gives only a facsimile, leaving transcription restoration and interpretation "to the competence and acumen of some Byzantinist." The remaining inscriptions consist of seven Rhodian or Cnidian amphora-stamps (p. 278 ff.). BRECCIA has elsewhere (*ibid.*, 252 ff. See especially 257 ff. and Plate XXVIII) described four stelae of the early Ptolemaic period, one of which, found in the necropolis of Shatbi, bears the inscription *Θεύφιλος Ὀλβου*.

In April, 1923, a historical document of outstanding interest was discovered at Tell el-Maskhûṭah, on the site of the ancient Pithom, at the eastern extremity of the Delta, whence it has been taken to the Cairo Museum. It consists of a stele of white limestone, bearing a much more complete and more carefully engraved copy of a trilingual text of which a fragment, found at Memphis, has long been in the Museum at Cairo. Of the three versions the demotic is best preserved, and shows that the decree here engraved was passed in November, 217 B.C., by the Egyptian priests met in conclave at Memphis, thanking Ptolemy IV for his piety and his liberality, attributing to divine favour the victory won over Antiochus III at Raphia five months previously, and bestowing on the king and his queen Arsinoe a series of honours, including the erection of statues of the royal pair in every temple of Egypt. The text and a full commentary will be published later; meanwhile H. GAUTHIER has given us a summary of this remarkable document (*C. R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1923, 376 ff. Cf. *Syria*, V, 164, *Riv. Fil.*, LIII, 151 f.).

Four inscribed funeral-stelae, obtained from an inhabitant of Shibîn el-Ḳanâṭir and added to the Cairo Museum, have been published by G. LEFÈBVRE (*Annales du Service*, XXIV, 1 ff.); three of these (dated 27, 25 and 1 B.C.) certainly, and the fourth (attributable to the second century B.C.) probably, come from the cemetery of Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehûdîyeh). Fourteen epitaphs from the same Graeco-Jewish necropolis, published in *Annales*, XXII, 7 ff., have been repeated, in some cases with comments and corrections by CRÖNERT and other scholars, in the new epigraphical periodical *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, I,

[1] I find it hard to believe that DE RICCI is right in transcribing ΡΑΥΡΗΛΙΩΙΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΩΙ as (*ἑκατον-ταρχίας*) *Αὐρηλίου Ἀπολλοδώρου* and not as (*ἑκατοντάρχῃ*) *Αὐρηλίωι Ἀπολλοδώρωι*.

[2] In l. 1 we should read *ἣν τέκε* for *ἣντεκε* and in l. 7 *τήνδ'* for *τὴν δ'*: in l. 5 I should omit the commas before and after *Διόφαντος*.

569–582 (cf. *ibid.*, p. 140), and the inscriptions of this site have also been reprinted, with an introduction and brief comments, by H. LIETZMANN (*Zeits. f. neutest. Wissenschaft*, XXII, 280 ff.). An interesting and well-preserved inscription, found at Xois in the Delta and brought to the Alexandria Museum, has been published by E. BRECCIA (*Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex.*, n.s., V, 119 ff.); it records how, shortly after 172 B.C., in honour of Ptolemy VI Philometor and Cleopatra II and their children, a precinct and the adjoining property were dedicated to Zeus Basileus and the other *πάτριοι θεοί* by a certain Caphisodorus, a Boeotian, *ὁ ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ καὶ στρατηγὸς τοῦ Ξοίτου καὶ ἱερεὺς τοῦ πολιτεύματος* together with his two sons and *οἱ ἐπισυνηγμένοι ἐν Ξόει Βοιωτοὶ [καὶ οἱ συμ]πολιτευόμενοι*. The Boeotians are here for the first time heard of as forming one of the pseudo-ethnic associations in the Ptolemaic army, for which see J. LESQUIER, *Institutions militaires*, 142 ff.

G. DARESSY has collected (*Annales*, XXIII, 49 ff.) all the available evidence relative to a bilingual, or probably trilingual, inscription discovered, but unfortunately not copied, at Menûf by the expedition of the first Napoleon and seen in 1820 by CAILLIAUD; it would seem to have been considerably longer than the trilingual text of Rosetta, and it is much to be regretted that there seems little prospect of the stone being rediscovered. On the other hand H. GAUTHIER announces the addition to the Alexandria Museum of a mutilated copy, found in a village cemetery some twelve miles N.E. of Heliopolis, of the same decree which is engraved on the Rosetta Stone (*C. R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1923, 378).

With praiseworthy promptitude G. LEFÈBVRE has issued his definitive account, in three volumes, of the remarkable "tomb of Petosiris" (*Le Tombeau de Petosiris*, Cairo, 1923–4, reviewed by G. BÉNÉDITE, *Journal des Savants*, 1924, 227 f.), to which some reference was made in my last Bibliography (*Journal*, IX, 237). With the architecture of this building and with its wealth of hieroglyphic texts I am not here concerned, but only with the Greek *graffiti* (vol. I, 21 ff.) which show that soon after Petosiris' death his tomb was visited by Greek, or at least Greek-speaking, pilgrims or sightseers, who left records of their presence in the form of inscriptions scratched or painted on the walls or columns of the monument. Twelve of these are reproduced in facsimile and discussed by LEFÈBVRE, including five which refer to later burials in or adjoining Petosiris' tomb. The most interesting of the painted texts are that which records how *Μίθρωνος παῖδες ἦλθον εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν οἷς ὀνόματα* κτλ., and the epigram

Πετόσειριν αὐδῶ τὸγ κατὰ χθονὸς νέκυν
νῦν δ' ἐν θεοῖσι κείμενον· μετὰ σοφῶν σοφός,

with the jocular addition of which LEFÈBVRE accepts EDGAR'S explanation (*Annales*, XXII, 78 f.). W. SPIEGELBERG examines these *graffiti*, emphasizes the interest and the reverence they attest, and concludes that it was this Petosiris to whom was ascribed the authorship of certain works of astrology which belong probably to the second century B.C. (*Sitzungsber. Heidelberg*, 1922, 3. For the date of the tomb *cf.* F. W. VON BISSING, *Orient. Litztg.*, XXVI, 1 ff.).

A regulation dealing with ritual purity, found at Ptolemais and now preserved in the Alexandria Museum (BRECCIA, *Iscrizioni gr. e lat.*, 163, PREISIGKE, *Sammelbuch*, 3451), has been discussed and restored, in the light of similar documents from other parts of the Greek world, by J. ZINGERLE (*Strena Buliciana*, Zagreb, 1924, p. 176 ff.). U. MONNERET DE VILLARD has taken the inscription of Dêr el-Abyaḍ published by LEFÈBVRE in *Annales*, XX, 251, as the starting-point of an investigation into the history of "Count Caesarius, son of Candidianus the founder," the fifth-century invasions of Egypt, and the date of the foundation of Dêr el-Abyaḍ (*Aegyptus*, IV, 156 ff.).

The Memnon-inscription *C.I.G.* 4730 contains only the first two letters AK of the name of the mother of Ti. Claudius Balbillus, prefect of Egypt in 55 A.D. (for whom see also H. HENNE, *Bull. Inst. Fr. Arch. Orient.*, XXI, 211 ff., R. CAGNAT, *Rev. Arch.*, XX, 395, No. 78). CICHORIUS proposed (*Rom. Studien*, 397 f.) to restore Ἀκ[τῆς] or Ἀκ[μῆς], but E. HONIGMANN has pointed out (*Hermes*, LIX, 477 f.) that the name Ἄκα occurs in the Commagenian royal house, with which Balbillus was connected, and should probably be restored as that of his mother in the inscription cited.

J. BAILLET has issued the second part of his *Inscriptions grecques et latines des tombeaux des rois ou syringes à Thèbes* (Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, XLII, 2, Cairo, 1923), which is devoted exclusively to the Ninth Syrinx, regarded in antiquity as that of Memnon. The remaining "syringes," the Introduction and the Indexes will compose a third and concluding fascicule. In the present instalment, which shares the merits and the shortcomings of its predecessor (cf. *Journal*, IX, 237), the author publishes, if I have calculated aright, 1002 inscriptions—987 Greek and fifteen Latin—illustrated by thirty-four plates; only 117 of the Greek and two of the Latin texts had been previously published, and even of these BAILLET'S unstinting devotion to his task has in many cases enabled

him to give improved readings. The names, the professions and the nationalities of the visitors afford valuable material for study and some of them are persons not unknown to history. In these informal records, too, we have more human touches than in official inscriptions, as *e.g.* in the twice found

ἦ ποú σε μήτηρ ἐκτὸς ὄντ' ἐπίσταται;

(Nos. 1222, 1986), an "inscription énigmatique" which the editor makes very serious efforts to interpret. N. AIMÉ-GIRON gives facsimiles and transcriptions of three *graffiti*, probably of the second century B.C., found by M. PILLET at Karnak (*Annales*, XXIII, 139 ff., *cf.* 108). H. HENNE publishes an interesting decree of uncertain provenance acquired at Luxor in 1922 (*Bull. Inst. Fr. Arch. Orient.*, XXII, 191 ff.); its date is indecipherable but it belongs, to judge from the writing, to the late third or early second century B.C. It was passed by οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου in honour of a gymnasiarch and cosmete who, by careful attention to the financial administration of the gymnasium, had succeeded in effecting considerable economies: in his full commentary the editor examines the character of the gymnasia and their relation to the state in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods as well as the question how far membership was open to privileged communities, such as Persians and Thracians, as well as to Greeks.

G. DARESSY gives an account of the discovery by Purdy and Colston of the ruins of a fort at el-Abraḳ, 85 kilometres S.W. of Berenice on the shore of the Red Sea, and a facsimile of fifteen fragments of an inscription, or inscriptions, found there, of which unfortunately no connected sense can be made (*Annales*, XXII, 169 ff.).

A Christian inscription, discovered in 1916 by Reisner at Gebel Barkâl in Nubia and regarded by O. BATES (*Harvard African Studies*, I, 197 f.) as being in old Nubian or some language of the Bega group, is examined by L. SAINT-PAUL GIRARD, who holds that it is in "grec barbare et vulgarisant" and dates from a period not earlier than the second half of the sixth century (*Bull. Inst. Fr. Arch. Orient.*, XX, 111 f.).

Of Greek inscriptions on Egyptian objects contained in foreign collections there is little to record. W. DEONNA, in discussing the Graeco-Egyptian terracottas recently acquired by the Geneva Museum of Art and History, notes an inscription in relief upon a clay lamp (*Rec. Arch.*, XX, 93), while in another article he publishes in detail three inscribed talismans of Egyptian origin now in the same Museum, of which two are of unknown provenance and the third was found at Akhmîm, the ancient Panopolis (*op. cit.*, XVIII, 119 ff.). A. MERLIN has called attention to two talismanic stones showing Egyptian influence, though not found in Egypt, bearing the inscription ΠΕCCΕ or ΠΕΠ (*op. cit.*, XIX, 419 f.). Finally, in an auction sale-list of November 19th, 1923, figures a limestone stele with a relief representing a young woman standing and caressing the head of a dog, accompanied by the inscription Μυρτὼι χρηστὴ χαῖρε (*Catalogue des Antiquités Égyptiennes et Gréco-Romaines*, Feuardent Frères, Paris).

NOTES AND NEWS

The present season is a momentous one in the history of the Society's excavations. Partly in consequence of the death of Mr. Newton and partly for other reasons it has been decided to suspend operations at Tell el-'Amarnah for the time being, while still retaining the concession, and to transfer attention once more to Abydos, a site which we have held continuously since 1908. Several pieces of work still await completion there. First and foremost among these is the clearing of the underground building known currently as the Osireion. It will be remembered that parts of two seasons were devoted to this work under the direction of Professor Edouard Naville, and the astonishing nature of the discoveries made (see *Journal*, I, 159–67) is in itself sufficient justification for continuing and completing the task. Our main objects will be to decide whether the whole of the structure is now laid bare or not, and to attempt to determine its age and purpose. With these objects in view the curious trench found in the main portion of the building will, as soon as the falling Nile permits, be cleared to virgin soil in the hopes that fragments of statues or other inscribed objects may be found in its filling. The inner chamber, too, said to be inscribed with funerary texts in the name of King Sethos I, will be fully recorded and photographed. The work will be directed by Mr. Henri Frankfort, assisted by Mr. H. Felton, who is specially attached to the expedition as a photographic expert. The other members of the party are not yet chosen.

At the same time the needs of our subscribing museums are not to be forgotten, and with this in view work will be resumed in the vast cemeteries of Abydos. These are still in part untouched in modern times, and will never fail to produce objects of archaeological and artistic value.

Even this is not all, for the society has in contemplation a piece of work in some ways perhaps more important and urgent than either of these. This is nothing less than the complete photographic recording of the great temples of Sethos I and Ramesses II, the former, in the eyes of many, the most beautiful building which has survived from ancient Egypt. For many years we have felt that we had no right to leave the site of Abydos without carrying out this essential task, and the time has now come when we can embark upon it. The scheme in contemplation includes not only the photographic recording of both temples but the publication of these records together with a written description of the buildings, and copies, translations and explanations of the texts which accompany the reliefs with which the walls are covered. Several years will doubtless pass before the final publication appears, but when it does it will certainly be one of the most valuable and worthy contributions made by the Society to Egyptological literature, and indeed to the literature of the history of art in general.

Our new aims and objects at Abydos have been fully set forth in an illustrated pamphlet which the Secretary will very gladly send to any who apply for it.

We greatly regret that it has been found impossible to publish in this number any report of last year's excavations. It will easily be understood that the death of Mr. Newton, who held all the threads of the excavation in his hands, has made matters very difficult,

though his records and in particular his plans were found to be in admirable order. The kindness of the excavating staff of the Metropolitan Museum of New York in lending us one of their draughtsmen, Mr. Wilkinson, and of Mr. Robert Mond in lending us Mr. W. B. Emery, an old member of our own staff, in order to finish off outstanding pieces of drawing and planning at Tell el-'Amarnah has gone far to minimize the confusion which might have occurred as the result of Mr. Newton's death.

A series of winter lectures under the auspices of the Society will again be given during the coming season. They will be given at the Royal Society, Burlington House, at 8.30 p.m., but at present the dates of the first two only have been fixed, and the rest will be announced later.

October 13th. Egyptian Literature. A. M. Blackman, D.Litt.

November 17th. Applied Science in Ancient Egypt. Colonel H. G. Lyons, F.R.S. (This lecture was unavoidably postponed last session owing to Colonel Lyons' absence abroad.)

In January Mr. Norman H. Baynes will lecture on "Alexandria and Constantinople; the Struggle between Emperor and Patriarch." In February Dr. V. Burch will lecture on "The Labyrinth and Egypt" and in March Dr. H. R. Hall on a subject to be determined later.

By the time this *Journal* is in the hands of readers the special lecture which Dr. Carter is to give in the New Oxford Theatre on September the 11th on the Tomb of Tutʿankhamūn will doubtless have taken place. The Society is deeply indebted to Dr. Carter for his generosity in giving this lecture, the proceeds of which will be devoted to the excavations of the coming season. The honour done to him by Yale University, which has given him the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Science, is probably no longer news to any of our readers.

Readers will have noted the quantity and high quality of the material in our last two volumes dealing with the Graeco-Roman and Christian periods in Egypt. This is the result of a definite policy intended to make the *Journal* interesting to as wide a range of readers as possible. The Editor would like to acknowledge, however, his indebtedness to the Honorary Secretary of the Society, Mr. H. I. Bell, who has undertaken not only to collect this material but also to perform much of the editorial work in connection with it. Mr. Bell will at all times be pleased to hear of possible contributions dealing with these later periods.

It is still early to forecast the probable activities of other societies and individuals in Egypt during the coming winter. Dr. Howard Carter will of course be fully occupied at the tomb of Tutʿankhamūn, where his patient progress, if too slow for a clamouring press, is quite satisfactory to his colleagues, who have implicit faith in the quality of his work and in his ability to judge at what speed it can most profitably be done.

The most spectacular finds of the season may possibly be those of Dr. Reisner in his unpleasantly deep shaft-tomb near the Pyramids at Gîzah. All that is yet certain is that he is faced with an untouched burial of a rich type dating from the Fourth Dynasty. For the rest we must be content to wait.

Mr. Robert Mond will again be working in connection with the University of Liverpool Institute of Archaeology in the tombs of Shêkh 'Abd el-Ḳurnah. His last season there was singularly successful. In addition to uncovering the beautiful new wall in the tomb of Ramōse from which Plate X in this *Journal* is taken he discovered two important new tombs, one of which, of Ramesside date, contains very unusual and remarkable painted scenes. Quite apart from these new discoveries Mr. Mond has continued that policy of restoration and photographic recording of tombs already known for which both Egyptologists and tourists owe him such a heavy debt of gratitude. The work this season will again be under the direction of Mr. W. B. Emery.

Egyptology has lost a good friend by the death of Mr. H. Ling Roth, Curator of the Bank Field Museum, Halifax. In addition to his admirable work in the Museum, which he may be said to have created almost out of nothing, he was well known as a learned and much travelled ethnologist. Among his numerous publications the best known is perhaps *The Aborigines of Tasmania*, which brought him a civil pension. Others scarcely less important were *The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo* and *Great Benin, its customs, arts and horrors*. Two other works published in 1906 and 1914 respectively deal with the Yorkshire coiners of 1767 to 1783 and the genesis of banking in Halifax, a striking testimony, these, to the wide range of his interests and knowledge. Egyptologists will know him best for his study of the processes of spinning and weaving in Ancient Egypt and elsewhere: one of his works in this field, *Ancient Egyptian and Greek Looms*, has become a classic.

At the risk of appearing to grumble the Editor wishes to point out that the work of running the *Journal* becomes yearly more complicated and difficult, and that in his opinion a point has been reached where it is impossible for any man to carry out the task in addition to his every day work unless contributors will help him by sending in their MSS. and illustrations in as perfect a condition as possible. The rules which are observed as to type, style, spelling of foreign names, etc. in this *Journal* have been printed in Vol. X, 336–7, and it would be no hardship for any author to look rapidly over his article when finished with these pages open before him, or even to read carefully and assimilate once for all the simple directions which they contain. The Editor would thus be spared many hours of unnecessary work in connection with each number of the *Journal*. Similar remarks apply to the preparation of illustrations. In *Journal*, XI, 108–9 several hints on this have been given, but they have not as yet borne a very abundant harvest. To what was there said let two things be added, firstly that we cannot reproduce from a half-tone illustration taken from another publication, but only from an original photograph (or in exceptional cases a very good collotype) or a line-drawing, and secondly that the Editor will be grateful if contributors will refrain from asking him to return photographs and drawings when finished with.

As against the above complaints the Editor would gratefully acknowledge the thoughtfulness of several colleagues who habitually send in their material in the most admirable condition.

To the list of abbreviations of much quoted works given in *Journal*, x, 337 add now the following:

L., *D.*, for LEPSIUS, *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien.*

Liverpool *Annals*, for *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* issued by the University of Liverpool Institute of Archaeology.

B.C.H., *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.*

B.S.A., *Annual of the British School at Athens.*

DAR.-SAGL., for DAREMBERG-SAGLIO, *Dictionnaire des antiquités.*

DITTENB., *O.G.I.*, for DITTENBERGER, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae.*

DITTENB., *Syll.*, for DITTENBERGER, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum.*

PAULY-WISSOVA, for PAULY-WISSOVA-KROLL, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.*

J.T.S., *Journal of Theological Studies.*

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Coptica, II. *Pistis Sophia*. Herausgegeben von CARL SCHMIDT. Hauniae, Gyldendal, 1925. Pp. xxxix + 456.

In regard to the difficult question of the name of this "original Gnostic work" Dr. Schmidt notices that "Sophia" is occasionally used alone, "Pistis" only once occurring alone, and further that elsewhere the obscure word "Prunikos" is sometimes appended to "Sophia" to denote Barbelo and Pistis Sophia appears as her daughter.

He refuses to accept the idea of Valentinus having written a work with the title of Sophia, which merely depended upon a quotation from Tertullian comparing the Sophia of Valentinus with the Wisdom of Solomon.

If the whole story of Pistis Sophia is to be classed among allegorical fictions, it is easy enough to connect the fall of "the wisdom of this world" in St. Paul's language with the world's failure of attaining by knowledge (*gnosis*) to an enviable higher state; which fall and failure of wisdom required the "faith working by righteousness," and the rescue of lost mankind by Jesus. Dr. Schmidt gives no support to the idea of allegory, for he is occupied with "Systems of the Gnostics," and with the double personalities of the Æons which suggest mysterious relations of such beings, and even approach perhaps the half double, half single Time-Space which our relativists are proving by equations of fallacious algebra.

Without dwelling upon the further question of the original language of the work, or expressing any view in favour of its having been Coptic, and without change from ascription to the very early fourth century date of the unique Sahidic vellum manuscript, which date was altogether denied by Amélineau, this brilliant recent editor of the original text, this meticulous reviser of his former translation, this laborious investigator of the whole subject, and I may add this eager student in the Oriental room at the British Museum, has confirmed his opinion as to the eccentric condition of the text, which receives an ingenious explanation by turning vellum into papyrus. He maintains that this explanation was suggested by the true Greek terms, and by the position of the inscriptions bearing these terms in the original Greek writing, the terms being τομος and τευχη, both applicable to "book" in general common use, but the latter τευχη giving the idea of *roll*.

From a justifiable alteration of the misplaced inscription he finds plain evidence of three rolls of equal length corresponding to 178 leaves of the present codex. In an ordinary book-form vellum text such as the Epistles of St. Paul in Sahidic, the only entire text of any New Testament work hitherto printed in that dialect, the practice is to give a subscription at the end of an Epistle and an inscription at the beginning of the next Epistle: whereas in a papyrus roll, separate from a following roll, it would be very easy and natural to omit the inscription of the following text, which would come, if necessary, at the beginning of a new roll. The copyist on vellum, however, might see no inscription of the following text on the first roll, and without looking further might omit the inscription, and this appears to have happened: two subscriptions occur and no inscription at the beginning. It should be said that German speaks of "overscription" and "underscription": Tischendorf, writing in Latin, always uses as above "inscriptio" and "subscriptio."

After supplying this ingenious correction of the present condition of the text Dr. Schmidt proceeds to renew his attack upon Dr. Liechtenau for throwing doubt on the authenticity of a considerable section of the work, on the ground of regarding Jesus as identical with the First Mystery and neglecting an earlier passage where the identity of those two Beings is already asserted. Another point is made in the same line of attack when Liechtenau has to include in the suspected section those very psalms which together belong to an independent version and thereby form an argument for the genuineness of the whole work. On the other hand Liechtenau is commended for drawing attention to the fact of the author's confusing the Ascension of Jesus with His still sitting and discoursing to His disciples upon the Mount of Olives.

The relation of the Books of Jeu to the author of the second part of the Pistis Sophia, namely the sections which begin in the middle of the second book and continue to the end of the volume, leads Dr. Schmidt into description of the so-called "Two books of Jeu," which title means the books "about Jeu" and does not imply the authorship as in the case of Enoch. Their priority in time is asserted on the ground

of a mention of their existence as a means of reference: "You will find the lower mysteries in the two books of Jeu."

Further than this, the position of Ialdabaoth is changed, and he appears in Pistis Sophia as relegated from the seventh heaven to Chaos. The account of the Bruce papyrus manuscript also edited by the same scholar with utmost care is concluded with a correction of his earlier explanation of the subscription. He now gives: "The book of the great κατὰ μυστήριον λόγος" instead of "The book of the great κατὰ μυστήριον λόγος of the Jeu" and he adds: "In the concluding hymn we had κατὰ μυστήριον λόγοι: these λόγοι are the emanations which were called Jeu."

In the last pages of the Introduction Mr Legge's theory receives the acrimonious attention of an open opponent, who in spite of much uncertainty which must still prevail in the search for truth ends with a contemptuous dismissal of the whole affair. The writer of this short notice has not given the subject enough independent study to enable him to decide between the two combatants. He did not invite Mr. Legge, as Dr. Schmidt elsewhere supposes, to help or advise him in making the literal translation, or to write any introduction or preface except with a statement that he (Mr. Legge) wrote quite independently; and did not expect that Dr. Schmidt would alter the opinion which he had formed, or would publish any other conclusions while continuing to follow the latest research of German scholars and his own investigation of unpublished papyrus Gnostic documents of Berlin.

On page lxxx Dr. Schmidt produces his final estimate of the date of the writing or the composition of the Pistis Sophia and the Books of Jeu, placing the Books of Jeu in A.D. 180–200; Section IV of Pistis Sophia in 200–250; Sections I, (II) III of Pistis Sophia in 250–300. He believes that IV was known, with its developed topography of the upper world, to the author of I, (II) III. Moreover that the author of IV used as a source the mystery book of the author of the Books of Jeu; and consequently that his authorship lies between the Books of Jeu and I, (II) III of Pistis Sophia.

G. HORNER.

De beide volksverhalen can Papyrus Harris 500 *verso.* By HENRI PETER BLOK. Leiden, 1925.

This work is a thesis submitted for the degree of D.Litt. in the University of Leiden. It consists of a translation, with philological commentary, of the two folk-tales preserved on the verso of Papyrus Harris 500, now in the British Museum. It shows not only immense industry but considerable aptitude for philological research, more particularly in lexicography, and while a few of the notes strike one as unnecessary or elementary others are valuable, such as for example those on the uses and constructions of certain words.

At the same time the work has its limitations. Two texts are translated, the Capture of Joppa and the Foredoomed Prince. Both are for the most part easy and straightforward. Yet both contain a few *cruces* and it is precisely here that we should expect help from so elaborate an edition as that before us. Frankly it cannot be said that the author has advanced beyond his predecessors in the interpretation of any one of the difficult passages. Though he appears to have a fair general knowledge of Late Egyptian grammar he betrays a lack of feeling for many of its finer points. But it is above all in his decipherment of hieratic that his want of experience is most apparent. It was unwise at the outset to attempt to publish hieratic texts without collating the originals, but we suppose this may have been unavoidable. At the same time the author has had since 1923 a very admirable photographic facsimile before him in the last British Museum volume of hieratic texts, and he has in many cases failed to decipher things which are apparent there almost at the first glance.

Had he exploited to the full the possibilities of this facsimile, in which he has missed several obvious and straightforward readings, and had his restorations been backed by more regard for the traces and the lengths of the lacunae and by more adequate knowledge of what is grammatically possible and probable he would have advanced much further towards correct interpretation of the texts.

A few examples may now be given in substantiation of the criticisms made above. Since first drafting this review I have made a point of collating the original, in which several new readings became apparent. In order, however, to be quite fair to the author, who worked only from the facsimile, I have in all such cases definitely indicated that my reading was made from the original and not from the facsimile. At the same time I cannot help recording the opinion that the publication of a papyrus, more especially a damaged one, without a collation of the original is a thing to be avoided where possible.

Capture of Joppa.

1. 1. At the beginning of the line the signs  are clearly visible (except that the 20 may be 10 or 30). The incomplete word is obviously *mrỉn*, a name for the warrior-nobles of Syria. The first group of this same word is probably to be seen in the  at the end of 1. 4, where the author in his note on p. 2 is perhaps needlessly divided between the restorations *mrỉn* and *mḏỉw*. Later in this line the group read *dj* can only be *r*ᶜ, though the omission of its stroke is unusual.

1. 4. The restoration *-kwj* is not in the least justified by the traces and a first person sing. pseudo-participle is not what we want here.

1. 5. At the beginning *mtwtw dỉt* may perhaps be restored.

1. 6. Add *ỉw* at the end.

1. 11. The first preserved group is clearly  and the reading *pḏỉf* is beyond doubt. After *ỉwf* insert *ḥr* and for *ỉm* read *ỉm·ỉ*.

1. 12. For *pḏj* read *pḏ*.

1. 13. At the beginning the signs  are visible, and we thus get the sentence *ỉw dỉ nf* (not *dj·t·f* as author) *ỉmn pḏỉf* [*ỉṯf nfr* or similar].....*fḏt·f* "Amūn his good father(?) having granted him [strength(?) to] lift it." It will be observed that "it" is masculine and so cannot refer to the club, at least not by the name *ỉwnt*.

2. 1. The reading *mr* is clearly impossible. Perhaps *dỉt*.

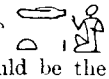
2. 2. *ḳnj*. I cannot read this group, but it is certainly not *ḳnỉ*. For *bḏỉ* read probably *ḫbḏỉ*: the *ḫ* is visible. For *pḏ* read *pḏỉ*.

2. 3. For *ỉw·f* read *ỉwtw*.

2. 4. The group which follows *ỉdỉ·f* may be  "for this purpose."

2. 7. The third word looks like *ỉtrrw*, though the *t* () is not certain. The group proposed on p. 44 is improbable, for this combination is not used in syllabic.

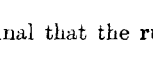
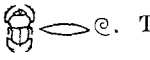
2. 10. *ḫr*..*pḏy·k nb*. Read *ḫr·f nḏ* (for *ỉn*) *pḏỉk nb* "So says he, namely thy master," *i.e.*, these are your master's instructions; a common Egyptian construction, often with *m* for *ỉn*. The reading *kḏ* for *nḏ* proposed in the commentary p. 50 is not possible.

2. 12. This line is a *crux*. The author's proposal to read *ptj m rḏ-*ᶜ... is out of the question. The group after *ptỉ* looks like  or less probably . The  at least is certain. *bḏk* without the plural strokes should be the verb "to make tributary," not the noun "tribute." Perhaps *ptr dt·ỉ bḏk·sn* "Behold my hand has made them tributary," though the papyrus does not elsewhere omit the  before the infinitive. *kḏ ns* is difficult, but the author's suggestion to read *kḏj·n·ṡn* "They alluded to the 200 baskets" is hardly likely to be right, for *kḏỉ* never means to "point to" or "refer to," nor does this rendering suit the context. Who, to begin with, are the "they"? Surely *ns* must refer to the wife of the prince of Joppa. The text, too, has *pḏỉ* 200 not *pḏ* 200 as transcribed by Blok, and the use of the demonstrative shows that the words are not part of the description but are either actually spoken by the Egyptians to the groom or to be spoken by him to his mistress. Perhaps we should read *kḏ·k* (for *ḏd·kḏ k* as usual) *ns* "So shalt thou say to her concerning these 200 baskets which are full of men in fetters and stocks." Possibly the text is correct and the suffix pronoun (here *k*) could be omitted when the sense was imperative.

3. 8. The group at the beginning of this line is a puzzle. All that is certain from the original is that the author's *ỉb·k* is impossible. At the end of line 7 we have either  or  though the dot expected (though sometimes omitted) over  is not visible. In line 8 the  is clear and the facsimile suggests  with the lower part of the *m* worn away. In the original however no sign of such wearing is traceable, and what is more the  seems to have a cross stroke which would turn it into . Perhaps *nḏm ỉb·k*, *mỉk* is the original text and the scribe, in passing from one line to the next, has telescoped it.

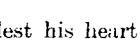
3. 14. The last word should be *ḏbᶜw·f* "his fingers," not *ḫsj*. After this group *sš mšᶜ* "scribe of the army" is perfectly clear.

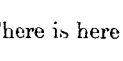
The Foredoomed Prince.

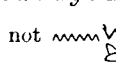
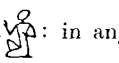
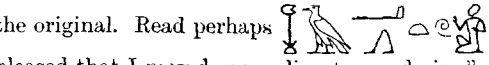
4. 1. It was a surprise to find on the original that the rubric reads *ir ntf*  instead of the accepted *ir ntf* . This can even be seen on the facsimile. It is hard to see how this is to be rendered, and one is tempted to suppose it a mistake for  *ḫr·tw* (for *ḏd·ḫr·tw*) "now it is said that," to which we have a good parallel in the opening of Pap. D'Orbiney *ir mntf ḫr·tw*.

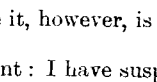
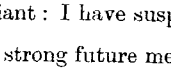
4. 1. *bw-pwy·t*. We must read *bw pwy·w* (3rd Plural), as is clear in the hieratic. *mšy* is of course the infinitive. Literally "they had not borne for him," an interesting and highly idiomatic anticipation of the Coptic use of the 3rd Plural in the sense of the indefinite "one." To take *mšy* as the passive *šḏm·wf* after *bw pwy* is quite impossible, for *pwy*, the Middle Egyptian *pȝi*, takes an infinitive.

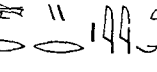
4. 2. *mšy*. Both palaeographical and grammatical considerations demand the reading *mšy·tw* and the note on pp. 72–3 is unnecessary. Later in the line I do not understand the proposed restoration of the lacuna *ỉšṯw ḫr šspw ỉwr*, for this would be a sentence without a subject. The obvious restoration is *ỉšt tȝ ỉ·f ḥmt ḫr ỉwr* "Lo, his wife conceived," which not only fills the lacuna exactly but accounts for the vertical stroke still visible in front of *ỉwr*. After *šḳm* there is a sign which can be nothing but *š*, giving *šḳm·š* "when she had fulfilled."

4. 10. *gȝs*. What are we to read in the lacuna which precedes? There is hardly room for *r tm dỉt* "in order that.....not," *i.e.*, "lest." Perhaps simply , "lest his heart be sore." Another possibility would be *pȝwn*, "since his heart is sore," but the sense given is not quite so good.

4. 12. *III n šȝy*. The reading  is both palaeographically and grammatically impossible. The L.E. for "three fates" is *III šȝy* without *n*, and the facsimile shows that the supposed is not really there. The traces point very plainly to  and, what is more, *šȝy* is written not as elsewhere with  but with . There is here in fact no reference to the "three fates" but to the personified Fate, "I am delivered into the hands of Fate."

End of line 12 and beginning of 13 *ỉmmᶜ.....j ỉry·t*. For *ỉry·t* read *ỉry·ỉ* as on p. 101. The author's restoration *ỉmmᶜ dỉt n·ỉ ỉry·ỉ* is not confirmed by the original, where the signs at the beginning of 13 are seen to be  not : in any case *nỉ* would almost certainly have been written . The reading *dỉt*, plausible on the facsimile, is very doubtful on the original. Read perhaps  which suits the traces and take *ỉry·ỉ* as final "Let me be released that I may do according to my desire."

4. 13. *ỉ·ỉrr·t pȝ nṯr ỉrt*. *ʾIrt* is not the complementary infinitive as stated on p. 101. The verbal form in this sentence is a periphrasis with a geminated form of *irỉ*, but it so happens that the verb periphrased is, as often, *irỉ* itself. The form used to periphrase it, however, is not the usual  but . This is, I believe, no mere error or variant: I have suspected for some time that there existed in L.E. a periphrasis with a form *ỉ·ỉr·t(w)* bearing strong future meaning "Surely the god will do." I hope some time to publish evidence for this.

The reading in the second half of this line is difficult. The original shows the author's *wn·ỉn·tw ḫr dỉt nf*, etc. to be untenable. The sign after *ḫr* might just be . Then follow some unintelligible signs, after which I read a little doubtfully . Next comes which is certain, and finally, less visible but quite certain .

5. 1. The author's proposed restoration *ỉw·tw ḫr dỉt nf šḏm·f r šmsw*, "They gave him his servant as esquire," involves a bad error. "His servant" in a papyrus of this type can only be *pȝ ỉ·f šḏm*, and the proposed reading also fails to account for the vertical stroke before the *f*. In front of this are the remains

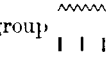
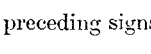
of another vertical sign, and the combination strongly indicates . Read perhaps *ỉw* (visible in facs.) *pȝỉ·f šḏm m sȝ·f r šmsw* "and his servant followed him as esquire."

5. 2. *ỉḫ šm·t·k . . . ȝb·k*. The signs before and that above the  seem from the original to have been intentionally erased. Read therefore *ỉḫ šm·k n ȝb·k* "Do thou go as thou wilt." Why transliterate the valueless *t* in *šm·t·k*?

5. 2. *ỉw·f ꜥnḫ·f*. Delete the *f* of *ỉw·f*. It is not in the hieratic, and what is more the form *ỉw·f sḏm·f* does not occur in L.E., the correct form in subordinate clauses of circumstance being *ỉw šḏm·f*.

5. 3. *bw·pw·y·t*. Read *bw pwy·w* as before.

5. 5. *LXX mḥ*. The author passes without a word over the difficulties here involved. The reading of the first sign as 70 is probable, though on the original it has the appearance of a correction over something else. But what is the group which follows, and where is the *n* which should follow the numeral? What, moreover, is the meaning of the small sign written over the top of *mḥ*? All these points should be observed, if not solved, in a critical edition of the text.

5. 14. *r·tn tȝỉ [ḥr·t] ḥr ỉrt*. That this reading is impossible is obvious from the facsimile, in which the following signs are perfectly clear . The group  is made rather like , but since the next line shows that these words are spoken not by the youth but by his hosts the 1st person must be read: the confusion is common in L.E. The preceding signs are . The reading *ḥrw·w* "days" is tempting, but this always in this papyrus has a  under the . *ʾIbdw* "months" would suit the traces (*cf.* 7. 13 for its writing). Translate ll. 13–14 "He said to the youths, What is this that ye do [every day. They said to him, We have been] here for months past spending our time in flying, and he who shall reach," etc. For the construction *ỉbdw r nȝ* cf. 8. 12.

6. 2. The small lacuna after *ḥnr* is puzzling. Neither of the author's suggestions seems possible.  alone does not fill the space, and to read *ḥnr·tw* and translate "if you wish" would be an unparalleled use of *ḥnr*, quite unsupported by the "absolute" construction of which examples are quoted. The sense moreover requires not "If you wish, I will enchant my legs" but "Would that I could enchant my legs."

There is, however, another possibility. The group which follows *ḥnr* seems quite clearly the expected  and *ḥnr nỉ* means "would that I had," used either quasi-absolutely in reference to some noun preceding or with a noun following. Here no noun follows and the reference is clearly to the preceding clause "He will give his daughter to whomsoever reaches her window." The prince very naturally exclaims "Would she might be mine" or perhaps more indefinitely "Would it might be mine (to reach her window)." The next sign has still to be reckoned with. If this is to go with what follows it can only be an  which would give *mtwỉ*, conjunctive used conditionally in the sense required "If I could enchant my limbs I would go to fly with you." The two small traces visible in the much rubbed original, though not entirely conclusive, do not preclude this reading. The only other possibility would seem to read  and to take it with *ḥnr nỉ*. This, however, leaves us with *twỉ ḥr šnt* "I will enchant my legs and go flying with you," which is contrary to sense, for this, as the next sentence shows, is precisely what the prince does not do.

For *mꜥ·tn* at the end of the line read *mdỉ·tn*.

6. 9. *ỉy·t·f* (better *ỉy·f*, for the *t* is valueless). There is a nice point of grammar here. The sense requires this clause to be relative, "The son of an officer who (the son) has come as a fugitive from Egypt." And relative it is in effect, for in Egyptian any sentence of whatsoever type may be attached in a relative sense to an antecedent provided only that that antecedent is indefinite. Now English and Dutch idiom require us to say "*the* son of," yet the word son is really indefinite, unless there is only one son and we are aware of the fact. Egyptian more correctly and logically says not *pȝ šrỉ* but simply *šrỉ*. We are therefore justified in translating the *ỉy·f* sentence relatively, as the sense demands.

6. 11. In the lacuna read *ḏd nf ỉḫ šm·k*. The author's proposed *ỉy·t nk* is impossible because (1) the imperative of *ỉy* is *mỉ*, and (2) *ỉy* does not mean to return in the sense of "go back" but only "come back."

6. 15. *šw m ḥ·t·f*. The author has no note on these words, which nevertheless contain a *crux*. In the first place we must clear the ground by rectifying the reading. The L.E. for "in his house" is *m pȝỉ·f pr*.

The word *ḥt* does not mean a house but a castle, temple or tomb, and whatever its meaning it cannot in a vulgar text take the suffix possessive pronoun but only the independent possessive *pȝ·f*. The correct reading is , as will be clear from a contrast with 4. 3 and 4. 7, and the meaning is "in his place," *i.e.*, "on the spot" or where he stood, *cf. Wenamon*, 2, 52. This being an old and common prepositional phrase, the suffix pronoun has survived in it. The real difficulty of the sentence is however the use of *šw*. The *šw*-clause is subordinate, and the use of the unsupported pronoun instead of *iw·f* is thus remarkable. As a matter of fact the sense needs neither *šw* nor *iw·f*, for the simple way of saying "to kill him in his place" is *smȝ·f m st·f*, and this is perhaps what the scribe should have written.

6. 15. *iw·j mwt·kwj*. In his note on p. 129 the author has seen the correct force of this, "When the sun goes down I shall already be dead," and has rightly contrasted it with *iw·i r mwt* just above. Unfortunately he has omitted to bring out this point in his translation.

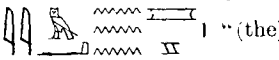
6. 16. The restoration *wn·in·tw ḥr [ij·t r in]tw·f* (p. 128) is improbable since it would not be clear to what noun the *f* referred and *pȝ šrỉ* would have been written. Perhaps *wn·in·tw ḥr šmt* (or *ỉỉt*) *r ḏd·(tw)·f* "They went to tell it." The original shows clear traces of *ḏd·(tw)·f*.

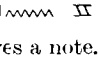
7. 2. The first word is clearly , and the sign which follows must surely be , though the trace is not altogether convincing. The author's *iw [r ỉb n]pȝ wr* is too long for the lacuna and is an un-Egyptian method of expression.

7. 3. For *mˁ·j* read *mdỉ·i*.

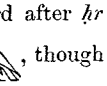
7. 7. The proposed restoration *wȝḥ pȝ Rˁ* does not fit the traces and is too long for the lacuna. I cannot decipher the remains on the original. The centre signs might just be  or .

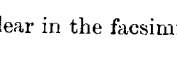
7. 9. *iwtw (ỉr ?)·f*. The author proposes to emend *iwtw* into *ỉštw*. There is no need, for *ỉšt(w)* is quite clear in the facsimile, the top of the being obscured by a small piece of paper gummed over it. The following *ỉr·f* is certain and needs neither query nor brackets. In the long lacuna *hȝb* is less convincing on the original than in the facsimile and *wpwtỉ* does not in the least fit the traces.

7. 11. The restoration *wnn m (ỉ) ntr?* does not suit the traces, and the translation "zijnde als godheid" is impossible, for the verb *wnn* has no geminated participial forms in L.E. The correct reading, obvious in the facsimile, is  "(the) lake."

The form  deserves a note. It is not the ordinary *šḏmf*, but looks much more like the form discovered by Erman, used with the negative *bw* in the sense of "not yet." But this sense, as Erman himself noted (*Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr.*, 50. 105, note 2), does not suit here. No other reading seems possible, though the  is oddly made.

7. 12. *ḥr ḳd pȝ msḥ*. *ḥr* seems almost certain, but there is not room for *ḳd* with its long determinative .

7. 13. The author's restoration of this line is vitiated by his strange belief that the sign still visible in the lacuna is . How he can hold this in the face of the form which this sign has in 7. 12 and elsewhere in L.E. hieratic it is difficult to see. The group in question is clearly  "two men." Furthermore the word after *ḥr* cannot be *sḫpr*, which does not suit the traces. I find it hard to escape the reading , though the determinative  seems to be omitted. The whole may read *ḥr wbn [iw·sn ḥr] ˁḥˁ ḥr ˁḥȝ [m pȝ] s 2* "When the sun shone they stood fighting, the two of them," *i.e.*, "in single combat." The description of a crocodile and a spirit as "the two men" offers no difficulty, for the phrase is quite conventional and stereotyped.

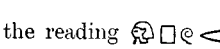
8. 1. Before *gȝỉ* the word  "another" is clear in the facsimile.

8. 2. *ḥr* (sic). The absence of the stroke is against the reading . Read more probably an erroneous . For *ḥr·f* read *r gs·f*.

8. 3, beginning. *r* is impossible: either or .

8. 6. Who is responsible for the false reading *pȝ ntr*? Surely *pȝ Rᶜ* is obvious.

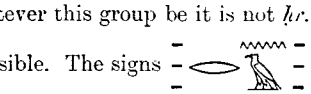
8. 7. *mᶜdȝy·t*. The first letter of this word is certainly not  but in all probability . Read therefore *idȝyt*.

8. 8. *tpw*. Surely the reading  is clear. His dog "seized speech," *i.e.*, received the power to speak.

8. 10. *pr pw ir·n*. Impossible, for this construction is never used after *ḫᶜn*. We need a *sḏmnf*-form. What is more, a  is visible before *pȝ mšḫ* and must be part of *św* "him."  must therefore be wrong, for a transitive verb is needed to govern *św*. "The crocodile [seized] him" or "[perceived] him."

8. 11. The participle  is a curious form for we expect  simply, which was in L.E. fast becoming usual to periphrase the disappearing perfect participle active of all verbs. It is, however, hardly necessary to follow the author in his attempt to take it as a plural imperfect passive, for the sense shows that it can be nothing but a false or variant writing for . "I am thy fate who have pursued thee."

End of line. Whatever this group be it is not *ḥr*. The original suggests .

8. 12. *r tȝ*. Impossible. The signs  seem clear, perhaps "[every day] up to now," *cf.* 5. 14. The traces which follow suit *iw·i r ᶜḥȝ* "I will fight with the giant."

8. 13. After *śwḥȝ* add .

T. Eric Peet.

Jews and Christians in Egypt. By H. I. Bell. British Museum, B. Quaritch, and Oxford University Press. 1924. 8vo. Pp. xii+140.

It is not often that an editor of non-literary papyri is enabled to produce a volume of texts having such obvious historical importance and general interest as the recent special publication of the British Museum. Its title serves to unite contents widely separated both in character and date. The first part of the book is devoted to a lengthy and excellently preserved letter written by the Emperor Claudius to the people of Alexandria and published in Egypt by order of the Prefect. This epistle was the formal response to an embassy which had been sent by the city to Rome shortly after the Emperor's accession in order to present an honorific decree, and at the same time to prefer certain requests and to disclaim responsibility for recent anti-Semitic disturbances, regarding which the envoys were confronted with a counter-deputation from the Alexandrian Jewish community. These topics are dealt with in successive sections of the letter. Of the proffered honours Claudius declines the more extravagant, excusing himself on the ground that temples and the like were the prerogative of the gods. His attitude here fully bears out the statement of Suetonius, *nimios honores recusavit*. Notwithstanding that testimony this reign has been supposed, on somewhat ambiguous evidence, to mark an important advance in the development of the imperial cult, on which the ideas of Claudius were regarded as more akin to those of Julius than of the more prudent Augustus and Tiberius. Such a view can no longer stand; Claudius evidently began his reign with sentiments as modest as any of his predecessors. Data in apparent conflict with such principles may easily be misinterpreted. Of this the present papyrus affords a very striking indication. In publishing the Emperor's letter the Roman Prefect, ignoring its explicit refusal of divine honours, bids readers admire the magnanimity "of our god Caesar." How false an inference might have been drawn from that epithet, doubly significant in a Roman mouth, had the express statement of Claudius been lost! In the degeneration of Caesar-worship much may have been due to the misplaced zeal of subordinates. Among the favours asked by the Alexandrian representatives the principal was that the city might be granted a senate, a matter on which Claudius adroitly postponed his decision pending a report from the Prefect. It is fairly evident from what is said that the coveted privilege had been enjoyed at some period of the Ptolemaic régime, but when it was forfeited remains in doubt. Turning to the third point, the quarrel with the Jews, which had come to a head under his predecessor, the Emperor takes up a firm but impartial line. While declining to go into the question of past responsibility, he gives a plain warning that in the event of further trouble the aggressor would be severely punished. The Jews in particular are forbidden to introduce compatriots into the city from outside under pain of chastisement as disturbers of the peace of the world. This is somewhat inflated language, but there seems no need to explain it, with M. Salomon

Reinach, as an allusion to the spread of Christianity. On the whole the letter may be said to give a by no means unfavourable impression of a much criticized personality. Claudius is of course hardly likely to have drafted it himself, but on matters so important he must have been consulted and in substance it must reflect his will.

So much for the Jews. To the Christians falls the second and major portion of the volume, which contains two distinct groups of fourth-century papyri, all but one of them being letters. Group 1 consists of ten texts, seven Greek and three Coptic, relating to the Meletian schism. Two of the Greek documents stand out as of especial importance, one an agreement about the appointment of a deputy to preside over a monastery during the absence of its head at the synod of Caesarea, the other a long letter written probably during the early summer of the year 335 and describing the persecution of the Meletians by the Athanasian party. How far Athanasius himself was responsible for the high-handed proceedings here reported remains uncertain; but in any case a contemporary document presenting the Meletian point of view is a valuable addition to the existing evidence, which mostly emanates from the opposite side. A second group consists of letters addressed to Paphnutius, an anchorite, in the special efficacy of whose prayers his correspondents display a remarkable faith. One of them bore the name Athanasius, and Mr. Bell considers that there is "a reasonable probability" that in his letter we may see the actual autograph of St. Athanasius himself. But the name was not uncommon—it occurs elsewhere in this correspondence; and since the gist of the letter, as of most of the others, is merely a request to be remembered in the ascetic's supplications, the hypothesis can hardly be considered as rising above the level of possibility.

Contrary to the practice hitherto adopted in British Museum editions of non-literary documents, the Greek texts in this volume are printed in modern form, with accentuation, etc., an innovation which it may be hoped has come to stay. The explanatory matter is, moreover, more ample than usual, and translations (here and there a little loose, perhaps) have been added. Four collotype plates enhance the attractiveness of a publication on which both the Museum and Mr. Bell are to be congratulated.

A. S. HUNT.

The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen, Discovered by the Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter. By HOWARD CARTER and A. C. MACE. With 104 Illustrations from Photographs by HARRY BURTON. Vol. I. Cassell and Co., Ltd. 1923. Pp. xxiii + 231.

If there is one word which adequately and without exaggeration describes the magnificence of Tutʿankhamūn's tomb it is the epithet, *sumptuous*. Certainly no archaeological discovery ever deserved or furnished the material for a more sumptuous account than has that of the late Lord Carnarvon and Mr. Howard Carter. Yet in spite of its large print, generous margins and simple cover suggestive of the gold ornamentations found everywhere on the objects; in spite of seventy-nine plates of perfect photographs, and remembering that this is only the first volume, the book fails to do justice to the archaeological revelation which it commemorates. The fault, however, is not with the authors, and one feels that when Mr. Carter speaks of the unscientific nature of this preliminary "narrative" (implying full publication in the future) he is also aware of the other horn of his dilemma although he still considers that "some account without loss of time, no matter how summary, was necessary." For in truth the book falls between two stools: thanks to the official communications published day by day during the actual excavations there is little left for Mr. Carter to tell us that we do not already know; and even when (perhaps realizing this difficulty) he devotes a long chapter to the science of excavation in general, the difficulties of the archaeologist and the strenuous work entailed, or again leads up to the discovery and opening of the tomb with two chapters on the history of the Valley of the Kings—in all this he has been forestalled by popular articles, written by other eminent Egyptologists, which appeared in *The Times* and other papers when the first news of the discovery reached England. Thus his appeal to the general public is seriously handicapped. On this ground alone the *sumptuous* volume was rightly dispensed with. As for his other group of readers—the Egyptologists—we have seen above that Mr. Carter and his collaborators have yet to write the scientific "memoir" of the discovery of Tutʿankhamūn's tomb which alone is of any real value to it.

Bearing in mind these limitations, we need have no hesitation in saying that whoever finds the leisure to read this book will discover at the end that he has gained something which he could only have expected from more serious study. The enthusiasm of the man who persisted in clearing that triangular

area of the valley till he found the tomb pervades the whole story, and more than compensates for such stylistic lapses as "That pretty well exhausts the facts of his life," and "of what he did we are still sadly to seek." Mr. Carter works up the excitement of the "treasure-hunt"—he is not afraid to call it that once—from an illuminating history of the Valley to his own work there with the late Lord Carnarvon till the reader is strung to the right pitch to receive the *dénouement* of the discovery. The description of the Antechamber and its contents is told in some detail (though only mentioning a "scant hundred" out of "some six or seven hundred objects which it contains") without being monotonous, and we are submitted to the salutary discipline of a long chapter on the difficulties and troubles of an excavator, with some excellent counsels, before being shown the final revelation of the first season's work—the shrine behind the second sealed doorway.

The photographs, as has already been said, are perfect. A large number of them are familiar already, but few books can boast more faultless illustrations. And in a class by itself—giving this book a special value—is a short biographical sketch of the late Earl of Carnarvon by his sister, Lady Burghclere. It is remarkable for the way in which the writer has kept her own personality in the background throughout, and yet leaves us with the feeling that at least as much of the nobility she attributes to her brother also belongs to her.

S. R. K. Glanville.

Luxor and its Temples. By A. M. Blackman, D.Litt. Illustrated by Major Benton Fletcher. A. C. Black. London. 1923. Pp. xi + 200.

The inception of this book, it is clear from the preface, was at least equally due to the illustrator as to the author, but there can be no question whose is the more important contribution. Major Fletcher's drawings will be considered, without exception, pleasant and should do their part towards tempting visitors to Egypt. The artist has taken great care with the detail of the reliefs wherever they come into his picture, and the general view of the temple at Karnak as it appears behind the *Sacred Lake* (Plate VII) is an excellent treatment of a very difficult subject. But for those who know Thebes the drawings will not always be convincing—*e.g.*, Plate XV, *Deir el-Bahri*, is disappointing—and their brown lines go hardly with the black type of the opposite pages, spoiling the look of the book. The pylon of the *Hypostyle Hall, Temple of Luxor* (Plate IX) should not have grooves for flagstaves on the *inner* face, as in the drawing.

Dr. Blackman, however, has compensated for any lack of distinction in the illustrations by supplying a popular account of Ancient Egypt which should prove to the most lay of readers that "Egyptology is not a dreary study, but is full of human interest...concerned rather with life and beauty than with mummies and other dusty trophies of death": at the same time, by avoiding generalities unsupported by instances and by continual reference to the texts and to the reliefs, he leaves self-evident in his writing an authoritative scholarship, which, for the purpose of a popular book, makes even the use of footnotes almost unnecessary. Dr. Blackman allows his title elasticity, using it as a base from which he sets out with his readers for adjacent inquiries—Dynastic History, The Wars in Syria, Festivals and Biographies—often only to return at the end of each chapter. These excursions have demanded a considerable condensation of material, and in the reviewer's opinion, the best chapter in the book is the second, in which the author tells "How Thebes became the Capital of Egypt," and conveys in 22 pages an extraordinarily vivid and unexaggerated impression of dynastic history from the Old to the Middle Kingdoms. He would himself be the first to admit that there is little original research-work in the book, except for the full and very interesting account of the Festival of Ōpet on p. 70 ff.; although most of the passages on the Religion and Ceremonial, including the important point of the divine conception of the Pharaoh, are summaries of more technical essays by himself in this *Journal*. This fact, far from impairing its value as a popular account, is advantageous, for the reader who assimilates all the information here given need yet have no fear, thanks to Dr. Blackman's care in using his material, that he will be treading debatable ground.

One may be allowed to criticize some small points. The meticulously correct spelling of Ancient Egyptian names employed throughout seems to be out of keeping with the popular tone and purpose of the book. In some cases it must seriously impede the layman, *e.g.*, that of the Pharaonic name Ḏḥutmōse. Englishmen whose profession does not require a special study of languages may well be considered to be better educated than the majority and yet be unable to pronounce this name so written, and may reasonably be excused if they are unable to recognize in it the Thothmes with which they are perhaps familiar.

(Such pedantic spelling appears all the more unnecessary now in view of the editor's list of spellings of royal names in the most recent issue of the *Journal* (x, 336), which prefers *Sesostris* to *Senusert* and *Amenophis* to *Amenhotep* (but *Amūn* to *Amen*) etc., even in a specialist journal.)

Ipet-Isut is "Karnak" not the "Temple of Luxor" (p. 64). The slip is perhaps due to confusion with *Ipet-Res* = "Luxor."

Again, need we adopt the almost specialized German use of *sogenannt*? To speak of the *so-called High Gate* (p. 183) [of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu] is clearly a correct use, but when applied to the Carnarvon Tablet No. 1 (p. 84) the term is not only unnecessary and un-English, but misleading. This is the only flagrant example, but in three more cases (pp. 37, 136, 171) the word is otiose.

These however are small points. The text is adequately served with cuts, many of which are not to be found in popular works, and there is an admirable bibliography at the end of the book for those who wish to study the subject in detail.

S. R. K. GLANVILLE.

Die Ornamentik der ägyptischen Wollwirkereien. Stilprobleme der spätantiken und koptischen Kunst. By M. DIMAND. Published by the Kulturhistorisches Museum in Lund (Schweden). Leipzig, 1924.

This is a careful compilation drawn from many sources, all of which are scrupulously acknowledged, tracing the growth of design and explaining the methods of weaving in Egypt in late Egyptian and Coptic times. The author, after giving a list of the more important publications on his subject and a short general account of the history of art with special reference to the differences between Oriental and Hellenistic ideas, divides his argument into six chapters. In these are discussed the development of ornament on dress, the technique of Egyptian weaving (this chapter is contributed by V. Sylwan), figure decoration, geometrical and plant design and their influence on each other, and finally the growth of coloured design. The numerous illustrations are not confined to designs on woven materials but show also similar patterns from amulets, faience objects and architecture. Dimand emphasizes the fact that the Far East, China, India, Persia, affected and were affected by Egypt, and that this artistic intercourse was specially strong during the Byzantine empire. An interesting sketch is given of the development of dress among the Egyptians, Assyrians, Hittites and Greeks, and Capart's comparison of the likeness between Ancient Egyptian and Libyan dress is discussed. The influence of Oriental and Egyptian ornament in Archaic Greece, its decline, and its reappearance under Alexander are remarked upon. In early Christian Egypt the impress of Oriental art is clearly seen, but by the end of the 4th and beginning of the 5th century Coptic craftsmen had digested foreign influences and had developed a distinct art of their own. Hellenistic teachings were gradually pushed aside and everything Christian was emphasized. The later and more gaily coloured designs, Dimand holds, are really a continuation of Ancient Egyptian ideas; he considers that this development is not the result of mere chance but is rather a deliberate expression of old ideas, and an outcome of the national genius.

The author suggests that the woven or embroidered squares and roundels sewn on tunics or coverings may be copied from the metal discs or plates which must have been used in the same way. Since he wrote, an example of metal employed for decorating textiles has been found in Tutʿankhamūn's pall—now, by an unhappy fate, lost to the world. The simple plaited ribbon pattern is found in the oldest Mesopotamian art, and Dimand has arrived independently at the same conclusion as Bunt that the Greeks derived it from the Assyrians and Hittites. Certain designs are traceable directly to the Far East: *e.g.*, the whorl pattern is derived from China, where also the meander was known from very early times; the vine pattern is widely spread, but its use as a continuous design to cover large surfaces is almost certainly borrowed from India or Syria, while on the other hand the geometrical arrangement of tendrils is Chinese. One would like to know the reasons for the author's assertion on p. 5 that Kendrick is wrong in placing the "ornamental ankh" as early as the 5th century. It is to this age, for example, that Kaufmann attributes an ankh with the sacred monogram in the loop (*Handbuch*, 2nd ed., 587) on a tapestry from the Fayyûm, and on p. 31 Dimand insists on the very early date of objects with this monogram.

NORA GRIFFITH.

Altaegyptische Webestühle und Brettchenweberei in Altaegypten. By C. H. JOHL. Leipzig (1924). 66 illustrations. (*Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens*, herausg. von Kurt Sethe. VIII vol.)

Dr. Johl presents us in this clear and well-written book with a very interesting and careful study of Ancient Egyptian looms and methods of weaving. The author tells us he has twice been obliged to remodel his book owing to the researches of Ling Roth and of Van Gennep and Jéquier. He accepts many of their conclusions, but also puts forward various new ideas. In the much-discussed painting of a loom in the tomb of Chnemhotep he explains the mysterious object marked K in N. de G. Davies' drawing, published by Ling Roth, as the weft-carrier which the weaver on the left has just received from her helper on the right. His suggestion that, in the so-called scene of the mat-maker in the tomb of Khety, the weaver is sitting on a mat flung over the stretched warp, is ingenious; he hastens to add that there is no evidence to support such an assumption, although if correct it would go far to explain the problems presented by the picture. He rejects the theory that in the Eighteenth or Nineteenth Dynasty the horizontal was replaced by the vertical loom, and would explain its absence from tomb paintings simply by the much greater difficulty of drawing it. He quotes the weaving pit which the German Expedition claimed to have found in one of the Tell el-'Amarnah houses as a convincing argument that horizontal looms were used in the Eighteenth Dynasty; but is it quite certain that the pit found was a weaving pit? In the special chapter on tablet weaving Johl holds with Van Gennep and Jéquier that this method was known in ancient Egypt; he insists that the famous scarf of Ramesses III, in the Liverpool Museum, was tablet-woven, asserting that, had it been produced by ordinary weaving, a loom much more complicated than any possessed by the Egyptians would have been necessary. Dr. Johl has evidently not seen the communications of Ling Roth and Mrs. Crowfoot in Vol. X of the Liverpool *Annals*, and of Mrs. Crowfoot in Vol. IV of *Sudan Notes and Queries*. Had he done so he would have found answers to most of the problems enumerated on p. 69 regarding the scarf: he would have seen that in the Sûdân to-day the women produce handsome patterns in double weave on simple looms identical with those of Ancient Egypt, and that Mrs. Crowfoot herself on one of these primitive looms has actually woven a copy of part of the Ramesses scarf. To begin with, Mrs. Crowfoot wove straight from the shed sticks, picking up threads with a pointed stick and the fingers. After she had proved that this extremely primitive method was effective she substituted two rod heddles for two of the shed sticks, and so increased the rapidity of the work.

NORA GRIFFITH.

L'art égyptien: études et histoire. Par JEAN CAPART. Tome I. Introduction générale: Ancien et Moyen Empires. Brussels: Vromant and Co. 1924. Pp. 323.

This is a reprint, on good paper and in excellent type, of the first half of Monsieur Capart's *Leçons sur l'art égyptien*, published in 1920 and badly printed on very poor paper. An admirable English translation of the introductory chapters by Mr. Warren R. Dawson, with the addition of a short bibliography appended to each chapter and 64 plates and a frontispiece, appeared in 1923 under the title of *Egyptian Art, Introductory Studies*. The improvements in this newly published edition are not confined to the two important points mentioned above, namely quality of paper and type: there are certain additions to, and alterations in, the text, *e.g.*, on pp. 112, 216, 221, 225, 239, and 244, which increase the value of the volume and bring it up to date, and, above all, full bibliographical references in the form of footnotes are to be found on practically every page. The want of such references robbed the original publication of much of its value, as was noted by Griffith in this *Journal*, VI, 290.

M. Capart has in view a work of some magnitude, of which this volume forms but a part. When complete it will consist of two volumes of text, namely this and a second one dealing with the art in its later developments; and there will be four volumes of plates, 200 in each, illustrative of the architecture, the sculpture, the mural reliefs and paintings, and the industrial arts. Of these last mentioned volumes, the first, that illustrative of the architecture, appeared in 1922 and was reviewed by Davies in this *Journal*, IX, 121–3. It is to be hoped that an English edition of the completed work will be found possible, for it should do much to foster an interest in Egyptian studies among non-specialists.

AYLWARD M. BLACKMAN.

Romische Politik in Ägypten von Dr. JOSEPH VOGT. (Heft 2 of *Beihefte zum Alten Orient.*) Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs. 1924. Pp. 39. 4 plates.

The first twelve pages of Dr. Vogt's pamphlet contain a summary review of the main principles followed by the Romans in their organization of Egypt: though necessarily compressed, almost into tabloid form, it is very skilfully done, and gives a clear view of the whole system down to the time of Diocletian. At one or two points he seems to have adopted a questionable scale of values: for instance, it may be doubted whether the Greek population of Egypt was in any real sense a mainstay of the Roman government (p. 10): individual Greeks were useful instruments of the administration, but the Greeks as a body, and particularly the Greeks of Alexandria, were disaffected towards Rome: whenever there was serious trouble in Egypt during the first two centuries of Roman rule, it began either with the Greeks or with the Jews. The importance which he attaches to the worship of the Emperor in Egypt (p. 14) is also rather overstated: it might have been expected that this worship would have found ready acceptance in a country which had always deified its rulers, but as a fact there is very little trace of it in either buildings or documents — curiously little, if compared with the evidence of Emperor-worship furnished by Greek provinces of the empire. But the slight distortion of these details does not detract from the considerable merit of the sketch as a whole.

In the second part Dr. Vogt uses the results of his researches into the Alexandrian coinage to illustrate Roman policy in Egypt: and here, in our opinion, the enthusiasm of a numismatic student has led him rather too far. We have been in the habit of regarding the Alexandrian coins, like the Roman, as historical documents in the sense that the reverse-types were frequently designed with reference to recent events or current ideas: but Dr. Vogt makes them look forward rather than backward, and sees in them the Roman government's announcement to the Egyptian people of its policy and its achievements—in short, he makes the Alexandrian mint into the Publicity Department of the Emperors. The theory is an ingenious one, but it does not appear to explain all the circumstances adequately: the types chosen were, as Dr. Vogt recognizes, treated from a purely Alexandrian standpoint, which means that they would have been unintelligible to the great mass of the native population: on the other hand, if they were intended for the Greek inhabitants—which would accord with Dr. Vogt's theory of the importance of this section in the eyes of the Roman governors—the rarity of any reference to the specially Greek interests is remarkable: for instance, the centre of the Greek life was the gymnasium, but the gods of the gymnasium, Hermes and Herakles, are hardly ever used as types, and the only set of issues which could be described as agonistic is that of the fourteenth year of Nero with busts of the patron deities of the great Greek festivals: this is in marked contrast to the fondness of the Asiatic mints for agonistic types. It is not possible here to criticize all the instances discussed by Dr. Vogt: one, where definite dating is in question, must suffice. He refers to the use of the type of the Phoenix in the second year of Antoninus Pius, and rightly connects it with the completion of a Sothic period in that year: but if, as he states, this was intended to announce the fact to the people of Egypt, it is not easy to see why the same type should reappear in the sixth year.

It seems more reasonable to suppose that the artists and officials of the Alexandrian mint chose their types according to the subjects which were most topical at the moment, and used them again so long as it suited them. The choice of the Phoenix in 139 A.D. was natural enough: four years later the memory of the celebrations in connection with the new Sothic period might recur to the mind of the designer at the mint, and he harked back to the old type. And this theory would account for the unintelligent copying of Roman and other types which is a marked characteristic of Alexandrian coins: the clearest evidence of the nature of this copying is to be found in some of the legends, such as ΝΕΙΚΗ ΚΑΤΑ ΒΡΕΤΑΝΝΩΝ and ΝΕΙΚΗ ΚΑΤΑ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΩΝ, which are simply bad translations of the legends Victoria de Britannis and Victoria de Germanis on the Roman coins which the artist took as his models: we can hardly credit the Roman government with such an ignorance of elementary Greek. There is another good instance on an apparently unpublished coin of Trajan which was in the late Signor Dattari's collection, which shows the emperor with a river-god at his feet; by the river-god is the inscription ΔΑΝΟΥ: the artist was evidently working from a Roman original on which the name Danubius appeared, and he transliterated part of it without understanding.

It is perhaps material to note that as a general rule the number of distinct types used at any time by the Alexandrian mint varied inversely to the total output of the mint: when a large issue of coins was made, very few types were used: when the demand for fresh coins was slack, the artists seem to have employed their leisure in designing many types. The enormous coinage of the twelfth year of Nero was

in two types only: the artistic activity of the mint really began under Domitian, when comparatively few coins were issued. It is one of the grievances of the collector of Alexandrian coins that the most interesting types, historically, are also the rarest: a fair proportion of those selected by Dr. Vogt for special mention would probably be absent from most cabinets. It would appear that if the Roman authorities intended their coins to advertise their policy and their virtues, they did not take effective steps to broadcast their advertisements.

But, though we do not take the same standpoint as Dr. Vogt in seeking the origin of the types, we find his work in this pamphlet, as in his previous book on Alexandrian coins, stimulating and suggestive: it is a valuable contribution to the elucidation of a series of documents, the historical importance of which has been somewhat overlooked, and we hope that Dr. Vogt will continue his studies in the same field.

J. G. MILNE.

Studies in Egyptian Syntax. By BATTISCOMBE GUNN. Paris: Paul Geuthner. 1924. Pp. xxvii and 202.

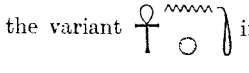
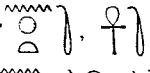
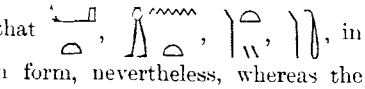
In the preface to this important contribution to the study of Old and Middle Egyptian syntax and grammar, the most important that has appeared since SETHE brought out his great work, *Das Aegyptische Verbum*, in 1899, Gunn tells us that he is of the opinion that for the last 30 years Egyptian philologists have been too much influenced by the Semitic categories of perfect and imperfect, the completed and incompleted event. His aim, he tells us, is to convince his readers that "Egyptian verbal forms and constructions are specialized to express past, present, and future tenses to a greater extent than has been recognized hitherto," and, after studying the well-ordered mass of material contained in the 200 and more pages of this book, surely no unprejudiced reader will deny that this aim has been fully attained.

À propos of the preface, it is much to be hoped that all students of Egyptian will now adopt Gunn's system of transliteration there propounded, in accordance with which the appended elements such as *tw* "one," *n*, *ỉn*, *ḫr*, *ḳ3*, and the pronominal suffixes are separated from the root or base merely by a dot, e.g., *śḏm·n·f*, the hyphen being only employed in compound names and in expressions in which two words are very closely connected, e.g., *ḥ3tỉ-ʿ*, *t3-ḥḏ-śn*. As readers will recognize at once, it is the system that has been in use for some time in this *Journal*.

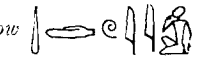
The first four chapters, pp. 1–44, deal with various prospective forms of the verb. Chapter I is entirely concerned with the prospective relative form, the existence of which is here demonstrated beyond all possible doubt. All Egyptologists will concur in congratulating Mr. Gunn on his brilliant discovery.

One or two suggestions and quite minor criticisms with regard to certain parts of this chapter:

Gunn is not altogether certain about his interpretation of the phrases *r rḫtỉ bw nb*, *r rḫtỉ-tn*, *r rḫtỉ Rʿ m pt* (pp. 14–15). He suggests that the meaning may be "as so and so may know," "to the knowledge of so and so," *lit.* "to be something that so and so may know." Is the phrase quite as difficult as Gunn seems to think? Have we not, in fact, practically the same idiom in English, the only difference being that where we say "as you will know," the Egyptians said "in accordance with what you will know"?

The reviewer must confess that, on reading through the book for the first time, the rendering of *ʿnḫtỉ ḫnwś ỉm*, *ʿnḫtỉ rmw m ỉtrw ⟨ỉm⟩* (p. 16), as "maker of that whereon *ḫnwś*-insects may live," "maker of that ⟨whereon⟩ the fishes in the stream may live," struck him as highly dubious, and that he still feels somewhat tempted to regard *ʿnḫtỉ* in either case as merely a N.E. writing of the fem. relative form *śḏmt·f*. He also feels that Gunn's conclusions with regard to the variant  in the *cliché ỉḫt nbt*..... *ʿnḫt ntr ỉm* are not altogether satisfying either, though on the other hand the spellings  do seem to lend them some support. Again, though it cannot be denied that , in examples 69 (p. 12) and 105–6 (p. 17), are prospective relatives in form, nevertheless, whereas the formula "what heaven gives, etc." occurs dozens of times on Egyptian funerary stelae, there seem to be only five instances of these abnormal writings. They may well be mistakes of the scribe or engraver. Surely, too, Gunn is wrong when at the end of his appendix to Chapters I and II he speaks of a desire on the part of the Egyptians "to freshen up a well-known formula by giving it some slight new turn." How contrary such a desire is to ordinary Egyptian feeling is well shown in the famous funerary inscription of Paḫeri in his tomb-chapel at El-Kâb, lines 41–2.

Sound evidence for the existence of a prospective passive participle is laid before us and discussed on pp. 26–32; indeed it is only by admitting Gunn's claim that a satisfactory rendering can be obtained of *Urk.*, I, 129, 11–13 (inscr. of Ḥarkhuf). Example 16 (p. 30),  is stated to be quite doubtful. But the explanation of it as a prospective passive participle, "what may (I hope) be received favourably," *i.e.* = our "so it please thee," makes good sense and is the most satisfactory explanation of the word yet suggested.

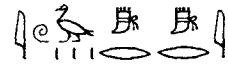
As regards the evidence for the prospective active participle (pp. 35–9), examples 1, 6, and 7 seem fairly conclusive, and accordingly the reading of *Peasant*, R71, *ỉnwk pw*  *n·k* = "It is I who would speak to thee," becomes intelligible. Gunn maintains that the fem. sing. of this form, *śḏmtỉ*, is the base of the prospective form *śḏmtỉ·fỉ* "he who will hear," and he adduces instances of the use of *śḏmtỉ* as an act. prospect. part. of common gender and number, and thus shows that the variant reading in *Pap. Brit. Mus.* 10509 of *Prisse*, 5, 7–8 is probably the original one.

The suggestion (pp. 41 ff.) that  etc. in such formulae as  is also this prospective act. participial form *śḏmtỉ* is surely untenable. On Gunn's own showing it only occurs in this form with the 2nd person sing. and never with . Should not the words *ỉr·k ʿnḫtỉ* etc. be translated "that thou mayest function living (psd.-partic.) like Rēʿ for ever." Thus *Urk.*, IV, 581, 1, would mean "It is agreeable that thou shouldest function living for ever"; and *op. cit.*, 182, 14–17, "How good it is that thou shouldest beautify the temple of thy father Amonrasōnthēr with new work of everlasting duration. [The reward to thee from him] is that thou shouldest function, shouldest function, and yet again function, living, renewed, rejuvenated, like Rēʿ every day."

Very important is Chapter V, in which it is shown that the construction, in which an independent pronoun, or a noun preceded by *ỉn*, is followed by a verb in active *śḏm·f*, refers to future time, and that analogous constructions with perfect and imperfect participles refer to the past and present respectively.

In the same chapter it is also shown that *nt·ṯn* and *nt·śn* are not to be denied a place with *ṯwt*, *ṯmt*, *śwt*, and *śtt*, all three with *ỉnwk* forming a single paradigm in O.E. In M.E., of course, the use with *nt* + suffix for the independent pronouns has spread to all the singular forms except *ỉnwk*. Here let it be said that all scholars will do well to follow Gunn in giving up the terms "Older" and "Later Absolute Pronoun" and speaking of "Dependent" and "Independent Pronouns" instead.

Gunn is convinced that the sense of futurity in the above-mentioned construction resides not in the word-order but in *śḏm·f* itself, the particular *śḏm·f*-form used being what he calls the prospective *śḏm·f*. It seems a pity that his article on this prospective *śḏm·f*-form was after all not included in this volume. However, it will no doubt be fully dealt with in Dr. A. H. Gardiner's eagerly awaited grammar.

Chapter VI (pp. 66–8), on a passive use of the infin., among other points of interest disposes of the necessity of holding the view, as did Professor Peet (*Journal*, I, 209 ff.), that the infin. *mśt* has an intransitive meaning *naître*, as well as the usual transitive one, *e.g.*, in such a sentence as   "An outlandish bird will be born[1]."

Quite new is all that Gunn has to say in Chapter VII on *śḏm·n·f* used in O.E. to describe an event happening at the moment of speaking, *i.e.*, employed as synchronous present tense. This meaning of *śḏm·n·f* no doubt accounts for its being used with  to negative the present and past imperfect.

In Chapter VIII the passive *śḏm·f* in *-ỉ*, *-y* is fully treated, and the theory put forward, with considerable probability, that this form has as its base the perfect passive participle, which, in the case of weak and anomalous words, ends in *y*. It is quite clearly shown that this particular form of the passive has a present perfect meaning, "he has heard," and is not a narrative perfect, "he was heard."

In Chapters IX and X the phonetic use and value of the sign are investigated at considerable length, the main results being (1) that the hieratic sign transcribed is really and should so always be rendered in transcriptions of hieratic into hieroglyphic, and (2) that in M.E. has the value

[1] On the other hand the existence of passive forms of the infinitival form *śḏmt f* is of course accepted by GUNN, pp. 178, 184.

n, perhaps originally *in* (pronounced *ĕn* or similarly), and  the value *nn* (perhaps pronounced *năn* in some cases, *ĕnn* in others).

Chapter XI (pp. 93–109) is a long and very important article on the uses of *n śḏm·f*. The main use, we learn, is to negative past action, its normal affirmative correlative being *śḏm·n·f*. Gunn points out, it is interesting to note, that *sp*, which is so often attached to *n*, is itself a verb meaning "to occur" or the like, and that the form of the following verb is that of the verb when used as the object of *rḏit* "to cause," *i.e.*, the prospective *śḏm·f* (p. 95). *N śḏm·f* is also used to deny a more or less lasting *state*, or rather it really denies the inception of such a state. Thus *n mwt·i*, which has to be translated "I am not dead," is actually past, "I have not become dead," "have not died," and so "I am not dead." *N śḏm·f* is also the negation of the synchronous present as distinguished from the general present, which is negatived by *n śḏm·n·f* (p. 99). This form also expresses disability, "cannot, must not, hear," of which several examples are given. This use occurs most frequently in gnomic statements, but occasionally also in statements where the time-field is restricted, *e.g.*, in *n mś ḫḏ·tw r ḫpny mỉn* "Why, no one can sail to Byblos nowadays." *N śḏm·f* also expresses the optative "May he not hear."

Chapter XII (pp. 110–18) is also of great importance, discussing the uses of *n śḏm·n·f*. We have all been long aware that this form occurs with a present meaning in such combinations as *rʾ gr n mdw·n·f*, "the mouth is silent and does not speak" (ERMAN, *Gramm.*[3], § 310), but few or none of us knew that *n śḏm·n·f* is to be regarded as the ordinary negation of the present and past imperfect, as Gunn now plainly shows us we must do in the future.

Chapter XIII (pp. 119–26) is concerned with *nn śḏm·f*, which is the negation of the future, its normal affirmative correlative being *śḏm·f* with future meaning and also *iw·f r śḏm* and *śḏm·kʾ·f*. But Gunn points out that it is to be noted, however, that *nn wn* by way of an exception means "there exists not," "there is not." He also draws attention to the fact, which might be noted here, that a participial form as subject of *nn wn* must often be translated as "one who can...." Thus *Urk.*, IV, 612, 6 *nn wn ḫsy św m hʾw ḫm·k* means "There is no one who can force his way near thy majesty (when I am leader)." Accordingly Gunn would render the passage, *Sinuhe*, B 61,  "There is no one who can move his spear" as against Gardiner's "None can turn his shaft" and Erman's "Niemand gibt es, der seinen Pfeil abwendete." Certainly Gunn's rendering better suits the following and closely associated sentence "there is none who can bend his bow."

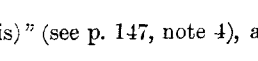
The list of the instances known to Gunn of *nn śḏm·n·f* (pp. 127–30) is useful, and perhaps a further study of the material may lead him to form some definite conclusion as to the exact *nuances* of this puzzling form. Though, as pointed out, it is specially favoured for gnomic sentences, yet in independent sentences it would seem to be applicable to any tense indifferently!

The various meanings of the passive *n śḏm·f* in M.E. are discussed in Chapter XV, where it is shown that this form expresses the present imperfect, "he has not been heard," the present, "he is not heard," and occasionally also "he cannot be heard" (p. 133, Exs. 25, 26). Sometimes, too,—all the instances in question are from religious texts—passive *n śḏm·f* seems to have the meaning "may he not be heard."

Some new examples of *n śḏm·n* are given in Chapter XVI (pp. 137–9) and these and the already known examples are shown to be always present in meaning and also to be used both in the active intransitive and the passive voices.

The article on the predicative  in M.E., Chapter XVII (pp. 140–61), is of great importance. Gunn points out that there are two main uses of the predicative , as predicate in a negative non-verbal sentence, and as predicate-equivalent in a negative adverbial clause. The main difference, he asserts, between a negative non-verbal sentence and a negative adverbial clause is that the former must consist at least of three elements, *nn*, the subject, and a genitival, prepositional, or other addition to the subject, whereas the latter may consist of just the predicative *nn* and a substantive, participle, or infinitive, without any such addition; it is pointed out however that a pronoun may not stand thus unqualified as the subject-equivalent of such an adverbial clause, "without him" (he being non-existent) being expressed not by *nn św* but by *m ḫmt·f* (p. 154).

It is interesting to note that the puzzling  instanced by Erman in his *Gramm.*[3], § 515, is to be cancelled, the actual reading being *nn*  "there is no one who functions alive

without him, *i.e.*, Osiris)" (see p. 147, note 4), and also  (*ibid.*) is not to be rendered "es gab nicht (einen) der weinte," but "there is (or 'being') no weeping face."

On pp. 147–9 there is a useful list of examples of negative non-verbal sentences with an ellipse of the neuter pronominal subject *śt* "it." It will be observed, Gunn points out, that in every case but one the ellipse occurs before a preposition, the exception being a pseudo-participle, i.e., *ỉw ꜥwś·k, nn ỉḫ n·k*, "although thou robbest, (it is) not profitable to thee," the implied subject being "thy robbing" which one would have expected to be expressed by *śt*.

Chapter XIX (pp. 164–8) on *n wnt* is again highly instructive, and the various examples given show that in meaning it is practically the equivalent of, and indeed is used side by side with, *nn wn* and the predicative *nn*.

In Chapter XXII (pp. 174–85) a number of new examples of *n śḏmt·f* are brought to our notice and this construction fully discussed. An important point brought out by Gunn in the discussion of this form is that quite a number of strong verbs occasionally display feminine infinitives, apart from the so-called complementary infinitives,—even such a typically strong verb as *śḏm* (see p. 177). Gunn inclines to Erman's view, against that of Gardiner, that *śḏmt* is a feminine infinitival form (p. 179), and he also points out (p. 180) that *n śḏmt·f* is always closely dependent upon what precedes, and thinks that this shows that it was felt to be a circumstantial clause. Thus *ꜥnḫ X n ḫprt pt* seems, he says, to be literally "X lived without heaven's coming into being," the construction having been specialized to express the idea "without heaven's *previous* coming into being." Is it possible that these special infinitival forms have in themselves an inherent specialization to a past event? Gunn is inclined to think not.

Out of many new and noticeable renderings of difficult or unusual phrases attention might perhaps be drawn to the following:

P. 11. "His head will not hold on (*n ṯs tp·f*)"; *Pyr.* 672 (p. 11).

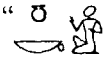
P. 14. "I am a king proper to be worked for (*mnḫ n ỉrt n·f*), the only one worthy of having his name remembered (*wꜥ ḫn n śḫȝt rn·f*)"; *Urk.*, IV, 101.

P. 51. "He who shall speak aught evil when her majesty is away" (*ḏḏ·tỉ·fỉ ỉḫt ḏrt m wś ḥmt·ś*), instead of "indem er ihre Majestät lästert" (Sethe); *Urk.*, IV, 257, 15.

P. 67. "See, he shall be broken-in (?)" (*m·k św r ḥbt*); *Peasant*, B 1/12.

P. 105. "Vessels which cannot be used" (*ḥnw n ỉn tw*); *Westcar*, 11/21.

Here are a few corrigenda:—

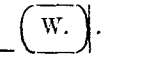
P. xii. We are told on this page that "'I' is given as *nwk*," and yet on p. xiii it is transliterated *ỉnk* and on p. 46 *ỉnwk*!

P. 1, line 17. The word "facultative" is a Gallicism. The English equivalent is "optional."

P. 35, lines 22, 23, the words "mother," "father" should change places.

P. 40, line 12. Instead of "imperf. and perf. relative forms" surely read "imperf., perf., and prospective relative forms"?

P. 51, line 24. For *mwt·f* read *ꜥnḫ·f*.

P. 62. Read  for .

P. 134, line 11. For "refrained" read "restrained."

P. 169, line 6. Why *Blütezeit* when there are plenty of good English equivalents!

As this all too inadequate review will have shown, the book is crammed with interesting information, and displays not only what a master of Egyptian grammar and syntax the author is, but how extensive has been his reading in every branch of the literature. His translations are almost always excellent and his renderings of rare words and difficult passages often brilliant. In reading through the book the reviewer was held up again and again by the necessity of inserting in his already over-annotated "Glossary" some particular meaning assigned to a word by Gunn, or of making a marginal note beside some passage in a published text to the effect that the passage as a whole, or some point in it, had new and important light thrown on it in these admirable "Studies."

AYLWARD M. BLACKMAN.

Untersuchungen über das Urkundenwesen und den Publizitatsschutz im romischen Ägypten (*Münchener Beitrage zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte* VI). Von FR. v. WOESS. München: C. H. Beck. 1924. 8vo. Pp. xxii+389.

In this able treatise Prof. von Woess of the University of Innsbruck returns to the well-worn theme of the registration of real property, a subject which, ever since the elaborate system developed in Egypt under Roman rule was first revealed in Vol. II of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, has possessed a great fascination for German jurists. As the papyri have shown, registers of property-owners were kept in the provincial record-offices established throughout the country, and public notaries might not draw up contracts affecting ownership without authorization from a record-office. The theory was put forward by the late L. Mitteis that the registers were analogous to the modern *Grundbuch*, entry therein constituting title to property. This theory has already met with some opposition, and it will hardly survive the destructive criticism of Prof. von Woess, whose main purpose is to prove that title did not depend upon entry in the registers but upon the validity of the documents from which the registers were compiled: in other words, the position of the *Urkunde* remained what it was both before the institution of the record-offices and after their disappearance. The evidence of the texts is discussed at length; in view of the already voluminous literature connected with the subject it might perhaps have been compressed with advantage. There is moreover a good deal of repetition in the book, which is not characterized by any compensating graces of style. Some other signs of haste are noticeable here and there. For instance, Prof. von Woess regularly writes Oxyrhynchus where Oxyrhynchites, the Oxyrhynchite nome, is meant. He has failed to observe that in P. Oxy. 1649. 21–8 the word χρηματισμός is a restoration (pp. 38, 59); and there is still less evidential value in the conjectural restoration of C.P.R. 206. 16 (p. 276). The form ἐγκύκλειον does not occur in P. Rylands 118, verso (p. 141). P. Flor. 1. 11 is twice incorrectly cited as ἡ δὲ δεδανισμένη (pp. 177, 221). On p. 198 ὑπόβλητος is apparently misunderstood, and εἶναι should be deleted. That ἀποκατάστασις which occurs four times in P. Rylands 323 is a confused conglomerate of ἀποστασίου and καταγραφή will hardly be accepted as "obvious" (pp. 272–3). The interpretation of P. Oxy. 506. 42 given on p. 275 is not warranted by the Greek, nor is the defence of ἐπιλαβοῦσι in P. Oxy. 1208. 54 more convincing (pp. 363–4). The occurrence of such oversights as ἐδάφου (p. 64), σημίωσις (p. 254 and elsewhere), δεδηλουμέναι (p. 305) is disconcerting.—These however are minor blemishes on a valuable piece of work, which will supersede much that has been previously written on the same topics.

A. S. HUNT.

Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., in the British Museum. Part VII. By H. R. HALL, M.A., D.Litt., F.S.A., Keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities. Printed by order of the Trustees. London, 1925.

The work of publishing the hieroglyphic texts of the almost innumerable stelae, etc. in the British Museum proceeds steadily. The present instalment contains the texts of fifty-seven inscribed monuments, most of which are here published for the first time. Nearly all date from the Eighteenth Dynasty. One innovation has been made in this volume, for the plates are for the first time bound up in book form. The advantage of this system from the point of view of durability easily outweighs the disadvantage of being unable to take out single sheets for working purposes. The descriptions of the monuments and copies of the texts are by the Keeper of the Department, and the drawings by Mr. E. J. Lambert.

T. ERIC PEET.

The Cambridge Ancient History. Edited by J. B. BURY, M.A., F.B.A., S. A. COOK, Litt.D., and F. E. ADCOCK, M.A. Volume I, *Egypt and Babylonia to 1580 B.C.* Volume II, *The Egyptian and Hittite Empires to c. 1000 B.C.* Cambridge, at the University Press, 1923 and 1924.

This *Journal* owes an apology to the editors and publishers of the *Cambridge Ancient History* in that, though copies of both these volumes were long since sent for review, they have not previously been noticed in these pages. The omission is due to the difficulty of finding in Egyptological circles, where each worker has already more work of his own than he can ever possibly accomplish, anyone who will face the colossal task of reading through two such large volumes within a stated time with that close attention to detail which alone gives the right to review. This difficulty has been heightened by the fact that several of those on whom the *Journal* relies for reviews of works of a general nature are debarred by being themselves contributors to the *History*.

The editors of the *History* will, we hope, the more readily forgive the failure of the *Journal* to review adequately a work of such importance since the success of the venture is now so firmly established. We may therefore content ourselves here with the very short notice which follows.

Egyptology claims in the first volume four chapters and part of a fifth. History is treated by T. E. Peet (Predynastic Period) and H. R. Hall (Union of Egypt down to Hyksos Conquest). Life and Thought in Egypt by T. E. Peet, and Art by H. R. Hall. In the second volume History is in the hands of J. H. Breasted, who has followed the lines of his famous *History of Egypt* very closely, almost too closely, perhaps, though it is hardly fair to expect from one and the same scholar two entirely different presentations of the same material; the chapter on Contemporary Life and Thought is again by T. E. Peet.

The sale of these volumes is a striking testimony to the value which they have in the eyes of students of Ancient History generally, and more than one Egyptologist will testify to the value of having in so accessible a form not only the contemporary history of Mesopotamia and the Mediterranean but also the views of acknowledged authorities on more general archaeological subjects.

T. Eric Peet.

Among other books received for review we note the following:

Lexique hiéroglyphique. By Roger Lambert. Geuthner, Paris, 1925.

A History of the Pharaohs. I, The First Eleven Dynasties. By Arthur Weigall. London, 1925.

LIST OF PLATES

PAGE

AN ALABASTER FIGURE OF THE FOURTH DYNASTY IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

Plate I. Alabaster statuette in the British Museum *Frontispiece*

THE TOMB OF TETAKY AT THEBES (No. 15).

Plate II. Tomb of Tetaky. East Wall *between* 14–15

Plate III. Tomb of Tetaky. West Wall *between* 14–15

Plate IV. Tomb of Tetaky. North Wall: Upper Scene *between* 14–15

Plate V. Tomb of Tetaky. South Wall: Upper Scene 16

TOMB-CHAPEL 525 AT TELL EL-'AMARNAH.

Plate VI. Elevation of the Shrine in Tomb-Chapel 525 at El-'Amarnah 36

SACRED TREES IN MODERN EGYPT.

Plate VII. 1. Tree of Shêkh Seyid at 'Ezbah Mismâr, Miniah Prov.
2. Tree of Shêkh Sabr at Manyal.
3. Manyal, with tree of Shêkh Sabr on right.
4. Tomb of Shêkh Gadullah at El-Lahûn 56

FRANCIS G. NEWTON.

Plate VIII. Francis G. Newton 70

A POSSIBLE LATE REPRESENTATION OF THE GOD 'ASH.

Plate IX. The god 'Ash, from a mummy-case in the Brighton Museum 78

A RELIEF FROM THE TOMB OF RAMŌSE AT THEBES.

Plate X. Relief from the Tomb of Ramōse at Thebes 125

THE ROMAN ROADS AND STATIONS IN THE EASTERN DESERT OF EGYPT.

Plate XI. The Roman Roads of the Eastern Desert 139

Plate XII. Plan of Roman Fort at Dêr el-'Aṭrash *between* 140–1

Plate XIII. 1. Mons Claudianus: general view.
2. Fawâkhîr: the mining settlement.
3. Badî': typical hydreuma *between* 140–1

Plate XIV. 1. Inscribed rock at Ḳuṣûr el-Banât.
2. Fons Tadnos (Bîr Abu Shaʿar).
3. El-Ḥeṭâh: fort on hill-top *between* 140–1

Plate XV. 1. Ptolemaic temple at the emerald mines of Sikêt.
2. Temple of Sethos I at Kanais in the Wâdî Abbâd.
3. Mons Claudianus: columns awaiting removal 144

Plate XVI. 1. Mons Claudianus: "water tower."
2. Signal-tower on the Koptos to Albus Portus road.
3. Hydreuma at Kanais.
4. Dukhkhân: remains of Roman causeway 145

A JASPER GROUP OF A LION AND BULL FIGHTING, FROM EL-'AMARNAH, IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

Plate XVII. Jasper group of a lion and a bull fighting. From Tell el-'Amarnah . . 159

PAGE

GREEK SCULPTURE IN PTOLEMAIC EGYPT.

Plate XVIII. 1. Male head. *Copenhagen.*
2. Head from the Naue Collection. *Copenhagen.*
3. Small head of Alexander. *Alexandria.*
4. Female head. *Dresden* 181

Plate XIX. 1. Female head. *Alexandria.*
2. Colossal head with horns of Isis. *Hildesheim.*
3. Head of a god. *Alexandria* 183

Plate XX. Bellerophon on Pegasus. *Alexandria.*
Aphrodite and Triton. *Dresden* *between* 184–5

Plate XXI. Alexander the Great. *Alexandria.*
Head from the Serapeum. *Alexandria* *between* 184–5

Plate XXII. Herakles (?). *Louvre* *between* 184–5

Plate XXIII. Bronze head from the Tyszkiewicz Collection. *Boston.*
Fragmentary female head. *Alexandria* 186

Plate XXIV. Ptolemy IV.
Arsinoe, wife of Ptolemy IV 187

A BRONZE DAGGER OF THE HYKSOS PERIOD.

Plate XXV. Bronze dagger with cartouche of Apophis I 216

MEROITIC STUDIES V.

Plate XXVI. Meroitic ostraka from Faras *between* 220–1

Plate XXVII. Meroitic ostraka from Faras *between* 220–1

Plate XXVIII. Meroitic and other ostraka from Faras *between* 220–1

Plate XXIX. Meroitic ostraka ; 1 from Buhen, 2–5 from Faras 223

Plate XXX. Meroitic ostraka ; 1, 2 from Faras, 3–5 from Buhen, 6 from Dakkah . . 224

A GREEK-COPTIC GLOSSARY TO HOSEA AND AMOS.

Plate XXXI. A Greek-Coptic Glossary. *Verso.* Fragments A and C 244

Plate XXXII. A Greek-Coptic Glossary. *Verso.* Fragments B and D 245

Plate XXXIII. *Recto* of the Glossary Papyrus. Fragments C and A . . . *between* 246–7

Plate XXXIV. *Recto* of the Glossary Papyrus. Fragments D and B . . . *between* 246–7

AN ORACLE PAPYRUS. B.M. 10,335.

Plate XXXV. Papyrus British Museum 10,335. *Recto, lines* 1–4 *between* 248–9

Plate XXXVI. Papyrus British Museum 10,335. *Recto, lines* 5–8 *between* 248–9

Plate XXXVII. Papyrus British Museum 10,335. *Verso, lines* 1–11 . . . *between* 248–9

Plate XXXVIII. Papyrus British Museum 10,335. *Verso, lines* 12–21 . . . *between* 248–9

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT

PAGE

KIZZUWADNA AND OTHER HITTITE STATES.

Central Syria in the Fourteenth Century B.C. 27

PHILOLOGICAL NOTES.

Scene from the tomb of Ukhḥotpe at Mêr 213

A CUNEIFORM VOCABULARY OF EGYPTIAN WORDS.

Tablet 1154, Ashmolean Museum 233, 237

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS

	Reviewed by	PAGE
The Assyrian Herbal. R. Campbell Thompson	Sidney Smith	110
Oriental Forerunners of Byzantine Painting. J. H. Breasted	F. G. Newton	110–111
Egyptian Mummies. G. Elliot Smith and Warren R. Dawson	H. R. Hall	111–112
Index of Hittite Names. L. A. Mayer. Kleinasien zur Hethiterzeit. Albrecht Götze	H. R. Hall	112–113
The Coptic Manuscripts in the Freer Collection. W. H. Worrell	De Lacy O'Leary	113–115
Two Royal Ladies of Meroë. Dows Dunham	T. Eric Peet	115
Lahun, II. Sir Flinders Petrie, Guy Brunton and M. A. Murray. Sedment, I, II. Sir Flinders Petrie and Guy Brunton	H. R. Hall	115–116
Babylonian Historical Texts relating to the capture and downfall of Babylon. Sidney Smith	T. Eric Peet	117
Relazione sui lavori della Missione Archeologica Italiana in Egitto (anni 1903–1920): volume primo, Esplorazione della "Valle delle Regine" nella necropoli di Tebe.	T. Eric Peet	117–118
Le gymnasiarque des métropoles de l'Égypte romaine. B. A. van Groningen	H. I. Bell	118–119
L'âge des papyrus égyptiens hiératiques d'après les graphies de certains mots. Eugène Dévaud	T. Eric Peet	119–120
Antiques, their Restoration and Preservation. A. Lucas	S. R. K. Glanville	121–122
Introduction à l'étude des hiéroglyphes. H. Sottas and E. Drioton	T. Eric Peet	122
The New York Historical Society. Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities, Numbers 1–160. Gold and silver jewelry and related objects. Caroline Ransom Williams	T. Eric Peet	123
Die Vokalisation des Ägyptischen. Kurt Sethe	Alan H. Gardiner	123–124
Coptica, II. Pistis Sophia. Carl Schmidt	G. Horner	335–336
De beide volksverhalen van Papyrus Harris 500 verso. H. P. Blok	T. Eric Peet	336–341
Jews and Christians in Egypt. H. I. Bell	A. S. Hunt	341–342
The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen. Howard Carter and A. C. Mace	S. R. K. Glanville	342–343
Luxor and its Temples. A. M. Blackman	S. R. K. Glanville	343–344
Die Ornamentik der ägyptischen Wollwirkereien. Stilprobleme der spätantiken und koptischen Kunst. M. Dimand	Nora Griffith	344
Altaegyptische Webestühle und Brettchenweberei in Altaegypten. C. H. Johl	Nora Griffith	345
L'art égyptien: études et histoire. Jean Capart	Aylward M. Blackman	345
Römische Politik in Ägypten. Joseph Vogt	J. G. Milne	346–347
Studies in Egyptian Syntax. Battiscombe Gunn	Aylward M. Blackman	347–350
Untersuchungen über das Urkundenwesen und den Publizitätsschutz im römischen Ägypten. Fr. v. Woess	A. S. Hunt	351
Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., in the British Museum. Part VII. H. R. Hall	T. Eric Peet	351
The Cambridge Ancient History	T. Eric Peet	351–352

INDEX

A

'Ababda, 149.
'Ababda Medînat el-Harrâs, 143
Abakaye, 260.
Abana, 27.
Abbott papyri, 37, 40.
Abdallah Ibn Ahmed Ibn Selim, 265.
Abi, 27.
Abina, 27.
Aboccis, Aboscis, 267.
Abramos, 271.
Abrasach, 155.
Abu Fanam, *see* Wekâlat el-Zerḳah, 146.
Abu Garâs, Abu Kharâs, *see* Pakhoras.
Abu Ghalḳa, 138, 144.
Abu Ghusun, 144.
Abu Hegilîg, 144.
Abu Ḳariah, 144.
Abu Ḳharas, 265.
Abu Ḳrêyah, 142, 145.
Abu Ḳurêyah, 144.
Abu-Sâlih, 263.
Abu Sha'ar, 141.
Abu-Simbel, 262.
Abu Zawal, 148.
Abu Ziran, *see* Wekâlat el-Zerḳah, 146.
Abydos, 20, 125, 257, 331.
 tombs at, 197.
Abyssinia, obsidian from, 143.
Abzu, 27.
Acabe Mons, 140.
Acampsis = Chorokh Su, 33.
Achamanakarîr, 260, 261.
Achmimic text, 243.
Acina, 261.
Adamantius, 64.
Adana, distance of, from Boghaz-Keui, 23.
Adania, 29, 31.
Adaniaš, 34.
Adcock, F. E., M.A., J. B. Bury, M.A., F.B.A., and S. A. Cook, Litt.D., Editors. *The Cambridge Ancient History, volumes I and II* (reviewed), 351–2.
'Aden, 267.
Adonai, 154.
Adwâ, 265.
 = Gebel Adda, 267.
Aeas Mons, 140.
Aelius, 136.
Aelius Gallus, 141.
Aennum, *see* Philoteras, 142, 146.
Aesculapius, *see* Asclepius.
Agathammon, 64.
Agatharchides, 139, 141, 143.
Agatharchos, 270.
Agathon island, 140, 143.
Agias, 182.
'Aḥa, 205, 209.
Ahauty, 53.
Ahmose, 16, 17.
Ahnas, 267.
Aḥuna, 28.
Aidâb, 138, 139.
'Ain Shems, 70.
Akhenaten, *see also* Amenophis IV, 125, 159.
Akhet, 250.
Akhetaten, 230.
 letters, 231.
Akhmîm, 267.
Akin, 259, 260, 261.
Akinizaz, 261.
Akkadian vocabulary, 230.
Akrarymethis Petearsaonphios, 271.
Ak-Su, 30.
Alabaster Figure of the Fourth Dynasty in the British Museum, An, H. R. Hall, D.Litt., 1.
Alashiya, 161.
Albright, Dr. W. F., 109.
 Philological Method in the Identification of Anatolian Place-Names, 19–22.
Albus Portus, *see also* Ḳuṣêr, 141, 142, 145, 148, 149.
Aleket, 260.
Alepet, 260.
Aleppo, 27, 70.
Alexander cameo, 186.
Alexander head at Alexandria, 183.
Alexander portrait in Cairo, 188.
Alexander, Tiberius Julius, 165.
Alexandretta, 23.
Alexandria, 62, 153, 167, 280.
 bishop of, 60.
 catechetical school at, 243.
 clubs at, 7.
 explosion in, 45.
Alexandrian currency, 283.
 school, 179.
'Alîḳ, *see* Ghalêḳ, 267.
Alse, 28.
Alypetos, 257.
Amanap, *see also* Amenophis, 260, 261.
Amâra = Pezeme, 260, 261.
Amastum = Anamuśta, 32.
Ambras papyrus, 44, 54.
Amenemhab, 248.
Amen(em)opi, 261.
Amenemuia, 248.
Amenḥotp, Amenhotpe, 48, 162, 261.
 son of Pentawêre, 48 ff.
Amenkhau, 41, 46, 55.
Amenmôse, 17, 46, 54.
Amennakht, son of, 48.
Amen....nufer, 46, 47.
Amenôpe, 46.
Amenophis I, 18, 38, 204.
Amenophis III, 159, 233.
 Cypriote art in time of, 161.

Amenophis IV, 159, 233.
 cuneiform tablet of date of, 230.
Amenothes Apionos, 272.
Amenothes, synodos of, 7.
Amenpanūfer, 163.
Amenrēʿ, 50.
Amenua, 48.
Amêz, 260.
Amherst papyrus, 37.
Ammon, 277.
Ammonios Onnophreos, 270, 271.
Amonakhtu, 248.
Amonrasōnthēr, 287, 293, 298.
Amos, 241.
Amphicles, 169.
ʿAmr ibn al-ʿÂṣî, 267.
Amūn, 38, 162, 226, 248.
 of Buḳenen, 250, 253.
 of Karnak, 253.
 of Pe-Khenty, 250, 253.
 of Te-Shenyt, 250, 253 ff.
 garden of, 12.
 inscription to, 36.
 wreaths of, 55.
Amūnemuia, 250, 251, 253.
Amunkhaʿu, 251.
Anamušta = Amastum, 32.
Anaphe, female figure from, 188.
Anashayi, 260.
Anatolian Place-Names, Philological Method in the Identification of, W. F. Albright, 19–22.
Anefsu, 44.
Anḫernakht, 47.
ʿAnîbah, 218, 262.
ʿAnibah, altar and stelae from, 259.
Aniketos, 273.
Anklas Petosorbouchios, 273.
Anra, 29, 30.
Antaeopolis, 241.
Antefoḳer, 15, 16.
Anthony, 243.
Antigenes, 271.
Antinoe, 139, 140, 149, 150.
Antioch statue, 183, 185.
Antiochos, 271.
Antoniades head, 188.
Antonine itinerary, 138, 142, 144.
Anubion, 64.
Anubis, 16, 205.
Anubis, statue of, 208.
Aper, 226.
ʿAper(?)-ʿankhu, 1.
Aphrodisias, 185.
Aphrodite, 141, 154, 156, 241.
 See also Menih, 144.
Aphrodite and Triton group, 183.
Aphrodite statuette in Cairo, 184.
Aphroditopolite nome, 293.
Apis, 204.
Apollinis, *see* Wâdî Gemâl, 144.
Apollinopolis Magna, 145.
Apollinopolis Parva, 139.
Apollo, 82.
Apollo, bronze in British Museum, 188.
Apollonius, 173.
Apollonopolis, 272 ff.
Apollonopolite nome, 173.
Apollonos, *see* Wâdî Gemâl, 144.
Apollonospolis, 276 ff.
Apophis, cartouche of, 216.
Apotheosis of Homer relief, 187.
Apoxyomenos, 182.
Apuki, 12.
Apuleius, 258.
Apunchis, 270.
Aqen, 261.
Aquae, baths of, 59.
Arabia, obsidian from, 143.
Arabs, 138.
Araḫti, 27.
Ara Pacis, 189.
ʿArâs, 138, 140, 146.
Arawanna, *see* Erivan.
Arbethion, 64.
Archibius, 170.
Arians, 59.
Arimattas = Erimma, 34.
Aristides, 8.
Aristonis, *see* Gerf, 143, 144.
Aristophanes, 156.
Arius, 58 ff.
Armenia, 66.
Armenia Minor, 25.
Arinna, 21.
Arsenius, 59, 63.
Arsinoë, temple of Sarapis at, 9.
Arsinoite nome, 170.
Artemidorus, 134, 139, 142, 152, 153.
Arwad, 26.
Arzanene, 28.
Arzawa, 24, 29, 31.
Arzawia, 29.
Ašart, *see* Jaxartes.
Asclepius, 82, 126, 127, 135, 182.
'Ash, A Possible Late Representation of the God, Alan W. Shorter, 78–9.
Ashby, Thomas, 70.
Ashmolean Museum, 230.
Ashmunên, 2.
Ashurbanipal, 161.
Asia Minor, natural frontier of, 23.
Asies, 272.
Assyrian scribes, 231.
 lion, 160, 161.
Astakana, 29.
Aštarpa = Isparta, 20, 29, 30, 31.
Astata, 28.
Aswân, 265, 267.
Asyûṭ, 70, 107.
Atania, 34.
Atapete, 259.
Atef, 16.
Aten heresy, 36.
Athanasiana, Norman H. Baynes, 58–69.
 § 1. The recall of Arius from exile, 58–61.
 § 2. An Athanasian forgery, 61–5.
 § 3. The return of Athanasius from his first exile, 65–9.
Athanasius, 58 ff.
Athenian sculptors in Alexandria, 182.
Athenodoros Aristonos, 271.
Atiyachar, 260.
Atiye = Adaye, 260.
Atum of Heliopolis, 202.

Azesha, 32.
Azizie, 32.

B

Baalbek, 70.
Bâb el-Mukhênig, 140.
Babylonian signs, 231 ff.
Bacchus, 158.
Badîa', 147.
Baghdad, 70.
Bahrîyah, 79.
Bakharas, *see* Bûkherâs.
Balaye, 259.
Barga, Bargylus, 26.
Barrâmîyâh, 145.
Basan, 66.
Batum, 23, 34.
Baynes, Norman H., lecture by, 332.
Begrâsh, 263.
Behnesâ, 267.
Bekurel, 40.
BELL, H. IDRIS, 80, 332.
review by, 118.
Bibliography (1923–1924): Graeco-Roman Egypt. A. Papyri, 84–106.
Jews and Christians in Egypt (reviewed), 341–2.
with H. THOMPSON, A Greek-Coptic Glossary to Hosea and Amos, 241–6.
Bellerophon on Pegasus, group, 184.
Beltommis, 271.
Beñash, 260.
Beñashebê, altar of, 259.
Beni Swêt, 56.
Bentresh Stela, 249.
Beqe, 260.
Berabra, 267.
Berenice, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 144, 149.
Berenice II, 185, 187, 189.
Berenice Troglodytica, 143.
Bêza, 144.
Bezewe, 260, 261.
Bezmes, 1.
Bibliography (1924–1925): Ancient Egypt, PROFESSOR F. LL. GRIFFITH, M.A., F.B.A., 299–319.
Introduction, 299–300.
Conservation, 300.
Excavations and Explorations, 300–4.
Publication of texts, 304–5.
History, 305–7.
Geography, 307.
Foreign Relations, 307–10.
Philology, 311.
Palaeography, 312.
Religion, 312–14.
Science, 314.
Literature, 315.
Law, 315.
Archaeology, 315–17.
Personal, 318–19.
Bibliography (1923–1924): Graeco-Roman Egypt. A. Papyri, H. IDRIS BELL, 84–106.
1. Literary Texts, 84–8.
2. Religion, Magic, Astrology, 88–92.
3. Publications of Non-Literary Texts, 92–7.
4. Political and Military History, Administration, Topography, Chronology, 97–100.
5. Social Life, Education, Art, Economic History, Numismatics and Metrology, 100–2.
6. Law, 102–4.
7. Palaeography and Diplomatic, 104.
8. Lexicography and Grammar, 105.
9. General works, Bibliography, Miscellaneous notes on Papyrus Texts, 105–6.
10. Miscellaneous and Personal, 106.
Bibliography (1923–1924): Graeco-Roman Egypt. Greek Inscriptions, MARCUS N. TOD, M.A., 327–30.
Bibliography (1924–1925): Christian Egypt, DE LACY O'LEARY, 320–6.
1. Biblical, 320.
2. Apocryphal, Gnostic, etc., 320–1.
3. Liturgical, 321–2.
4. Literature and Theology, 322.
5. History, 322–4.
6. Non-literary texts and collections of various texts, 324–5.
7. Grammatical, 225.
8. Archaeology, 325–6.
Biertas, 270.
Bîgah, 57.
Bilâk, 265.
Bîr Abu Makhlah, 140, 149.
Bîr 'Arâs, 147.
Bîr el-Essel, 149.
Bîr Inglizî, 149.
Bîr Nakhêt, 149.
Bîr Umm Dalfa, 149.
Bitlis, 28.
Bitter Lakes, 138, 143.
BLACKMAN, AYLWARD M., D.Litt., 191.
lecture by, 332.
review by, 345, 347.
Luxor and its Temples (reviewed), 343–4.
Oracles in Ancient Egypt, 249–55.
Osiris or the Sun-God? A Reply to Mr. Perry, 201–9.
Philological Notes, 210–15.
with T. ERIC PEET, Papyrus Lansing: A Translation with Notes, 284–98.
BLACKMAN, WINIFRED S., 255.
Sacred Trees in Modern Egypt, 56–7.
BLOK, HENRI PETER, *Die beide volksverhalen van Papyrus Harris 500 verso* (reviewed), 336–41.
Boas river, 33.
Bobhlous, 174.
Boghaz-keui texts, 20, 23.
Bohairic text, 243.
Borchardt, Ludwig, 194.
Bourikianos Demochares, 258.
BREASTED, J. H., *Oriental Forerunners of Byzantine Painting* (reviewed), 110–11.
Brimo, 158.
Bronze Dagger of the Hyksos period, A, WARREN R. DAWSON, 216–17.
Browne, W. E., 150.
BRUNTON, GUY, SIR FLINDERS PETRIE and M. A. MURRAY, *Lahun II. British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1923* (reviewed), 115.
with SIR FLINDERS PETRIE, *Sedment I, II. British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1924* (reviewed), 115.
Bryaxis, 182.

Bucoras, *see* Bukhéras, 266.
Budapest, Bellerophon relief at, 184.
Budge, Sir E. A. Wallis, 247, 284.
Buhen, southern temple at, 219.
Bukenen, 251.
Bukhaaf, 40, 41.
Bûkharâs, *see* Bûkherâs.
Bûkherâs, *see also* Pakhoras, 264, 267.
Burch, Dr. V., lecture by, 332.
BURY, J. B., M.A., F.B.A., S. A. COOK, Litt.D., and F. E. ADCOCK, M.A., Editors. *The Cambridge Ancient History, volumes I and II* (reviewed), 351–2.
Buto, 195.

C

Cabalsi, *see* Abu Ghusun, 144.
Cadyanda, 24.
Caecilianus, 267.
Caerwent, 70.
Caesarea, 68.
 Council of, 60.
Cairo Museum, 149.
Calpurnius Paulus, 257.
CAPART, JEAN, *L'art égyptien: études et histoire* (reviewed), 345.
Cappadocia, 24, 68.
Carchemish, 21.
Carcopino, J., 128.
Carnarvon, Lord, 10.
CARTER, HOWARD, 10.
 lecture by, 332.
 with A. C. MACE, *The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen* (reviewed), 342–3.
Cassite, 291.
Castro, Don Juan de, 143.
Cataonia, 25.
Cenon, *see* Abu Ḳurḉyah, 144.
Cestrus, 30.
Charax, 20.
Chawitarêr, stele of, 259.
Cheesman, G. L., 177.
Cheops, 2, 3, 4, 5.
China, 138.
Chorokh Su = Acampsis, 33.
Cilicia, 161.
Cilician rivers, 20.
Cilicia Tracheia, 24, 29.
Cius, 258.
Claudianus Mons, 140, 146, 147, 148, 149.
Clement of Alexandria, 128.
Cleopatra at Delos, 187.
 sister of Euergetes II, 167.
Cleopatra II, 167.
Cleopatris, 141.
Clysma, *see* Suez, 138.
Cnidos, 139.
Colasucia, *see* Kolasūća, 262.
Commodus, script of time of, 242.
Compasi, *see* Daghbag, 144.
Constans, 69.
Constantine, 58 ff., 64.
Constantine II, 65.
Constantinople, 60.
Constantius, 66, 68, 143.
Contra Apollinopolis, 145.
COOK, S. A., Litt.D., BURY, J. B., M.A., F.B.A., and F. E. ADCOCK, M.A., Editors. *The Cambridge Ancient History, volumes I and II* (reviewed), 351–2.
Copenhagen, female head in, 188.
Coptic texts, 241.
Coptos, 139, 142, 144, 267, 270, 277, 279.
 Min of, 200, 208.
Corble, H. A., 216.
Corpus Hermeticum, 126.
Couyat-Barthoux, M., 138.
Creed, J. M., 127.
Crete, 160.
Crum, W. E., 219.
Cult of the Sun and Cult of the Dead in Egypt, The, W. J. PERRY, 191–200.
 Introduction: Repudiation of criticism, 191–3.
 Evidence for and objections to theory of original Sun-cult, 193–200.
 Conclusion, 200.
Cuneiform Vocabulary of Egyptian Words, A, C. J. GADD and SIDNEY SMITH, 230–40.
 Introduction, 230–1.
 Text of Obverse, 231–3.
 Notes on Obverse, 233–6.
 Text of Reverse, 237.
 Notes on Reverse, 238–9.
 Additional note, 239–40.
Cynopolite nome, 153.
Cypro-Cilician art, 161.
Cyprus, 161.
Cyprus, Jewish rebellion in, 173.
Cyrene, female figure from, 188.
 Jewish rebellion in, 173.
Cyril, Saint, 126.
Cyzicus, head from, 182.

D

Dabr, 138.
Dadam'ankh, 212.
Dadu, Osiris, lord of, 14.
Daghbag, 140, 144.
Dakkeh, 218, 261.
Dalmatius, 67.
Damophon, 187.
Danube, 69.
Daphnae, 20.
Dardanus, sword of, 154.
Darius I, cartouche of, 146.
Daskusa = Duddusga, 21.
Dattašaš treaty, 33.
DAVIES, N. DE GARIS, The Tomb of Tetaky at Thebes (no. 15), 10–18.
DAWSON, WARREN R., 249, 285.
 A Bronze Dagger of the Hyksos Period, 216–17.
 A Mummy of the Persian Period, 76–7.
 An Oracle Papyrus, B.M. 10335, 247–8.
 and SMITH, G. ELLIOT, *Egyptian Mummies* (reviewed), 111–12.
Delta, 3, 153.
Demeter, temple of, 9.
Demetria, 273.
Democritus, 154.
Denderah, Hathor, lady of, 14.
Dêr-el-'Atrash, 140, 147, 150.
Dêr Gidâmi, 146.
Dêr Ḥammâmah, 146.

Dêr Mawâs, 107.
DÉVAUD, EUGÈNE, *L'âge des papyrus égyptiens hiératiques d'après les graphies de certains mots* (reviewed), 119.
Dhouti, 226.
Dhoutmōse, 163.
Diarbekr, 29.
Dickins, Guy, 185.
Didyme, 142, 144.
DIMAND, M., *Die Ornamentik der ägyptischen Wollwirkereien. Stilprobleme der spätantiken und koptischen Kunst* (reviewed), 344.
Diocletian, 263.
Diodorus, 141.
Diogenes, 241, 270.
Diokles, 271.
Dionysios, 241, 270.
Diospolis, 270 ff.
Dirâ' Abu 'l-Nagâ, 10, 46.
Dirr, 263, 266.
Djedi, 2, 3, 4.
Djefât, 21.
Dodecaschoenus, 261, 263.
Dositheos, 273.
Double Entries in Ptolemaic Tax-Receipts, J. G. MILNE, 269–83.
 Introduction, 269–75.
 Lists, 270–3.
 Taxes paid in silver, 275–6.
 Taxes assessed in copper, 277–9.
 Payments for prostima, 279–80.
 Added charges, 280–2.
 Summary, 282–3.
Dresden head, 182.
DRIOTON, E. and H. SOTTAS, *Introduction à l'étude des hiéroglyphes* (reviewed), 122.
Duamutef, 15.
Duarēʿ, 204.
Duau, 138.
Duddusga = Daskusa, 21.
Dudḫalia, 29.
DUNHAM, DOWS, *Two Royal Ladies of Meroe* (reviewed), Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Communications to the Trustees, VII, 115.
Dunḳash, 145.
Dunḳulah, 266, 267, 268.
Durham, Oscar, 10.
Dwêg, 144, 145.
Dynasty XX, 72.
Dynasty XXVI, inscription of, 146.

E

Eastern Desert of Egypt, The Roman Roads and Stations in the, G. W. MURRAY, 138–50.
Edfu, 153.
 clay sealings from, 189.
Egypt, Greek Sculpture in Ptolemaic: A. W. LAWRENCE, 179–90.
Egypt, The Roman Roads and Stations in the Eastern Desert of, G. W. MURRAY, 138–50.
Egypt challenges Hittite power, 23.
 Jewish rebellion in, 173.
 Lower, administration of Hadrian in, 178.
Egyptian demotic graffiti, 218.
 religion, 201 ff.
EITREM, PROFESSOR S., Pap. Brit. Mus. CXXI, Verso. Col. 1, 80–3.
Eirenaios, 271.
Ekusis, 241.
El-ʿAmarnah, jasper group from, 159 ff.
 tablets, 159.
El-Daw, 266.
Elephantine, 286.
El-Ḥêṭah, 140, 147.
El-Ḳaṣr, 265.
El-Lâhûn, 56.
El-Maris, 265, 268.
El-Mukurrah, *see also* Muḳurrah, 268.
El-Radd, 28.
EMERY, W. B., 332, 333.
 A Relief from the Tomb of Ramōse at Thebes, 125.
Emesa, *see* Homs, 27.
Empedocles, 81.
ʿEnkhmaʿrēʿ, 204.
Enkomi, 161.
Ephesus, 24.
Epiphanes, 274, 282.
Erech, *see* Warka.
Ereshkigal, 159.
Erimma = Arimattaš, 34.
Erivan, 26.
Eriza, 32.
Erman, Adolf, 2, 284.
Eros, 154, 156, 157, 158.
Erzingan = Šerigga, 31, 32.
Eshen, 30.
Eshende, 30.
Eshmûnên, 267.
Essel, 150.
Euenor, 257.
Euergetes I, 277.
Euergetes II, 165, 167, 168, 169, 173, 277.
Euremon, 272.
Europhilus, 257.
Europos, 21.
Eusebius, 58, 60, 64, 67.
Euspoena = Iš̱ḫubitta, 31.
Euteknos, 257.
Eutychides, Antioch of, 183.
Euzoius, 59.
Evans, Sir Arthur, 70.

F

Falcon, district of the, 42.
Farâs, 218, 259 ff.
Farnese tazza, 189.
Fatîrî, *see* Abu Zawal, 148.
Faustus, 65.
Fawâkhîr, 145, 146.
Fayyûm, 241.
 Papyrus from, 6.
Felton, H., 331.
Fostât, 267.
Frankfort, Henri, 331.
Fresh Light on the Tomb Robberies of the Twentieth Dynasty at Thebes, T. ERIC PEET, 37–55.
 Introduction, 37.
 Group I, Abbott and Amherst papyri, 37–40
 ,, II, Mayer A group, 40–5.
 ,, III, Papyrus B.M. 10054, 45–7.
 ,, IV, Harris A, 47–52.
 ,, V, Papyrus Mayer B, 52.

Group VI, Papyrus B.M. 10058 verso and 10383, 52–4.
„ VII, Ambras papyrus, 54–5.
Fresh Light on the Tomb Robberies of the Twentieth Dynasty at Thebes; an additional note, T. Eric Peet, 162–4.
Papyrus B.M. 10068, 162–3.
„ „ 10054, 164.

G

Gadd, C. J. and Sidney Smith, A Cuneiform Vocabulary of Egyptian Words, 230–40.
Gadullah, Shêkh, 56.
Gama, Vasco da, 139.
Gardiner, Alan H., 75, 145, 214.
review by, 123.
The Secret Chambers of the Sanctuary of Thoth, 2–5.
Garstang, J., 19, 109.
with L. A. Mayer, Kizzuwadna and other Hittite States, 23–5.
Gašga, 25, 31.
Gasga-Armenia Minor, 21.
Gaudentius, 61.
Gaul, 60.
Gausâr, 265.
Gaziura = Kussar, 21.
Gebel Abu Bedûn, 149.
Abu Had, 149.
Abu Ṭiyûr, 149.
Adda, 265, 267.
Barkal = Napata, 260.
Dukhkhan, 139, 140, 147, 148.
Farâ'id, 140.
Ḫamrawên, 140.
Zabâra, 140.
Gebelîn, 260.
Gehesti, 57.
Gelasius Cyzicenus, 58.
Gerf, 144.
Ghalêḳ, 267.
Gidâmi, 146.
Gihâd, 145.
Gihon, 20.
Gilead, 210.
Gîzah, 209.
shaft tomb at, 332.
Glanville, S. R. K., 232.
reviews by, 121, 342, 343.
Goa, 143.
Götze, Albrecht, *Kleinasien zur Hethiterzeit* (reviewed), 112–13.
Granville, Dr. A. B., 76.
Greeks in Alexandria, 181.
Greek-Coptic Glossary to Hosea and Amos, A, H. Idris Bell and H. Thompson, 241–6.
Introduction; description of papyrus, 241–4.
Text, 244–6.
Greek graffiti, 218.
Greek Sculpture in Ptolemaic Egypt, A. W. Lawrence, 179–90.
Introduction, 179–81.
Influence of Praxiteles, Lysippus and Scopas, 181–3.
Development of style to culmination, 183–7.
Deterioration, 187–9.
Summary, 189–90.
Griffith, F. Ll., M.A., F.B.A., Bibliography (1924–1925): Ancient Egypt, 299–319.
Meroitic Studies, V, 218–24.
Pakhoras—Bakharâs—Faras in Geography and History, 259–68.
Griffith, Nora, review by, 344, 345.
Gunn, Battiscombe, 108.
Studies in Egyptian Syntax (reviewed), 347–50.
Guwêsis, 142.

H

Hadrian, 109, 147, 149, 165, 172 ff.
Hadrian Lex, 168.
Hadriana Via, 149.
Hadrian's Decree on Renting State Domain in Egypt, William Linn Westermann, 165–78.
The papyri: Rostovtzeff's interpretation, 165–6.
Records of Menches; Ptolemaic administration, 166–72.
Decree of Hadrian, 172–4.
Comparison of Hadrian's administration with Ptolemaic, 175–7.
Additional note, 177–8.
Ḫâg Sulêmân, *see* Sayâla, 146.
Ḫaligalbat, 22.
Hall, H. R., D.Litt., 232.
lecture by, 332.
reviews by, 111, 113, 115.
An Alabaster Figure of the Fourth Dynasty in the British Museum, 1.
Hieroglyphic texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., in the British Museum (reviewed), 351.
A Jasper Group of a Lion and Bull Fighting, from El-'Amarnah, in the British Museum, 159–61.
Ḫalpa, 27.
Ḫalys basin, 24.
Hamath, 27.
Ḫammâmah, 146.
Ḫanigalbat, 22.
Hannibalianus, 66.
Hapi, 15, 189.
Hardedef, 2.
Harendotes Thoteos, 271.
Harîm, 253.
Ḫarmurik, 28.
Harpocrates gem, 187.
Ḫarrana = Harran, 29.
Ḫarri, 22, 25, 31.
Harris A papyrus, 37, 45, 47, 162, 163.
Harris 500 papyrus, 225.
Ḫarshef of Heliopolis Magna, 202, 204, 214, 215.
Harsiesis Petemestheos, 272.
Ḫarun, 250.
Ḫatshepsut, 10, 255.
Ḫatti, 24, 31, 32.
Ḫattušaš, 23.
Ḫattušil III, 31.
Hawashîyah, 149.
Ḫebrezet, 40.
Heidelberg papyrus, 151.
Heka, 158.
Hekate, 158.
Heliopolis, 3, 4, 191, 202, 204.
Heliopolitan sun-cult, 193.
Helios, 185.
Hellenistic sculpture, 179.

Ḫeni, 213.
Ḫeptakomia, 165, 173.
Heptanomia, administration of Hadrian in, 177.
Herais, 241.
Herakleides, 270.
Herakleopolitan origin of classical works, 213.
Herakles, Cairo statuette of, 185.
Herakles Perigenou, 271.
Herieus, 273.
Hermas, 128.
Hermes, 241.
Hermetic Writings, A New Edition of the, A. D. Nock, 126–37.
Hermias, 271.
Hermionax, 272.
Hermione, 270.
Hermippos, 272.
Hermonthis, 270 ff.
Hermophilos, 271.
Hermopolis Magna, 2, 3.
Hermopolite nome, 174.
Herodotus, 76.
Heroopolite Gulf, 142.
Herophilus, 257.
Ḥetepsekhemui, 204.
Hildesheim, 183.
 horned female head in, 187.
Ḫimašmaš = Kamisa, 31.
Ḫirbet Sefât, *see* Djefât.
Hittite cuneiform, 230.
 provinces, 23.
Hittite States, Kizzuwadna and other, L. A. Mayer and J. Garstang, 23–35.
Hogarth, Dr., 230.
Homer, Apotheosis of, 187.
Homs, 27.
 Bellerophon group at, 184.
Ḥori, 39, 48, 49, 53, 54.
Horner, G., review by, 335–6.
Horos, 270.
Horus, 195, 208.
 scribe, 169.
Hosea, 241.
Ḫowtenûfer, 43 ff., 163.
Ḫui, 53.
Hume, W. F., 190.
Ḫumiššenaš = Komisene, 31.
Hunt, A. S., reviews by, 341–2, 351.
Ḫutubianza, 29.
Hyde, 31.
Hydreuma, 144.
Hyksos Period, A Bronze Dagger of the, Warren R. Dawson, 216–17.
Hypius river, 258.

I

Iamblichus, 136.
Iao, 154.
Ibrîm, 265.
Ichnae, 28.
Imsety, 15.
India, 138.
Irrite, 29.
Ischyrion, 6.
Isesi, 195.
Iš̱ubitta = Euspoena, 31.
Isis, 57, 259.
Isis-Nekhbet-Aphrodite, 189.
Isis, queen, 38, 39, 40, 51, 137, 163.
Isparta = Aštarpa, 20, 30, 31.
Issos, gulf of, 34.
Išta̯ara, 29.
Isthmus, 139.
Išuwa, 28, 33.
Itfnûfer, *see* Itnûfer.
Itha, 15.
Itnûfer, 42 ff.

J

Jacob, 154.
Jaghjagha Su, 28.
Jahveh, 82.
Jaiḥân, Jaihûn, *see* Gihon.
Jarras, 262.
Jasper Group of a Lion and Bull Fighting, from El-'Amarnah, in the British Museum, A, H. R. Hall, D.Litt, 159–61.
 History and description of group, 159–60.
 Analysis of style, 160–1.
Jaxartes, 20.
Jerâbis, *see* Jerâblus, 21.
Jerâblus, 21.
Jerome, 66.
Jerusalem, Council of, 60.
 destruction of, 173.
Jewish outbreak in Egypt, 173.
Johl, C. H., *Altaegyptische Webestuhle und Brettchenweberei in Altaegypten* (reviewed), 345.
Jonah, 243.
Joppa, 225 ff.
Jovis, *see* Bêza, 144.
Jubal, 141.
Julian the Apostate, 63.
Julius, pope, 62.

K

Kabalia, *see* Kuwalia, 21.
Kadesh, 27.
Kadet, 48.
Kadyanda = Kuadunasa, 21.
Kaiechôs, 204.
Kainopolis, 139, 146, 147, 148.
Kalabshah, 262, 263.
 inscription of, 259.
Kalalât, 143.
Kalašma, 29.
Kales, 271.
Kalyûb, bronze statuettes from, 188.
Kamêphis, 296.
Kamisa = Ḫimašmaš, 31.
Kanais, 145.
Kanefer, 203.
Kangal Su, 32.
Karabel, 23.
Karanis, temple at, 9.
Karanog, 218.
Karēʿ = Neferkerēʿ, 204.
Kariyat Umm 'Ushrah, 144.
Karnak, oracular inscription at, 249.
Karosa, 158.
Kashuti, 47.
Kasr Ibrîm, 261.
Kassite cuneiform, 230.
Kattar, 147.

Kebḥsenef, 15.
Kefr Zuti, *see* Ṣuta, 28.
Kemis, *see* Kamisa, 31.
Kenah, *see* Kainopolis, 139.
Kenah, Wâdî, *see* Wâdî, 147.
Kenyon, Sir Frederic, 80.
Kephalos, 270.
Ker, 44.
Kerkeosiris, 166, 167, 169, 170, 171, 173.
Khabur, 28.
Khaemwēse, 37, 43, 47, 48, 50, 162, 163.
Khalalakharêr, 260, 261.
Khâlid ibn al-Walid, 267.
Khasekhemui, 204.
Khashir, 144.
Khashm el-Menih, 143, 144.
Khawitarêr, 261.
Khentemsemti, 207.
Kheops, pyramid of, 203.
Kheperma^{c}rē^{c}, *see* Ramesses X, 44.
Khoiakh, 251.
Khons, 296.
Khonsmōse, 48, 163.
Khsart, *see* Jaxartes.
Khufu, 197.
Kikelai, Kikelañ, 267.
Kimon Thoteutos, 271.
Kinza, 27.
Kirakis, 267.
Kizzuwadna, 19, 21, 24, 31, 32.
Kizzuwadna and other Hittite States, L. A. Mayer and J. Garstang, 23–35.
Importance of geography in history of Asia Minor, 23–4.
Position of Kizzuwadna, 25–6.
Syria, 26–8.
Mitanni, 28–9.
Arzawa, 29–32.
Kizzuwadna, 32–4.
Conclusion, 34–5.
Kline of Sarapis, The, J. Grafton Milne, 6–9.
Invitations in Oxyrhynchos papyri, 6.
References to Kline, 7–8.
Summary of evidence, 8–9.
Kl'mar, *see* Kullimeri, 28.
Kolasūča, *see* Colasucia.
Komana, 33.
Komisene = Ḫumiššenaš, 31.
Korte, 263.
Kostokos, 241.
Kretullion, 270.
Krêyah, 146, 148.
Krokodilopolis, 276.
Kuadunasa = Kadyanda, 21.
Kuft, *see* Coptos, 139.
Kullimeri, 28.
Kurnah, 76, 125.
Kûs, 139.
Kuṣêr, *see also* Albus Portus, 138, 139, 141, 146, 149.
Kuṣêr el-Kadîm, 142.
Kussar = Gaziura, 21.
Kuṣûr el-Banât, 146
Kutmar, 28.
Kuwalia, 21, 29, 30, 31.
Kuwaliya, *see* Kuwalia.
Kuwê^{c}, 138, 150.

L

Lahami, 138, 142.
Laḫaššî, 22.
Laḳêta, 143, 144, 146.
Lange, H. O., 284.
Lansing Papyrus, 284 ff.
Lawrence, A. W., Greek Sculpture in Ptolemaic Egypt, 179–90.
Legend of the Capture of Joppa and the Story of the Foredoomed Prince, The, T. E. Peet, 225–9.
Introduction, 225.
Papyrus Harris, 225.
Capture of Joppa, 226–7.
The Foredoomed Prince, 227–9.
Length Measures in Ptolemaic Egypt, Sir Herbert Thompson, 151–3.
Heidelberg papyrus, 151–2.
Evidence of Herodotus, 152–3.
Summary, 153.
Lepte Extrema, 143.
Liblani, 22.
Libyan god, 78.
Libyans, 53.
Libys, 270.
Liverpool, Institute of Archaeology, 333.
London, new papyri in, 37.
Luc^{a}aš, 22.
Lucas, A., O.B.E., F.I.C., *Antiques, their Restoration and Preservation* (reviewed), 121.
Lulaḫḫi, 22.
Lupus, M. Rutilius, 173.
Luxor named Southern Opet, 4.
Lycia Tracheia, 31.
Lyons, Colonel H. G., F.R.S., lecture by, 332.
Lysimachos, 271.
Lysippus' influence on Egyptian art, 182.

M

Maat, 48, 49, 162.
Macarius, 64.
Mace, A. C., and Howard Carter, *The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen* (reviewed), 342–3.
Mackenzie, Duncan, 70.
Maddunaša, 29.
Mafdet, 209.
Magical Notes, A. D. Nock, 154–8.
The Sword of Dardanus, 154–8.
Love Charm, 158.
Intaglio with figure of Heka, 158.
Makheye, 260.
Maḳrîzî, 145, 263, 265.
Maksûḥ, 267.
Malatia, 31, 32.
Malêtên, 261.
Malêwitar, 260.
stele of, 259.
Malishachi, 260.
Mallet papyrus, 247.
Mandaeans, 20.
Manetho, 204.
Manichees, 128.
Manyal, 56.
Maracu, *see* Muḳurrah, 266.
Marash, 25.
Marîs, 58, 64, 265, 267.

Marazewitar, stele of, 259.
Marres, 169.
Masaka, 32.
Maspero, Gaston, 193.
Masṭabar el Far'ûn, 108.
Masûwati = Missuwanzaš, 29.
Maurage, 263.
MAYER, L. A., PH.D., *Index of Hittite Names, Sect. A, Geographical, Part I* (reviewed). With notes by J. Garstang, D.Sc. British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem; Supplementary Papers I, 1923, 112–13.
with J. GARSTANG, Kizzuwadna and other Hittite States, 23–35.
Mayer A papyrus, 40.
Mecca, 139.
Mediterranean, 138.
Mēʿet, 205.
Mefârik, 144.
Meleager, 136.
Melitians, 61, 68.
Melos, female figure from, 188.
Memmius, C., 136.
Memnon, tomb of, 256.
Memphis, 153, 183, 204.
female head from, 181.
Ptah of, 202.
Serapeum at, 188.
Meñ, 261.
Menches, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 175, 176, 177.
Menes, union of Egypt before, 202.
Menih, 144.
Menkheperrēʿ, 226.
Menmarēʿ, *see* Seti I, 43, 163.
Menmarēʿnakht, 40.
Menmarēʿ Seti, 43.
Menodorus, 257.
Menodotos, 257.
Mêr, 213.
Merib, 204.
Meroë = Bezewe, 260.
Meroitic graffiti, 218.
stelae, 259.
Meroitic Studies V, F. Ll. GRIFFITH, M.A., F.B.A., Inscriptions on pottery; graffiti and ostraka, 218–24.
Mersa Dabr, 149.
Mersa Guwêsis, 141.
Mersa Mubârak, 141, 142.
Nakari, 143.
Mersa Shuni, 142.
Meshwesh, 53.
Mesopotamia, 66, 68.
Trajan's conquest of, 173.
Methen, 206, 209.
Meyer, Eduard, 194.
Miʿam, 261.
Middle Egyptian dialect, 243.
Middle Kingdom, 77.
MILNE, J. G., review by, 346–7.
Double Entries in Ptolemaic Tax-receipts, 269–83.
The Kline of Sarapis, 6–9.
Milyas, 21, 30.
Mimaut papyrus, 128.
Min of Coptos, 200, 208.
Miniah Province, 56.
Mira, Mirâ, *see also* Myra, 21, 29, 30.
Miššuwanzaš = Masuwati, 29.
Mitanni, 161.
scribes, 231.
Mitsheri, Pekhal son of, 38.
Mnevis, 204.
Moab, 70.
Modiana, 139.
Mohondi, 263.
Mond, Robert, 10, 125, 332, 333.
Moret, A., 193, 201.
Mōse, son of Pentawēre, 48 ff.
Moslems, 268.
Mubârak, 150.
Mukišḫi, 27.
Muḳurrah, 265, 266, 267.
Mummy of the Persian Period, A, WARREN R. DAWSON, 76–7.
Mura, *see* Myra.
MURRAY, G. W., 109.
The Roman Roads and Stations in the Eastern Desert of Egypt, 138–50.
Mursil, 29, 30, 31.
Mut, temple of, 51.
Myos Hormos, 138, 140, 141, 142, 146, 149.
Mycenaean art, 160.
Myra, 21.

N

Nabataean inscriptions, 149.
Naessus Felicianus, 67.
Naga-ed-Dîr, 197.
Nagʿet-Ṭêr, 140, 147.
Naharin, 227, 228.
Nahr Belik, 28.
Naissus, 67.
Nakari, 150.
Nalête, 260, 261.
Namtar, 159.
Napata = Gebel-Barkal, 260.
Napata-zale, stele of, 259.
Ñatewitar, 261.
Naville, Edouard, 331.
Nebka, 203
Nebmaʿrēʿ Miamun, *see also* Ramesses VI, 73, 74.
Nebmaʿrēʿnakht, 38, 40, 54, 285, 287, 293, 295, 298.
Neb-mēʿet, 203.
Nebmeʿetrēʿnakht, 210.
Nebnofer, 251.
Nechesia, 141, 142.
Neferkerēʿ, *see* Ramesses IV, IX, 38, 40, 47.
Neferkerēʿ = Karēʿ, 204.
Neferkerēʿemperamūn, 47.
Neferkerēʿ Setpenrēʿ, 162.
Nefuenani, 43.
Nekhemmut, 49.
Nekhtmin, 48.
Neo-Attic style in Egypt, 188.
Neoplatonists, 128.
Nergal, 159.
Nerses, 66.
Nesamenōpe, 42 ff.
Nesamūn, 38, 42, 45, 47, 53.
Nesmut, 40, 41, 47.
Neter-khet = Zoser, 203.
New Edition of the Hermetic Writings, A, A. D. NOCK, 126–37.
§ 1. Review of Mr. Scott's edition, 126–8.

§ 2. Diatribe form in the Hermetica, 128–33.
§ 3. Notes on the Corpus Hermeticum, 133–5.
§ 4. Notes on the Asclepius, 135–6.
§ 5. Notes on the Hermetica in Stobaeus, 136–7.
Newberry, P., 10.
Newton, Francis G., 107.
Obituary, 70–1.
review by, 110–11.
Nia, 27.
Niblani, 22, 28.
Nicaea, Council of, 58 ff.
Nicander, 257.
Nikolaos, 270.
Nile, 130, 152, 331.
statue of, 189.
Nimrud Dagh, 28.
Nira, 29.
Nisibis, 66, 68.
No, 37 ff., 42, 47, 50, 54, 163.
Nobadia, *see also* El-Marîs, 266.
Nock, A. D., Magical Notes, 154–8.
A New Edition of the Hermetic Writings, 126–37.
Nofretari, 14, 18.
Norman H. Baynes, Athanasiana, 58–69.
Notes and News, 107–9, 331–4.
Notes on some Greek Graffiti, Marcus N. Tod, 256–8.
Notices of Recent Publications, 109–24, 335–52.
Novum Hydreuma, *see* Khashir, 144.
Nûba Boga, 267.
Nubia, 265.
Lower, 261.
Nubkhas, 38, 39.
Nuḫaśśi, 22, 28.
Nulaḫḫi, 22.
Nut, 16.

O

Obituary, Francis G. Newton, 70–1.
H. Ling Roth, 333.
Oeax, 241.
Oeneanda, 21, 30.
Oenoandos, 21.
ʿOḳenenrēʿ, 216.
ʿŌkheperrēʿ, 42 ff., 52.
Olbia, 20, 30.
O'Leary, De Lacy, reviews by, 113.
Bibliography (1924–1925): Christian Egypt, 320–6.
Ombos, Set of, 193.
ʿOnakht, 74.
ʿŌner, 53.
Ooran, 30.
Oracles in Ancient Egypt, Aylward M. Blackman, 249–55.
Introduction, 249.
Translation, 250–3.
Notes, 253–5.
Oracle Papyrus, An, Warren R. Dawson, 247–8.
Description and History, 247–8.
Notes, 248.
Oros, 241.
Orphic hymn to Eros, 156.
Oscha, 66.
Osireion, excavation of, 331.
Osiris, 16, 201.
cult of, 191.
Osiris or the Sun-God? A Reply to Mr. Perry, Aylward M. Blackman, D.Litt., 201–9.
Introduction, 201.
Heliopolis as capital, 201–2.
Relation of Pharaoh to Sungod, 202–5.
Rise of Osiris cult, 206.
Ritual, 206–9.
Osiris Onnefer, 15.
prayer to, 12.
Otricoli Zeus, 182.
Oxus, 20.
Oxyrhynchite nome, 280.
Oxyrhynchus, 79, 153, 241.
papyri from, 6.

P

Pachnoubis Psenpoerios, 270.
Pachomius, 243.
Paeonia, 67.
Pagasae, 185.
Paḫerihat, 43.
Pakazi, altar of, 259.
Pakhoras—Bakharâs—Faras in Geography and History, F. Ll. Griffith, M.A., F.B.A., 259–68.
(*a*) Meroitic period, 259–61.
(*b*) Christian period, 261–6.
Summary 266–8.
Pakharas, 259 ff.
Palermo Stone, 208.
Palestine, topography of, 19.
Palmyra, 70.
Palu, 28.
Pamphilia, 20.
Panaresi, 43.
Panas, 271.
Pancrates, 258.
Panebchounis, 271.
Panechates, 272.
Panekhemōpe, 42, 43, 46.
Panekhtresi, 42 ff.
Paniskos, 270.
Pantaenus, 243.
Panticapaeum, 258.
Pantokrates, 257.
Paʿoemtaumt, 42.
Pappion Memnonos, 273.
Papyrus Lansing; A Translation with Notes, Aylward M. Blackman and T. Eric Peet, 284–98.
Publication of papyrus, 284–5.
Translation and Notes, 285–98.
Pap. Brit. Mus. cxxi, Verso, Col. 1, S. Eitrem, 80–3.
Text, 80–1.
Notes, 81–3.
Parehenni, 17.
Paris, 133.
Pasemis, 270.
Pastophori, 273.
Patara, 257.
Paterius, 59.
Patous Pelaiou, 272.
Patrophilus, 64.
Pa-wate, 223.
Pawensh, 42 ff.

Pawerō, 162.
Payheni, 44.
Payiry, 251.
Paynozem II, oracular inscription, 249.
Peʿanḳen, *see also* Peḳen, 49.
Pebes, 39, 74.
PEET, T. ERIC, 230, 232, 239.
reviews by, 115, 117, 119, 122, 123, 336.
Fresh Light on the Tomb Robberies of the Twentieth Dynasty at Thebes, 37–55.
Fresh Light on the Tomb Robberies of the Twentieth Dynasty at Thebes : an additional note, 162–4.
The Legend of the Capture of Joppa and the Story of the Foredoomed Prince, 225–9.
A Possible Year Date of King Ramesses VII, 72–5.
with AYLWARD M. BLACKMAN, Papyrus Lansing : A Translation with Notes, 284–98.
Pegae, 20.
Pegasus, 184.
PERRY, W. J., The Cult of the Sun and the Cult of the Dead in Egypt, 191–200.
Peiseni, 54.
Peḳen, 48 ff.
Pekhal, 38, 39.
Pekharas, 263.
Pe-khenty, Amūn of, 250.
Pella, 20.
Pelusium, 153.
Pemeriḥu, 252.
Penḥerwer, 252, 254.
Pentaḥebnakht, 43 ff., 52.
Pentateuch, 243.
Pentawēre, 48.
sons of, 48 ff.
Pentedactylus, Mons, 140.
Penwenḥab, 46.
Pergamon, school of, 186.
Per-ḥer, 252.
Perpethew, 41.
Persia, 66.
Persian Period, A Mummy of the, WARREN R. DAWSON, 76–7.
Pesiūr, 37, 38 ff., 47.
Peson, 53.
Petamenōpe, 207.
Petearoeris, 272.
Petechonsis, 270.
Peteminis, 277.
Peter, 64.
Petesouchos, 9, 272.
Pethauemdiamūn, 251 ff.
Petosiris, 181.
Harsiesios, 272.
Petra, 70.
PETRIE, SIR W. FLINDERS, 230.
with GUY BRUNTON, *Sedment I, II, British School of Archaeology in Egypt*, 1924 (reviewed), 115.
with GUY BRUNTON, and M. A. MURRAY, *Lahun II, British School of Archaeology in Egypt*, 1923 (reviewed), 115.
Petrograd cameo, 186.
Petronius, 267.
Pewēremnō, 51.
Pewerʿō, 37, 38, 40, 42, 47, 48, 51.
Pezeme=Amâra, 260, 261.
Phaedo, 136.
Phalacro, *see* Dwêg, 144.
Phauetis, 270.
Pharan, 139.
Pharaoh as embodiment of sun-god, 195.
Phatres Pchoirios, 271.
Philae, 262.
inscription from, 9.
graffito at, 259.
Philagrius, 68.
Phileas, 241.
Philip V of Macedon, 258.
Philip Arrhidaeus, 181.
Philo, 7.
Philodemos, 241.
Philological Method in the Identification of Anatolian Place-Names, W. F. ALBRIGHT, 19–22.
Introduction ; Laws of philological research, 19.
Defence of previous identifications, 20–1.
Criticism of philological errors, 21–2.
Philological Notes, A. M. BLACKMAN, D.Litt., 210–15.
A further note on the word *kȝ-rȝ-św*, 210–12.
A note on the word *nḫȝw*, 212–13.
A note on three passages in the Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage, 213–15.
Philometor, 274.
Philopator, 277.
Philostorgius, 58.
Philoteras, 139–42, 146, 149.
Philoxenos, 241.
Phocarum Insula, 141.
Phoenician art, 161.
Phoenicon, *see* Laḳêta, 143, 144.
Phthuris, 267.
Piankhy, 250.
Pibok, 44 ff.
Pikhal, 44.
Pishou, 20.
Pisidian women, stele of, 185.
Plato, 136.
Pliny, 139, 141, 142, 145.
Ploution, 241.
Ploutos, 241.
Pnepheros, 9.
Poimandres, 126.
Pontus, 24.
Porphyritae mons, 140, 146.
Possible Late Representation of the God 'Ash, A, ALAN W. SHORTER, 78–9.
Representation on mummy case, 78.
Name of the god, 78–9.
Possible Year Date of King Ramesses VII, A, T. ERIC PEET, 72–5.
Introduction, 72.
Text and Restorations, 72–4.
Addendum, 75.
Praxiteles' influence on Egyptian art, 181 ff.
Primis, 261.
Proclus, 257.
Prophilus, 257.
Prusias, 258.
Psenapathes Inarotos, 272.
Psenpoeris, 275.
Bienchios, 270.
Pasemios, 270.

T

Ta, son of, 54.
Taʿapir, 44.
Tabriz, 26.
Tadnos, Fons, 141.
Tafa, 265.
Tait, John Gavin, 274.
Taiti, 29.
Taketêre, 260, 261.
Taki, 260.
Talmis, inscription from, 9.
Tamañ, 260.
Tamer, 262.
Tanar, 259, 260.
Tanare, 260.
Tanate, 260.
Tapomaus Tareous, 270.
Tarḫiniš, 29.
Tarpinü, Tarpin, 33.
Tasameretch, 261.
Tasokhon, 262.
Tata, 16.
Taty, 45.
Taurus, 24.
Tawebayt, 16.
Tawîla, 141.
Tebuzia, *see* Tabriz.
Teherer, 53.
Teknu, 17, 18.
Telibinus, 29.
Tell el-ʿAmarnah, 70, 107, 108, 331
 letters, 26.
 Tomb Chapel at, 36.
Tell Karmurik, 29.
Tell Riha, 27.
Tell Waḥsuk, 28, 29.
Ten, 16.
Tenare, 260.
Teos, 78.
Te-Shenyt, 251.
Tetäemrē, 14.
Tetahemet, 14, 16.
Tetaky, 10.
Tetaky at Thebes, The Tomb of, N. DE GARIS DAVIES, 10–18.
Tetamosé, 16.
Tetaʿn, 12, 15, 16, 18.
Tetaneheh, 16.
Tetaʿnkh, 16, 18.
Tetanofret, 12, 14, 15.
Tetanufer, 12, 16, 18.
Tetares, 16, 18.
Tetaseneb, 15, 18.
Tetisheri, 44 ff.
Thanūfer, 46.
Tharu, 292.
Thebaid, 153, 280.
 administration of Hadrian in, 177.
Thebes, 20, 139, 162, 202, 280.
 synodos of Amenothes at, 7.
Thebes, Fresh Light on the Tomb Robberies of the Twentieth Dynasty at, T. E. PEET, 37–55.
Thebes, Fresh Light on the Tomb Robberies of the Twentieth Dynasty at: an additional note, T. E. PEET, 162–4.
Thebes, The Tomb of Tetaky at, N. DE GARIS DAVIES, 10–18.
Themis of Rhamnus, 185.
Themistius, 136.
Theodoros, 271.
Theognius, 58, 64.
Theonas, 58.
Theophanes, 66.
Thera, female figure from, 188.
 funerary statue of woman from, 187.
 Ptolemaic head in, 183.
Thermouthion, 270.
Thermouthis, 272.
Thieras, 270.
Thinite kings, 204.
Thiy-merenēse queen of Seti I, 46.
Thocris, temple of, 6.
THOMPSON, SIR HERBERT, Length Measures in Ptolemaic Egypt, 151–3.
 with H. IDRIS BELL, A Greek-Coptic Glossary to Hosea and Amos, 241–6.
THOMPSON, R. CAMPBELL, M.A., F.S.A., *The Assyrian Herbal* (reviewed), 110.
Thoth, 2 ff., 195.
Thoth, The Secret Chambers of the Sanctuary of, ALAN H. GARDINER, 2–5.
Tiber, statue of, 189.
Tiberius, 8.
Timon, 241.
Timotheus, 169.
Timuris, 296.
Tiran, 66.
Tirga, 28.
Titianus, 67.
Tiutnefert, 226.
Tochma Su, 31.
TOD, MARCUS N., M.A., Bibliography (1923–1924): Graeco-Roman Egypt. Greek inscriptions, 327–30.
 Notes on some Greek Graffiti, 253–8.
Tomb Chapel 525 at Tell el-ʿAmarnah, 36.
Tomb Robberies of the Twentieth Dynasty at Thebes, Fresh Light on the, T. ERIC PEET, 37–55.
Tomb Robberies of the Twentieth Dynasty at Thebes, Fresh Light on the: an additional note, T. ERIC PEET, 162–4.
Tomb of Tetaky at Thebes (no. 15), The, N. DE GARIS DAVIES, 10–18.
 History of tomb, 10.
 Description of tomb and contents, 11–13.
 Paintings in tomb, 14–18.
Topazos island, 143.
Tortan = Turutna, 32.
Trajan, 148.
 conquest of Mesopotamia, 173.
 policy in Egypt, 177.
Trebizond, distance of, from Boghaz-Keui, 23.
Trier, 65.
Triton and Aphrodite group, 183.
Tukulti-Ninib I, 231.
Tukulti-Ninurta I, 231.
Tuna, *see* Shuni, 143.
Tunisia, 168.
Turbo, Marcius, 173.
Turin, new papyri in, 37.
Turin papyrus, 145, 162, 163.
Turkestan, historians of, 20.
Turpina, 33.

Turutna = Tortan, 32.
Tušratta, 28.
Tutʿankhamūn, 145.
 temple at Faras, 261.
 tomb of, 332.
Tuthmosis III, 160, 233, 261.
 in Syria, 226.
Tuthmosis IV, 233.
Tuti, 53.
Tyana, 31.
Tyre, Council of, 60.

U

Uaresi, 42.
Ukhḥotpe, 213.
Umm Ghêg, 150.
Umm Mwêh, 146.
Umm Rûs, 142.
Unas, 199.
Upper Egypt, taxes in, 280.
Ur, 70.
Ursacius, 64.
Urussa, 32.
Userkhaʿrēʿ Setepnerēʿ, 252.
Usermaʿrēʿ-Miamūn, 251.
Usimarēʿ, 47.
Usimarēʿ Miamūn, 50, 52, 162, 163.
Usimarēʿ Setpenrēʿ, *see also* Ramesses II, 43, 46, 52.
Usimaʿrēʿ Setpenrēʿ Miamūn, 73.
Uššaš, 34.
Ut, 16.

V

Valens, 64.
Van lake, 28.
Van Burgh papyrus, 53.
Van Groningen, B. A., *Le gymnasiarque des métropoles de l'Égypte romaine* (reviewed), 118.
Vaphio bulls, 160.
Veneris Insula, 140, 143.
Vetus Hydreuma, *see* Abu Ḳurêyah, 140, 142, 144, 149.
Via Hadriana, 140, 150.
Victorinus, C. Marius, 128.
Viminacium, 67.
Vogt, Dr. Joseph, *Römische Politik in Ägypten* (reviewed), 346–7.

W

Wace, A. J. B., 183.
Wâdî ʿAbbâd, 145.
Wâdî Abu Gerîdah, 146.
Wâdî Abu Ḳariah, 149.
Wâdî Barûd, 149.
Wâdî el Maʿamal, 147.
Wâdî es-Sabû, 263.
Wâdî Gâsus, 142, 146.
Wâdî Gemâl, 140, 144.
Wâdî Gidâmi, 146.
Wâdî Guwêsis, 146, 149.
Wâdî Ḥammâmât, 145, 146, 147.
Wâdî Ḳenah, 147.
Wâdî Lahami, 149.
Wâdî Nugrus, 144.
Wâdî Ragalah, 149.
Wâdî S[illegible]gâ, 142, 146, 149.
Wâdî T[illegible]ah, 149, 150.
Wâdî Umm Kâbu, 145.
Wâdî Umm Sedrah, 147.
Walmâ, 20.
Walmaa, 20.
Walpole, G. F., 150.
Warka, 26.
Wasîf, 146.
Waššukkani, 28.
Webb, Sir Aston, 70.
Wekâlat ed-Duwi, *see* Wekâlat el-Litêmâ, 146.
Wekâlat el-Ḥamrah, 146.
Wekâlat el-Litêmâ, 146.
Wekâlat el-Mefârîḳ, 146.
Wekâlat el-Zerḳah, 146.
Wenemdyamūn, 210, 285, 287, 290, 293, 295.
Wennakht, 45.
Wennefer, 48, 162.
Weserkhepesh, 39, 48.
Wessely, Dr. C., 80.
Westcar papyrus, 212.
Westermann, William Linn, Hadrian's Decree on Renting State Domain in Egypt, 165–78.
Whittemore, Professor, 107.
Wilcken, Ulrich, 173.
Wilkinson, C. K., 10.
Williams, Caroline Ransom, Ph.D., Litt.D., *The New York Historical Society. Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities, Numbers 1–160. Gold and silver jewelry and related objects* (reviewed), 123.
Windisch, H., 127.
Wiyanawanda, 21, 29, 30.
Woess, Fr. v., *Untersuchungen uber das Urkundenwesen und den Publizitatsschutz im römischen Ägypten* (reviewed), 351.
Woolley, L., 230.
Worrell, W. H., *The Coptic Manuscripts in the Freer Collection* (reviewed) (University of Michigan Studies: Humanistic Series, x), 113–15.

X

Xanthus, 21, 24, 30, 31.
Xenophon, 153.

Y

Yaruwadaš, 26.
Yaruwandaš, Yaruwattaš, *see* Yaruwadaš.
Yenes, 40.
Yens, 54.
Yerâbis, *see* Jerâblus.
Yezeyake, 261.
Yodefat-Iotapata, *see* Djefât.

Z

Zabâra, 144.
Zak, 260.
Zalitawakehyi, 261.
Zara = Sala, 32.

Zazzisa, 32.
Zedkerē^{c}-Isesi, 197.
Zek, Zeq, 260.
Zekhatelitê, 260.
Zenodorus, 241.
Zeus, 182.
Zeus Serapis, 157.
Zeus-Serapis-Helios, temple of, 147.
Zîdân, 265.
Zimara = Zimurria, 31.
Zmithis, 271.
Zoriga = Serigga, 32.
Zoser, 107.
= Neter-Khet, 203.

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